

THE
NINETEENTH
CENTURY

A MONTHLY REVIEW

EDITED BY JAMES KNOWLES

VOL. XIII.

JANUARY—JUNE 1883



LONDON

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, & CO., 1 PATERNOSTER SQUARE

(The rights of translation and of reproduction are reserved.)

CONTENTS OF VOL. XIII.

	PAGE
OUR POSITION AS A NAVAL POWER. By <i>H. O. Arnold-Forster</i>	1
SCOTLAND'S VERSION OF HOME RULE. By <i>W. Scott Dalgleish</i>	14
RUSSIAN PRISONS. By <i>Prince Krapotkine</i>	27
ON TASTE IN DRESS. By <i>G. F. Watts</i>	45
CARDINAL MANNING'S DEMAND ON THE RATES. By <i>R. W. Dale</i>	58
GIRL-CHILDREN OF THE STATE. By <i>Maria Trench</i>	76
PUSS IN BOOTS. By <i>W. R. S. Ralston</i>	88
THE PROCEDURE OF THE HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE. By <i>Alfred Hill</i>	105
ORIGIN OF THE NATIONAL PARTY IN EGYPT. By <i>John Ninet</i>	117
MODERN MIRACLES: a Rejoinder. By <i>E. S. Shuckburgh</i>	135
THE FUNCTIONS OF AN OPPOSITION. By <i>Henry Cecil Raikes</i>	140
THE FUNCTIONS OF CONSERVATIVE OPPOSITION. By the <i>Hon. W. St. John Brodrick</i>	155
A SWEET-WATER SHIP-CANAL THROUGH EGYPT. By <i>John Fowler and Benjamin Baker</i> . (With a Map)	166
ON THE ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE HIGHLANDS OF SCOTLAND. By the <i>Duke of Argyll</i>	173
'THE CREED OF CHRISTENDOM.' By the <i>Rev. Dr. Martineau</i>	199
THE THEATRICAL REVIVAL. By <i>Frederick Wedmore</i>	217
MIDDLE-CLASS EDUCATION. By <i>Lord Norton</i>	229
VILLAGE LIFE IN NORFOLK SIX HUNDRED YEARS AGO. By the <i>Rev. Dr. Jessopp</i>	249
ELECTION PROSPECTS OF THE CONSERVATIVES. By <i>C. E. Lewis</i>	273
CONCERNING THE UNKNOWN PUBLIC. By <i>Thomas Wright</i> (the 'Journeyman Engineer')	279
LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND AND WALES. By <i>William Rathbone</i>	297, 509
RELIGION AND THE RATES. (1.) By <i>Cardinal Manning</i> . (2.) By the <i>Rev. Canon Gregory</i>	314
THE UNMOUNTED BUCEPHALUS. By <i>Mons. Joseph Reinach</i>	338
'FEATER AVE ATQUE VALE.' By <i>Alfred Tennyson</i>	357
OUR HOSPITALS. By <i>Henry C. Burdett</i>	359
A FEW WORDS ABOUT THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By <i>Frederic Harrison</i>	385
THE TRUTH ABOUT ROSSETTI. By <i>Theodore Watts</i>	404
PARTY OBLIGATIONS TO-DAY. By <i>T. E. Kebbel</i>	424
WAGNER AND WAGNERISM. By <i>Edmund Gurney</i>	434

	PAGE
THE 'CANKER-WORM'—OUTDOOR RELIEF. By <i>Lord Lifford</i>	453
COMMON SENSE IN DRESS AND FASHION. By <i>Lady Paget</i>	458
FRENCH ELEMENTARY EDUCATION. By the <i>Hon. E. Lyulph Stanley</i>	465
THE CARDINAL AND THE SCHOOLS: a Rejoinder. By the <i>Rev. R. W. Dale</i>	473
THE SUPPRESSION OF POISONOUS OPINIONS. By <i>Leslie Stephen</i>	493, 653
THE WEAKNESS OF THE ARMY. By <i>General Sir Lintorn Simmon</i>	529
THE LAND OF PROMISE: a Fable. By the <i>Earl of Lytton</i>	545
PRACTICABLE SOCIALISM. By the <i>Rev. Samuel A. Barnett</i>	554
OUR NATIONAL BALANCE-SHEET. By <i>Sir John Lubbock</i>	561
WHAT SHALL I DO WITH MY SON? By <i>Major-Gen. W. Feilding</i>	578
ISAIAH OF JERUSALEM. By <i>Matthew Arnold</i>	587, 779
THE HIGHLAND CROFTERS. By <i>Professor John Stuart Blackie</i>	604
IS THE CHRISTIANITY OF ENGLAND WORTH PRESERVING? By <i>Cardinal Manning</i>	617
AN UNSOLVED HISTORICAL RIDDLE. By <i>J. A. Froude</i>	635, 801
SERVANTS OF THE SICK POOR. By <i>Florence Craven</i>	667
THE FUTURE 'CONSTITUTIONAL PARTY.' By the <i>Earl of Dunraven</i>	679
ENGLAND AND SOUTH AFRICA. By the <i>Rev. John Mackenzie</i>	700
DESULTORY REFLECTIONS OF A WHIG. By <i>Earl Cowper</i>	729
QUESTIONS OF THE DAY IN INDIA. By <i>Sir Julian Goldsmid</i>	740
THE MAN OF THE FUTURE. By <i>E. Kay Robinson</i>	759
DETECTIVE POLICE. By <i>M. Laing Meason</i>	765
SHALL WE RETAIN THE MARINES? By <i>General Schomberg</i>	795
THE PAST AND FUTURE OF CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY. By <i>G. W. Hemming</i>	824
THE SUBJECTIVE DIFFICULTIES IN RELIGION. By <i>Aubrey de Vere</i>	841
A GLIMPSE INTO THE ART OF SINGING. By <i>Mrs. Watts Hughes</i>	862
THE LAW A RESPECTER OF PERSONS. By <i>Dr. Charles Cameron</i>	872
FRANCE AND CHINA. By <i>D. C. Boulger</i>	886
SOCIAL REFORM. By <i>Samuel Smith</i>	896
WHY SEND MORE IRISH TO AMERICA? By <i>Professor Goldwin Smith</i>	913
A PROTEST AGAINST WHIGGERY. By <i>George W. E. Russell</i>	920
THE FORTRESS PRISON OF ST. PETERSBURG. By <i>Prince Krapotkine</i>	928
THE PAINTED POETRY OF WATTS AND ROSSETTI. By <i>Mrs. Barrington</i>	950
FALLING TRADE AND FACTORY LEGISLATION. By <i>Archibald W. Finlayson</i>	971
FOX-HUNTING. By <i>W. Bromley Davenport</i>	978
THE DWELLINGS OF THE POOR. By <i>George Howell</i>	992
THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE 'CAMPAGNA ROMANA.' By <i>Count Conestabile</i>	1008
THE FARMERS AND THE TORY PARTY. By <i>James Howard</i>	1016
THE NEW AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS BILL. By <i>William E. Bear</i>	1036
WALLENSTEIN. By <i>H. Schütz Wilson</i>	1045
THE ENGLISH IN EGYPT. By <i>F. W. Rowsell</i>	1064
ON THE MANUFACTURE OF PUBLIC OPINION. By <i>Blanchard Jerrold</i>	1080

NINETEENTH CENTURY.

No. LXXI.—JANUARY 1883.

OUR POSITION AS A NAVAL POWER.

‘THE strength of England is not to be found in alliances with great military Powers, but is to be found henceforth in the efficiency and supremacy of her navy—a navy as powerful now as the navies of all Europe.’

These words were used by the present Prime Minister in the course of a speech delivered in 1878. They are cited because they furnish a concise and authoritative text for the arguments contained in this paper; and are not introduced for the purpose of criticism or objection. It will be seen, however, that Mr. Gladstone’s estimate of our actual naval strength was probably too sanguine three years ago, and is altogether inaccurate at the present time. Upon the principle which the quotation contains there is no occasion to dwell. Everyone, happily, is agreed that without a powerful navy no alliances can render us secure; that with our shores and our commerce protected from attack we can afford to be independent of any alliance. But the fact, or supposed fact, for which Mr. Gladstone takes credit is well worthy of our attention, for it is plain from the very nature of the argument that the superiority of our navy over that of the combined fleets of Europe is assumed to be the necessary

condition of our enjoying that independence which is claimed as our unique and fortunate inheritance.

What are the grounds upon which this assumption is based?—and has it any foundation at all outside the imagination of those whose arguments depend upon its correctness? This is a question which it is worth while to try and answer. And if, unhappily, it should turn out that the conditions to which we attach so much value are altogether unlike those which actually exist, it is obvious that we must take an entirely new view of our position, and modify our opinions as to our necessities on the one hand, or our responsibilities on the other. If absolute naval supremacy is not essential, well and good—things may well remain as they are; but then it will be wise to refrain even in argument from making our security dependent upon the attainment of such supremacy. If, on the other hand, it is the principle which is right but the actual fulfilment which is faulty, then it certainly behoves us to turn our best attention to the task of bringing the practice into harmony with the principle. It is the object of this paper to show that the latter view of the situation is the correct one, and that, while Mr. Gladstone is right in insisting upon the superiority of our navy over the navies of all other Powers, as the *sine quâ non* of our safety as a nation, he is incorrect in assuming that the guarantee he requires at present exists.

One of the most remarkable, and perhaps most disheartening, features of the discussions which are continually taking place with regard to the adequacy and efficiency of the navy is the amount of time which is wasted in quibbling over the exact relative strength of the English and French fleets. The acrimony and violence with which the contending parties bandy charges of inaccuracy or wilful misrepresentation would do credit to a theological dispute; and an unfortunate element of unreality is given to the conflict by the frequency with which opponents in politics turn out to be opponents in matters of naval construction and administration. An able and well-informed correspondent assures the public that, taking into account ships to be built, the weakness of existing types, the prevalence of some hitherto unappreciated defect, the strength of our navy as compared with that of France has diminished till the proportions stand at ten to nine or some such unsatisfactory figure. No sooner has the alarmist sounded his note than a rival appears in the field, and with the utmost gravity demonstrates that correspondent number one has omitted this or that ship from our own list, has overestimated the rate of progress of some vessel which figures in that of our neighbours, has ignored this new invention or overlooked that new armament, and that, in short, the proportionate figures ought to be as thirteen to ten instead of as ten to nine. And when this is done, the public, who know very little about the navy,

though they care a great deal, become tranquil once more under the assurance that the alarmist is wrong in his figures, and that consequently his opponent is right in his conclusions. Yet the extraordinary complacency with which the optimists rest satisfied with the conclusions at which they have arrived, cannot fail to be a perpetual source of amazement to those who are not engaged in the controversy but are nevertheless anxious for the welfare of the navy. The very fact that argument and contention in the matter is possible, that the strength of the English and French navies should be so near an equality that any doubts as to the superiority of the former should be entertained for a moment, is in itself the strongest imaginable proof that the alarmists err, if anything, on the side of moderation.

‘A navy as powerful as the navies of all Europe:’ such is the ideal which is henceforth to make us independent of all alliances. And yet it is possible to discuss at length, and with the aid of arguments which, if not conclusive, are at any rate very plausible, whether the naval force of a single Power is not equal to our own.

And such a discussion has been maintained, and is still continued, by men who are by no means amateurs in the matter of maritime warfare, but who, on the contrary, are qualified to form an opinion by the light of the widest practical experience, and the fullest theoretical knowledge. It is not necessary for the purposes of this argument to enter into an elaborate discussion as to the precise strength of the French fleet, and the fighting value of the individual ships of which it is composed; but it is patent to the most elementary student of the question, that the naval force of the Republic is most formidable, and is likely to become more formidable every year. To show, however, that this fact is not unacknowledged or unappreciated by the highest authorities, it will be as well to quote the opinions of Admiral Symonds and Sir Thomas Brassey, as representing respectively the combatant and the official departments of naval administration.

The Admiral writes as follows:—

A comparison of the fleets in battle array, as they will be in 1885 (if France follows her announced plans, and we do not greatly increase ours), shows a French total of sixty-one vessels against our sixty, when some of her ships will be as much more powerful than any of our present ships (the ‘Inflexible’ alone excepted) as was a line-of-battle ship to a frigate. Nor must we altogether forget that the comparison may be made much worse for us, if—as has happened before—the Italian fleet, with its very powerful ships, should be joined to that of France, making eighty to sixty.

Nor is the Civil Lord of the Admiralty much more reassuring. Sir Thomas Brassey, writing to the *Times*, says:—

In ships actually ready for sea, our ironclad fleet compares favourably with the French, but this will cease to be the case if armoured shipbuilding in France is continued with the same activity which has been displayed since the close of the Franco-German war. In the interval which has elapsed since 1877, the total

armoured tonnage launched has been 29,171 tons for the French, and for the British navy 21,700 tons; and while our Navy Estimates for the present year (1882) provide a sum of 750,000*l.* for armoured construction, no less than 1,081,000*l.* has been voted for the French navy. It is obvious that this disparity cannot long continue.

But if such be the proportion between the fleets of England and France alone, what becomes of the happy assumption that we possess a naval force as powerful as the navies of all other nations? For to the navy of France we must add those of Italy, of Germany, of Austria, of Russia, Turkey, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, Spain, Portugal, Holland, and Greece, in the old world; and of the United States, Brazil, Chili, and the Argentine Republic in the new; not forgetting the formidable additions which have recently been made to the hitherto insignificant armaments of China and Japan. A fair estimate of the disposable force of the principal Powers above mentioned has been furnished by Sir Thomas Brassey, who, in the second volume of his new and valuable work on the British navy, inserts the following tabulated statement of the war fleets of the chief maritime Powers:¹—

Classification of Armoured Ships.

1. Sea-going ships, and ships which can be employed on foreign coasts, having armour of not less than 9 inches, and carrying guns of not less than 18 tons.
2. Sea-going ships with armour in parts of 7 and 8 inches, and guns of 12 tons weight.
3. Sea-going ships moderately or partially armoured, with armaments of numerous armour-piercing guns of the lighter natures.
4. Sea-going ships moderately armoured, and of comparatively light armament.
5. Coast-service turret-ships, with 8-inch and thicker armour, and guns of not less than 18 tons.
6. Coast-service ships of moderate dimensions, armament, and armour.
7. Small armoured gun-vessels with the lightest armour-piercing guns.

ARMoured SHIPS.

Countries	Group I.	Group II.	Group III.	Group IV.	Total	Heavy rifled guns	Group V.	Group VI.	Group VII.	Total	Heavy rifled guns
France . . .	16	8	1	4	29	167	0	7	4	11	33
Germany . . .	9	0	1	3	13	124	0	10	0	10	10
Italy . . .	4	2	0	5	11	79	0	3	0	3	20
Austria . . .	2	1	0	5	8	68	0	0	2	2	0
Russia . . .	1	0	3	4	8	70	2	17	2	21	43
United States .	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	12	0	18	0
Total Foreign .	32	11	5	21	69	508	8	49	8	65	106
England . . .	20	6	9	5	40	410	8	3	3	14	48

¹ Throughout these tables a comparison of speed between English and foreign ships would show an almost invariable and quite unpardonable inferiority on the part of the former.

Classification of Unarmoured Ships and Cruisers of the Newer Types.

1. Vessels of 3,000 tons and upwards.
2. Vessels of from 1,700 to 2,500 tons.
3. Vessels under 1,600 tons.
4. Vessels from 750 to 850 tons.

UNARMoured SHIPS. CRUISERS OF THE NEWER TYPES.

Countries	Group I.	Group II.	Group III.	Total	Older cruizers perhaps still efficient	Group IV. The newer gun-vessels
France . .	3	22	21	46	6	3
Germany . .	2	15	0	17	0	2
Italy . .	1	2	3	6	0	2
Austria . .	2	4	3	9	0	2
Russia . .	7	2	7	16	0	0
United States	? 1	? 2	? 1	4	?	? 0
Total Foreign	16	47	35	98	—	9
England . .	11	30	24	65	—	11

Thus it will be seen how far off we are from the happy ideal which all parties seem to agree is essential to our well-being. It is, of course, improbable, not to say impossible, that a coalition such as that suggested will ever be opposed to us; but it is as well at the outset to get rid of a fallacy in which many persons still unhappily believe, namely, that the fleet at our command is equal to, or even nearly equal to, those of all the other naval Powers combined. It is not to be supposed, however, that the computation which makes the measure of our required naval strength that of the sum of the opposition of possible enemies, is based upon an empty tradition merely. At the beginning of 1805 the effective strength of the British navy, and that of the combined fleets of France and Spain, was about equal, and by that time all other possible competitors were disposed of. In the following year the superiority of our navy, in effective ships of the line, to that of France, was variously estimated at from two to one up to as high a figure as twelve to one.²

In 1801 we had afloat and in commission 100 ships of the line; in 1812, 102; and in the year preceding the close of the war we possessed no less than 644 effective ships-of-war of all classes.

For several years the vote for the sea services exceeded 18,000,000%. During the course of the war no less than 390 ships-of-war, of which 144 were ships of the line and the remainder frigates, were captured or destroyed by our fleets: 245 of the prizes were added to the British navy.

Thus it will be seen that at the period when this country not only possessed, but was able in the most effective way to demonstrate, that supremacy at sea which we are so ready to declare essential to

² The latter figure is that given by the compiler of *Steele's Navy List*.

her welfare, our navy was not only nominally, but actually, superior to all opponents.

It was not without the most strenuous and sustained efforts that this position was attained, and more than once before its attainment our very existence was endangered. Not till it was secured were we safe, and those who expended nearly double our present naval budget upon the sea services fully appreciated the fact.

We have shown that the relative strength of our navy is not now what it used to be as compared with the navies of other Powers; but when we pass from its relative strength to its actual efficiency for doing the work entrusted to it, it will be seen that the want of available power is in truth alarming.

To avoid all misunderstanding, it may be as well here to admit, in the most unqualified manner, that, as far as it goes, the condition of the navy is, with one or two important exceptions, eminently satisfactory. At no period in our history has the navy actually been stronger than it is at present; the ships composing it were never more powerful, better manned, or better found. All this may be admitted, and, indeed, can hardly be controverted. But, gratifying as these facts are, it would be the gravest possible error to suppose that they alone guarantee us against the dangers which, as an insular and commercial power, we may at any time be called upon to encounter. The man who possesses an income of 50,000*l.* a year, but whose necessary outgoings amount to five-sixths of that sum, is in one sense a richer man than he who receives an income of 10,000*l.* per annum free from all charges, but for all practical purposes the owner of the encumbered estate is the poorer of the two. The general whose army is concentrated in a central and strongly fortified position is more formidable both for attack and defence than an opponent whose forces, though far superior in number, are scattered in isolated and unconnected posts. But the truth which these figures are intended to convey is too obvious to need further illustration. While the duties which the navy had to perform remained constant, it might well be retained upon an establishment which experience had shown was sufficient to secure their full performance. Now that those duties have been almost indefinitely increased, it seems not unnatural to expect that the strength of the navy should receive a corresponding augmentation.

It is worth while to recall the enormous extension of our colonial possessions and dependencies since the last occasion of our being engaged in maritime warfare, and summarise the gigantic additions to our sea-borne commerce which have resulted from the increase of our territory. In 1806 the British navy was in practically undisputed possession of the seas. No combination of Powers—much less any single Power—could hope to contend successfully with our squadrons. The navy of 1882 is, beyond all question, relatively far weaker than

that of 1806; yet since 1806 the work which the navy, and the navy alone, can perform has been increased literally a hundredfold.

In the West Indies the islands of Tobago, Trinidad, and St. Lucia have been added to our possessions. In European waters, Malta, Heligoland, and Cyprus have become Crown colonies. In Africa, the Cape, Natal, the Mauritius, and the Gold Coast have been transferred to the British flag. In Asia, Ceylon, Kurrachee, Burmah, Singapore, Penang, Malacca, Hong Kong, Aden, and Perim have been taken or occupied. In North and South America, British Columbia and British Guiana are recent acquisitions; while last, but not least, the present century has seen the origin and growth of the great English colonies in Australia, New Zealand, and Tasmania, with their later adjuncts of Fiji and the other islands of the Polynesian group. Nor must it be forgotten that this vast territorial acquisition has brought with it an increase of the English carrying trade utterly unknown to previous generations. The value of the trade between England and America in 1828 was under 5,000,000*l.*; in 1878 it had reached 93,000,000*l.* In the first half of the century communication with the Australian colonies was practically non-existent; at the present time the value of our Australian trade is no less than 45,000,000*l.* The British tonnage yearly passing through the Suez Canal is 2,500,000 tons, or 80 per cent. of the total amount using the Canal. In a word, the mercantile marine of this country, which in 1810 amounted to 2,426,000 tons, has now reached 8,134,000 tons; while the value of our commerce has increased from 60,000,000*l.* to 966,000,000*l.* More important even than the actual number and tonnage of our commercial marine is the character of the trade in which, for the most part, our ships are employed. In 1811 the amount of wheat imported into this country was 3 per cent. only of the total consumption, it is now 55 per cent.; and at the present time the total annual value of our food imports is more than 150,000,000*l.* In fact, there is scarcely a single article of food, including the prime necessities of life, for which we are not wholly or partially dependent upon foreign supplies.

What is true of our food is true also of the manufactures upon which we depend to earn the money to pay for our food. The woollen industry, which, seventy years ago, shared with the manufacture and production of iron the chief place among our national industries, derived the necessary raw material almost entirely from English sheep. Now, however, English wools have been to a large extent either supplemented or superseded by fleeces from the Continent, from South America, and above all from Australia and South Africa, from which we receive 220 millions out of the total of 380 million pounds of wool which we consume every year. But great as has been the change in the conditions under which the woollen industry is conducted, it is unimportant as compared with the revolution

in our textile manufacture which has resulted from the incredible extension of the production of cotton goods. At the present time it is calculated that no less than 480,000 persons are employed in the English cotton districts in works which consume annually the gigantic amount of 540,000 tons of cotton. For every pound of this enormous total the country is dependent upon the services of its mercantile marine. These figures need not be further supplemented as they easily might be. They are sufficient to give an idea of the increase of our responsibilities during the last seventy years.

The application is not far to seek. If, at the present day, our navy bears the same proportion to the navies of other Powers that it did in 1805, it is obvious that for all practical purposes it must be considered far less effective now than at the time of the European blockade following the Berlin Decree. It is no answer to say that, while we have been adding to our seaboard and increasing our commerce a hundredfold, other nations have been going through a similar process. The fact is otherwise. Many of our present colonial possessions have been acquired by cession or conquest from other Powers. France, it is true, has made some trifling acquisitions in the China Seas, and in the Mediterranean has established herself at Algiers. But it is impossible for a moment to compare the importance of Cochin China or Algeria to France with that of our great English-speaking colonies or of our Indian Empire to this country. It cannot be pretended that France is in any way dependent for her safety and well-being upon the continued possession of the two colonies named. Indeed, it is open to question whether she would not in many ways benefit by their loss.

Meanwhile the French fleet, which has now reached a position, both as regards numbers and efficiency, never hitherto approached, is practically available in its entirety for offensive and defensive operations upon the seaboard of France itself. Germany and Austria are even more favourably situated for carrying on maritime operations with the maximum of danger to the enemy and the minimum of risk to themselves. It may be said that the limited available harbour accommodation upon the Baltic, the North Sea, and the Adriatic renders the operations of a blockade on their coasts exceedingly easy, and the argument is not without its weight; though in these days of steam navigation it would be hard to find an instance of an absolutely effective blockade upon an open coast. Nor must it be forgotten that the danger to this country arising from the successful escape of an armed cruiser would be infinitely more serious than that incurred by the enemy in risking a single ship-of-war. But it will be interesting, as well as useful, to abandon generalities and the contingencies of an imaginary campaign, and to inquire what are the actual facts with which at any moment we might find ourselves face to face. We have recently been engaged in a small campaign, which has happily

been brought to a successful issue.* In the operations which have taken place, the rôle played by the navy has for the most part been a subordinate one. The bombardment of Alexandria, it is true, reflected credit upon the efficiency of our crews; and, despite the almost obsolete weapons with which our ships were armed, the result was a success. It is not intended here to dwell upon some of the very obvious lessons which are to be learnt from the operations of the 11th of July. What is important for the purposes of this argument is to note what was the proportion of our naval strength engaged in the Eastern Mediterranean, and what was the available force which we held in reserve for the protection of our commerce and our colonial possessions. In the first place, it must be remembered that at the time of the bombardment and during the subsequent operations, we were on friendly terms with all the other European Powers; nor does it appear that, untrammelled as we were, the fleet under Sir Beauchamp Seymour's flag was in any way too large for the requirements of the service it was called upon to perform. It consisted of thirty-four fighting ships, of which thirteen were ironclads.³ This total, it should be observed, contains not only ships comprising the Mediterranean squadron proper, but vessels drawn from the scanty force on the Indian station, and the whole of what is usually termed the Channel Fleet. Meanwhile, there were available, according to the most sanguine estimate, for defence at home, nineteen commissioned ironclads—a considerable force on paper, but one which will not bear analysis. It included eight ships of the first class—the 'Edinburgh,' 'Ajax,' 'Conqueror,' 'Agamemnon,' 'Dreadnought,' 'Devastation,' 'Neptune,' and 'Belleisle.' Of these the first four were without guns; and the 'Belleisle' was acting as guard-ship on a station from which she could not well be spared. The 'Hercules,' though not of the first class, is a very powerful ship; but with the exception of the coast-defence vessels, 'Cyclops' and 'Prince Albert,' the remaining ironclads were all of a very inferior character. They were the 'Triumph,' 'Audacious,' and 'Warrior,' and the guardships 'Hector,' 'Lord Warden,' 'Repulse,' 'Valiant,' and 'Defence,' the six last mentioned vessels being practically of obsolete types. In addition to the ironclads, there were six small vessels—the 'Heroine,' 'Constance,' 'Osprey,' 'Ariel,' 'Britomart,' and 'Firm,' in commission on the home station. On the non-commissioned list there were no ironclads of the first or scarcely of the second class, unless we include such vessels as the 'Glatton,' 'Shannon,' and 'Hotspur'; the remaining ships were four floating batteries—viz. the 'Hecate,' 'Hydra,' 'Gorgon,' and 'Wivern'; and a couple of ineffective and nearly obsolete ships—the 'Black Prince' and 'Bellerophon': in all nine vessels. While such were our available forces at home, the condition of our foreign stations was still more lamentable. The fol-

* Including the 'Thunderer' at Malta.

lowing is a report of the whereabouts of the Indian squadron, which appeared at the end of September:—

The 'Arab,' a four-gun vessel of 720 tons and 95 horse-power, is in the Persian Gulf. Her Majesty's ship 'Dragon,' of six guns, 1,137 tons and 1,010 horse-power, is at Suez; so is Her Majesty's ship 'Eclipse,' a corvette carrying twelve guns, and of 1,273 tons and 150 horse-power. Her Majesty's ship 'Euryalus,' the flagship, carrying eleven guns, and of 4,130 tons and 5,270 horse-power, is also at Suez; together with the gunboats 'Ready' and 'Seagull,' carrying four and three guns respectively. The solitary vessel which remains in nearer Indian seas guarding East Indian commerce is Her Majesty's ship 'Ranger,' a small gun-vessel carrying three guns. When last heard of she was at Trincomalee. Two other vessels forming part of the fleet of war-vessels on the East Indian station ought to be mentioned—the 'London,' stationed at Zanzibar, carrying two guns, and of 2,687 tons burden, and Her Majesty's ship 'Ruby,' carrying twelve guns, and 2,102 tons, and 1,830 horse-power. This smart corvette is with the flagship at Suez. The 'Dryad,' a sloop, carrying nine guns, 1,086 tons burden, and 300 horse-power, is also in the Red Sea.

On the remaining foreign stations our flag was represented by four ironclads, not one of them of the first class, two of which—the 'Iron Duke' and 'Swiftsure'—have a very low rate of speed; and all of which carried guns (the Woolwich M.L.R.) inferior in almost every respect to those of similar calibre borne by the foreign vessels cruising on the same stations. In addition to these ironclads there were a considerable number of smaller unarmoured vessels, fifty-three in all, varying from swift and powerful ships, such as the 'Cleopatra' and 'Curacoa,' down to the useless eight-knot vessels of our so-called Peace Fleet, upon which, for some inscrutable reason, each successive Admiralty administration continues to waste the public money.

Such was the available force which was at the disposal of the country for the protection of our coasts and the defence of our commerce. Nor can it be said that the deficiency, if it existed, could have been easily and rapidly repaired by the great shipbuilding establishments which the country possesses. This is emphatically not the case. In the first place, the rapidity with which wars are conducted has greatly shortened the period available for preparation; and, in the second place, the construction of ships capable of taking a useful part in naval warfare is now a long and arduous task which the most strenuous application, the most ample resources, can only curtail to a very moderate extent.⁴ A great deal has been said of the reserve of power which this country possesses in the shape of its swift sea-going merchant steamers, and arrangements, which cannot be too highly commended, have been made by the Admiralty for utilising the advantages they offer. But it is idle to claim too much for the best armed merchantmen. For two purposes they cannot

⁴ These figures do not include the two coast-defence ships on the Indian station, nor the 'Cerberus' and 'Terror,' stationed respectively at Melbourne and Bermuda.

⁵ It would appear from what we have stated, that we could not place much reliance on extemporising a fleet of ironclad turret-vessels after war was declared.—*Extract from Letter from Messrs. Laird Bros., quoted by Sir T. Brassey.* From three to seven years is the time required for building a modern ironclad.

fail to be eminently serviceable. They will be capable of taking the offensive with effect against the unarmed shipping of other Powers, and they will also be able, thanks to their great speed, to evade capture themselves, and thus to facilitate the carrying of cargo during time of war. But no merchant steamer, however swift and well armed, is a match for a man-of-war constructed expressly for fighting purposes. To rely upon our ocean liners for the protection of the great maritime highways and for the defence of our coasts is to rest upon a very broken reed.

It is absolutely essential, therefore, that, for the purposes of naval warfare, we should depend mainly upon our regular navy, and if our regular navy be deficient we shall become aware of the deficiency too late, if we discover it only on the outbreak of war.

The opinion which has been here expressed is no new one to those who have studied the current of opinion with regard to our naval forces. Indeed, it is probable that there is scarcely an official connected with the administration of the navy who would not assent to the abstract proposition that an increase in the number of sea-going ships is desirable. Supposing this consensus of opinion to exist, it must have been greatly strengthened by the publication of Sir Thomas Brassey's last volume. The practical experience of the author as a seaman and his official position upon the Board of Admiralty combine to give peculiar weight to the conclusions which he appears to favour. It is perhaps hardly fair to Sir Thomas Brassey to claim his authority for the lessons which are so plainly taught in a volume which professes to be merely a summary of the opinions of others, rather than an expression of the views of the compiler. But, recognising the impartiality with which contrary and even contradictory opinions are cited, the balance of opinion remains so plainly on one side that it is impossible to avoid the conclusion to which this very impartiality of quotation leads us. 'Multiply your ships, divide your forces, and neglect no essential type.' Upon these points there is practical agreement; and what experience teaches common sense endorses. Every development in the art of gunnery or the practice of torpedo warfare increases enormously the risk to which an individual ship is subject; and for a vessel to be struck by the ram or the torpedo must in nine cases out of ten mean not disablement merely, but annihilation.

At Trafalgar the guns of our ships were depressed in order that the shot fired at the enemy might not strike a friend on the other side. In more than one instance the boarding parties entered through the lower deck ports, and the muzzles of the broadside guns actually touched, yet the ships which had been in such close embrace remained capable of manœuvring and fighting. No such result would be possible under present conditions. A blow from the ram fairly delivered, a couple of torpedoes successfully exploded, and the 'Inflexible'

might in an instant be converted into a helpless wreck. The loss of a fifty-four gunship such as the 'Calcutta' was a serious matter, but the capture in the same year of the 'Aigle' and 'Intrépide' seventy-fours soon restored matters to their old footing. But the destruction of the 'Inflexible' would mean a clear loss to the country of something little short of a million sterling, and, more important still, of a unit of our maritime strength which no expenditure, no energy, could replace. 'No fleet,' says Admiral Sir Spencer Robinson, 'can be considered a fleet, and no ship like the "Inflexible" can be considered a ship-of-war, until she has her attendant rams and torpedoes to meet those attacks to which she is sure to be subjected.' Sir E. J. Reed and Mr. Barnaby are of the same opinion, and Mr. Scott Russell declared that all the best naval men of his acquaintance in all countries took a similar view. For every first-class ironclad, therefore, we ought to have an auxiliary squadron always in attendance. Would such an arrangement be possible at the present moment? Obviously not. With all respect to the Patriotic League, we have not got the ships, it is doubtful whether we have got the men, and as to the money, which in truth we have got, it has already been shown that, for all practical purposes, ships-of-war and money, however plentiful, have ceased to be convertible terms.

What, then, is the conclusion to which all these facts point? Briefly this: 'Increase the navy.' It will be answered that to increase the navy requires additional expenditure, and that the country is not willing to add to its maritime budget. But this is not the fact, or, if it be the fact, it has not hitherto been proved to be so. The maintenance of the navy has always been considered a question outside the scope of party politics; and rightly so. There is not a politician or an elector in the country who is not perfectly well aware of the vital importance of preserving an absolute superiority at sea in all events.

If those in authority can fairly say to the public, The navy is so strong and so efficient that under no circumstances could it fail to render the services required of it—the public will be content, and will refuse to spend more money than it now does upon the fleet. If, on the other hand, this pledge cannot be given, it is contrary to all experience to believe that the country or Parliament would refuse any additional outlay which was shown to be necessary to insure the required degree of efficiency. If the navy is weak for want of money, it is most certainly the fault of those whose duty it is to ask for funds, and not of those whose duty it is to find them. It is a fair proposition to put to those who are responsible for the welfare of the navy: Are you prepared to do for the country now what Howe and Nelson did in 1795 and 1805? Taking into account the increase of the responsibilities of the navy during the present century, has the efficiency of the navy increased in a like degree? If not, why not?

It is assumed on all sides that our armaments are as sufficient to guarantee our safety now as they were at the beginning of the century. If there is an error in the assumption, it is the business of those who are best acquainted with our deficiencies to point out the error and to remedy it. It cannot be remedied without taking the public into confidence, and no excuse based upon the reluctance of the public to deal with the difficulty will be admissible until that reluctance has been demonstrated to exist.

Of one thing we may be assured, that the country will never pardon any concealment or remissness in this matter. And with reason—for the neglect will never be proved until the calamity which it renders possible has occurred.

There is no necessity for panic or undue alarm if all the conditions already referred to actually exist. Fortunately we are not in apparent danger of war with any Continental Power; the only essential point is to recognise the deficiency if it exists, and to ask the public fairly, 'ay or no,' shall it continue to exist?

As has already been said, the navy is exceedingly powerful, admirably manned, and, with the exception of its guns, well equipped. Moreover, there is every reason to approve of, if not to rest satisfied with, the policy of the present Board of Admiralty, which has committed itself to a very extensive building programme, and which has insisted that the new vessels shall be the best ships of their class that can be produced. For all this we may be exceedingly thankful; but the question still remains, whether, even with the contemplated additions, the navy is likely to be sufficient as well as efficient. If it is not, we are in danger of losing not prestige merely, not the barren glory of an acknowledged naval supremacy, but the very lifeblood of our national existence. To fall short of an absolute command of our ocean highways means that we shall find ourselves face to face with war premiums of fifty per cent., the stoppage of our food supply, and, scarcely less important, the stoppage of our supplies of raw material. Panic, disorder, suffering, starvation among our overcrowded population will bring home to us with painful clearness the error we make in neglecting to maintain a sufficiently powerful, and, above all, sufficiently numerous, navy.

H. O. ARNOLD-FORSTER.

SCOTLAND'S VERSION OF HOME RULE.

THE political life of Scotland, always vigorous, has during recent years given signs of unusual activity. The fact will not be denied even by those who may regret that the fruits of the activity have been reaped entirely by one party in the State. It cannot yet have been forgotten that Scotland was the birth-land of the movement which restored the Liberal party to power three years ago. The Liberalism of Scotland is a fact so well understood that, at least in Scotland, people have ceased either to marvel at it or to trouble themselves with inquiring into the reasons that may account for it. It is only in England that the question, 'Why is Scotland Liberal?' is allowed to vex the souls of puzzled journalists. In Scotland it involves so much of a political truism that the question, to Scottish ears, sounds very like a conundrum. It produces much the same effect as the question, 'Why is a misogynist like an epithalamium?' It sets the mind a-working, not in search of reasons, but in search of a play on words.

It need not be doubted, at the same time, that Scotsmen are quite able to give a reason for the political faith that is in them, or rather—for the two things are not quite the same—for their being possessed by a particular political faith. To understand the matter aright some knowledge of the political and social history of the country is necessary. In one sense Scottish Liberalism dates only from the passing of the first Reform Act. But that Act did not make Scotland Liberal; it only gave the country the opportunity of showing what it really was, and what it had long been. No doubt the assertion of Liberalism which Reform made possible was all the more emphatic because that event inaugurated a strong reaction against the dominant Toryism by which it had been preceded; and there can be as little doubt that the Tory domination increased the desire for political freedom, and greatly strengthened the reaction which it provoked.

But the roots of Liberalism in Scotland had been fresh and vigorous for generations before the Reform epoch began. They must be looked for far down in the social and ecclesiastical history of the people. The effect of successive Reform Acts has been to include a lower and a

lower class of the community in the constituencies. Not Scotland, but the representation of Scotland, was made Liberal by the first Reform Act; it was made more Liberal by the second; and more Liberal still by the Ballot. It might be inferred from this that the strength of Scottish Liberalism lies in the lowest and most ignorant classes. The inference would spring from an insufficient and superficial philosophy. For the lowest classes are not the most ignorant. Scotland has had for generations, extending over three centuries, a system of popular education which has made its working classes, both in the towns and in the country, intelligent, thoughtful, self-reliant, and self-respecting. It has had, for the same time, a system of theology which has taught the people to respect the right of private judgment, and a system of democratic Church government which has given to every man who chose to exercise it a potential voice in the management of those ecclesiastical affairs which, even more than secular politics, were till lately the only sphere of the public life of the people. Over and above all this, it has had a national history which has constituted a heritage of freedom, sacredly cherished, and handed down from generation to generation.

Scotland, therefore, is Liberal because the education of the race—in all its aspects, literary, political, and ecclesiastical—has made Scotsmen of the middle and lower classes, which form, of course, the bulk of the population, more intelligent, more thoughtful, more freedom-loving, and more progressive than the same classes in England. To these considerations there must be added another, which has been hardly less potent. The Presbyterian training of Scotsmen supplied them with a set of principles drawn from their ecclesiastical experience which they found it easy to apply to political affairs. But that is not the whole truth. While the governed have been Presbyterian and Liberal, the governing class—the Lairds and the Masters—has been growing increasingly Episcopal and Tory. That fact, coupled with the oppression which the Scottish Tories took delight in exercising before the dawn of Reform, made it inevitable that that great crisis should be taken advantage of to emphasise the reaction which was inevitable in the nature of the case.

These circumstances make it the less likely that any future course of events, or any probable legislative changes—for example, the extension of the county franchise—will tend to strengthen Conservatism in Scotland, or to weaken the incorrupt Liberalism of the Scottish people.

Of late the discussion of Scottish politics has shown a tendency to gather around the subject of nationality. Scotsmen have awakened to the fact that their country is becoming more and more a province of England, and that this result is due not altogether to external influences, but also to forces operating within Scotland itself. Hence the question has come up, whether in administration and legislation it

is desirable to continue to treat Scotland as a separate and self-contained country. That question really depends on another—namely, whether the distinctive character of the Scottish people, and their distinctive institutions, are worth preserving.

A great deal has been said lately about Scottish nationality and Scottish patriotism; and even wise persons are puzzled to know what it means. As usual, when such questions are raised in connection with a dependent or semi-independent State, there has been not a little both of exaggeration and misconception. The misconception, at least, has not been confined to our side of the Border. Scotsmen as well as Englishmen have taken part in the discussion without, as it seems, clearly understanding the issues raised. The demand that Scottish nationality should be respected, and that Scotland should receive a fair share of separate treatment at the hands of the Legislature, has been treated as a paltry and merely provincial outcry. It has been supposed to spring from jealousy of England, and to have no higher motive than a desire on the part of Scotsmen to minister to their self-conceit. If that were the real state of the case, the claim would deserve all the ridicule that has been heaped on it, and would not deserve one tithe of the serious argument with which it has been met. That, however, is very far from being the real state of the case. Scotsmen do not ask for special consideration or separate treatment for Scotland on the ground that their country was once an independent kingdom, and that obliteration and absorption would hurt their vanity. Their claim is based on the conviction—at once patriotic and disinterested—that the maintenance of their nationality will not only be just to Scotland, but will also strengthen the Empire, of which Scotland forms an integral part.

The legislative Union of 1707, much more than the accidental union of the crowns in 1603, made it a very difficult thing for Scotland to preserve its nationality. A small and poor country was incorporated with a large and rich one, on terms distinctly advantageous to the latter, in spite of the treaty obligations under which England came to maintain such distinctively national institutions as the Church, the Law Courts, and the Law of Scotland. There are tendencies against which international treaties and legislative acts are impotent; and tendencies of that kind began almost at once to operate in Scotland, and have continued to operate powerfully ever since.

The peculiar circumstances of the case made this inevitable. The union was not contracted between two nations of different race, but between two nations of the same race, speaking the same language, professing the same Protestant faith, and having political institutions of the same kind. The Scots who were then the dominant race in Scotland were not Celtic Scots, but were English Scots, in some respects more English than the English themselves. For the com-

mon nursery of the two kingdoms we must look to the old Anglian kingdom of Northumbria, which extended from the Humber to the Forth. That kingdom was, in the eleventh century, cut in two by the boundary line of the silver Tweed and the dark Cheviots. The northern part formed the nucleus of the Anglo-Scottish kingdom of Scotland. The southern part formed the nucleus of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of England. After the Norman conquest of England, English, as a literary language, though to a less extent as a spoken tongue, was suppressed in the southern kingdom. It was not so suppressed in Scotland, but was maintained there in all its vigour and richness; and therefore, when the epoch of modern literature dawned, Scottish writers like Dunbar, Douglas, and Lindsay wrote in stronger and purer English than their contemporaries in the South could command. From this it is safe to conclude that the mass of the English-speaking population north of the Tweed were more purely English than their southern kindred. To this fact we no doubt owe many of the peculiarities of the Scottish character—its shrewdness, its intelligence, its love of independence.

It must also be plain from what has been said that the distinctive nationality of Scotland is not Celtic but Teutonic. There are many Englishmen to whom the mention of Scottish nationality suggests only tartans and kilt, snuff-taking, nasal psalm-singing, and a tendency to sharpen the flat labials and dentals in English speech. No greater mistake could be made. There is no doubt a strong Celtic element in Scotland, of which all Scotsmen are proud; but that element enters but to a small extent comparatively into the fibre of Scottish nationality. In blood and in speech the bulk of the Scottish nation is much more Anglian and Danish than it is either Gaelic or Cymric.

The strong features of this strictly Scottish character were preserved and intensified by the long estrangement between England and Scotland, by the jealousies, the rivalries, and the wars of four centuries. If Scotland, like Wales, had been conquered by the Angevins, she might sooner have shared in the riches of England, she would no doubt have obtained a larger share in the political representation; but she would also have lost all that is strongest and most 'kenspeckle' in the character of her people, and the current of her history would have been sooner merged in that of the sister kingdom. Some peculiarities might have survived; but it would have been in the same way as peculiarities survive in Yorkshire, in Lancashire, and in Dorsetshire, as provincialisms, and not as national characteristics.

The union of the crowns increased the intercourse between the two countries without extinguishing their mutual jealousy. In Scotland that failing was rather aggravated by the social desertion, the material loss, and the political neglect which the change entailed. Then

came the union of the Parliaments, which was seen to be necessary in order to redress the wrongs of the more partial union, and to keep the two countries at peace. It is impossible to deny that the incorporating Union has been a great blessing to Scotland. Since that event its material prosperity has increased enormously; and it has shared in the advances made by England in literature, art, science, and social refinement. But all the gain has not been on the one side: England too has gained, not only by the conversion of a discontented rival into a peaceful helpmate, but also by the moral strength which she has derived from the solid character, the intellectual vigour, the perseverance, and the frugality of the Scottish people.

While union with England has been in most respects a blessing to Scotland, it has undoubtedly tended to weaken the distinctive nationality of the smaller country. In physics, the attraction of bodies is proportioned directly to their matter, and only inversely as the squares of their distances. In the moral world the same law seems to hold good. Scotland, poor and comparatively small, has been unable to resist the attraction of England, which in comparison is both rich and great. In many particulars Scotland has been and is being Anglicised. Her literature has been merged in that of England. The strong and richly flavoured Scottish dialect is fast disappearing: in many districts it has wholly disappeared. In the next generation there will probably be few Scotchmen who will be able to read Burns without a glossary, or to understand and relish him even with that help. Young men of the upper class wholly, and of the middle class largely, are educated at the English public schools and universities. Scottish schools of the higher class are organised on English models, scholarship of the English type is gradually finding its way into the Scottish universities. The bulk of the landed gentry and a large proportion of the professional and mercantile classes have forsaken Presbyterianism and have gone over to Episcopacy. The only way, as it seems, in which this tendency can be checked is by Presbyterian churches adopting the outward symbolism of Episcopacy—organs, liturgies, and curates. English customs give the rule in all matters of social life. Everywhere things peculiarly Scottish, though they may be affected for the notice of Englishmen, are deemed commonplace if not vulgar.

It is foolish and futile to quarrel with these tendencies. They are inevitable, as they are far-reaching and thoroughgoing. Precisely the same process that is going on in regard to the relations of Scotsmen and Englishmen is going on in Scotland itself in the relations between the Gael and the Saxon. Just as the Scot is being Anglicised, the Gael is being, as he might call it, Saxonised. The one process is quite as natural, and quite as unavoidable, as the other. The Scottish Highlander is as impotent against the advancing tide of Saxon influence and energy as the Scot is

against the overwhelming influence of English manners, customs, and institutions.

It does not follow, however, that every trace and vestige of nationality must disappear. Something may be done to stay the sweep of Time's destroying fingers. That it is desirable to do so will be admitted by all thoughtful politicians, by all those who appreciate the true sources of national strength. Harmony does not imply or require sameness, or a dead level of uniformity. In music, harmony is a richer and grander thing than melody, because it consists in the agreement of diverse notes. It is much the same with national feeling. The aggregate sentiment is enriched and strengthened by diversity in the component elements.

The preservation of Scottish nationality, as I have already observed, is not a question for Scotland alone: it is a question deserving the attention of England and of the whole empire. The only point worthy of serious consideration is whether the feeling for the separate nationality can be encouraged without impairing or imperilling the feeling of loyalty to the imperial centre. That was the special point which the Earl of Rosebery discussed, with equal acuteness and force, in his inaugural address as Lord Rector of the University of Edinburgh, delivered in November. There was a significance, both in the selection of the subject and in the treatment of it, which some critics do not seem to have appreciated. Lord Rosebery, though only an Under Secretary of State in the Home Office, is virtually Minister for Scotland. It is not unfair or extravagant to assume, therefore, that anything that he says deliberately about the political position of Scotland is not of the nature of mere speculation, but must be taken in some sort, though not of course officially, as an expression of his idea regarding the principles on which Scotland ought to be governed.

The special point which Lord Rosebery set himself to elucidate was, 'How far the separate nationality may be asserted without danger to the common bond.' That is precisely the question to which the argument of this paper, following a wholly independent line, has naturally led up; and it is obviously a question which is worthy of dispassionate discussion. His main object was to show that it was both possible and desirable to reconcile 'the feeling for the nationality with loyalty to the centre.' From this it must be patent, on the very surface, that the claim which Lord Rosebery ventured to formulate does not amount to anything like a demand for Home Rule. With him 'loyalty to the centre' is the cardinal principle of the situation. He desires to foster 'the sentiment of race'; but that does not imply in his view any change in the form of government. He is not only content that the machinery of legislation should remain as it is; he is anxious that it should do so. He believes that

in the future, as in the past, the preservation of their nationality must rest with Scotsmen themselves.

Apart from individual effort and example, there seems to be but one way in which denationalising tendencies can be effectively counteracted—to wit, by the preservation of the national institutions that are still left to Scotland, by custom, and by legislative enactment. These national institutions are the law, the school, the university, and the Presbyterian Church, whether established or non-established. Such institutions are obviously the mainstays of the national sentiment. If they are weakened, patriotism will languish. If they are removed, patriotism will disappear. The institutions of a country are like the features in the human face: they are at once an expression of character and the marks by which individuality is recognised. It may be possible to preserve them without the safeguard of legislative enactment. Custom, and the resolution of the people, may prove strong enough to resist the tendency to decay. The Presbyterian Church, if separated from the State, might become a more vigorous institution than it is at present. That result, however, must depend on the people themselves. What the Scottish people have to face is the fact that their nationality is being assailed on many sides, and in a variety of ways. The universities are being Anglicised, the higher schools are being Anglicised, the Church is being Anglicised. Though it cannot be said that the legal institutions of Scotland have been directly tampered with, they have been indirectly attacked by being discredited and superseded in certain cases.

No one, of course, would seriously think of asking the Legislature to intervene in order to check Anglicising tendencies in Scottish methods of education or in Scottish forms of worship. The growth of Anglicanism in these, and in many other cases, is simply a natural movement, resulting from the relative positions of Scotland and England. Scotsmen may deplore the existence of these tendencies. They may strive against them; and by striving they may succeed in restraining them to some extent. But they can no more get rid of them than they can eliminate the laws of attraction and gravitation from the physical universe. The one fact from which they may take comfort is that those who are at present responsible for Scottish legislation and for the administration of Scottish affairs are alive to the importance of preserving and fostering Scottish nationality, and, with that end, of framing legislation for Scotland on Scottish lines.

The arrangement under which Scottish business was entrusted little more than a year ago to an Under-Secretary in the Home Office was a new departure in administrative organisation. Previously the head of the political system of Scotland was the Lord Advocate—the head of the Scottish bar, and the chief law adviser of the Crown in Scotland. The arrangement was much the same as if the Attorney-General for England had been at the same time Home Secretary, or

as if the Attorney-General for Ireland had discharged the duties both of the Lord Lieutenant and of his Chief Secretary. It is not necessary to go into minute details in order to show the inconvenience and the inadequacy of that arrangement. Nevertheless it worked tolerably well, as long as Scottish business was limited and manageable in amount, and as long as the Lord Advocates were able to keep it in their own hands, and to maintain an independent position.

Both of these conditions have now departed, or have been departed from. During the last twenty years Scottish business has increased immensely. The population of the country has increased. The wealth of the country has increased. Its industries have grown and multiplied. The number of separate interests demanding consideration has therefore been greatly augmented. The growth of Scotland in these respects has not been normal merely. It has been advancing by leaps and bounds, and at a greater pace than other portions of the Empire. The Income Tax returns show that the annual increase under Schedule D in Scotland is much greater than in England and Wales, excluding London. They show further, from the abatements claimed on account of life insurance, that fully twice as many persons, in proportion to population, insure their lives in Scotland as do so in England. During the last fifteen years the amount of capital invested in railways in Scotland has been nearly doubled. The number of ordinary passengers by rail has been almost exactly doubled; while the gross traffic receipts have increased by more than one half.

There need be no wonder, then, that Scottish business has outgrown the administrative machinery which was sufficient for its wants twenty years ago. In former times it was not difficult for the first law-officer of the Crown to discharge both the legal and the civil duties of the office he held. Of late years it has been no longer possible for the Lord Advocate satisfactorily to discharge the double function, and at the same time to give attention to his private practice. It was felt therefore that the time had come when the civil might be separated from the legal duties of the Scottish administrator, with advantage to Scotland and at the same time with advantage to the Lord Advocate.

Other considerations warranted the change. There had existed for a long time all over Scotland a growing distrust of the system which committed so much of the civil and political power of the country, including the largest share of the patronage of the crown, to the hands of purely legal officials, who represented the influence of the Parliament House in Edinburgh. It was felt, moreover, that a first-rate lawyer was not necessarily a first-rate politician, or a first-rate administrator in civil affairs. The combination has sometimes been seen; but there was constant danger, especially when the office fell into the hands of men who were weak in politics, that the Lord

Advocate might become a mere underling of the Home Secretary, and that his office might lose both its influence and its dignity, to the detriment not only of the office but also of the interests of Scottish business.

Thus was brought about the rearrangement of offices and functions to which I have referred, under which the Lord Advocate is confined to his legal duties, while the political duties of his office are transferred to an additional Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department. The arrangement has worked extremely well, and has resulted in a distinct gain to Scotland. The credit of its success is due in great measure to the vigour and heartiness with which Lord Rosebery, as Scotch Under-Secretary, has thrown himself into the new plan, and partly also to the cordiality with which Lord Advocate Balfour has co-operated with him in all matters that required their joint attention. One result of the change was seen last session in the passing of a number of important and valuable measures affecting Scotland, in spite of the congested state into which all public business in Parliament was brought by the excessive demands of Ireland, and by the systematic obstruction. Not one of the English measures announced in the Queen's Speech became law; but every Scottish Bill introduced by the Government was passed, with one exception—that of the Lunacy Districts Bill.

These measures included at least two which were of first-rate importance—the Educational Endowments Act and the Fishery Board Act. But the number also included others, such as the Entail Act and the Citation Amendment Act, which are of undoubted value. The two former Acts affect interests so wide and so important that they would by themselves have been deemed good work in a normal session. Nor were these unopposed measures. One of them—the Endowments Act—was passed in the face of formidable and most persistent opposition, which had been successful in retarding it during the two preceding sessions. There is only one possible explanation of Scotland's success in securing so much attention while England secured so little. It was due entirely to the new organisation of Scottish business—to the lightening of the labours of the Lord Advocate, to the transference of civil business to the Home Office, and to the pertinacity of the Scottish Under-Secretary, who was in a position to press the claims of Scotland on the Government, and to utilise the leisure of the House of Lords.

It is not, however, in legislation alone that Scotland has benefited by the new arrangement. The administration of Scottish affairs has also been vastly improved. Matters that had been hanging up for years in uncertainty, under the discouraging influence of hope deferred, have been vigorously taken in hand, and have either been completed or advanced toward completion. Difficulties in the way of constructing harbours of refuge at Wick and elsewhere have

been removed. There is reason to believe that the long delay which has retarded the completion of the great Museum of Science and Art at Edinburgh has at last come to an end. Difficulties that prevented the public from having the full and free use of public places have been got over. Deputations that would in other circumstances have had to go to London, at great expense and inconvenience, have been able to meet a representative of the Home Office in Edinburgh, and to make their representations there. By this means important commercial questions have been advanced, and the needs of the Scottish Universities have been brought forcibly and effectively under the notice of the Government.

These are undoubtedly important gains; but great as they are, they do not by any means satisfy the reasonable aspirations of Scotsmen. What Scotsmen demand, and think themselves entitled to expect, is not merely that the public business of the country shall be efficiently performed, but also that the importance of their nationality shall be adequately respected. It seems to them both unreasonable and unfair that while Ireland has a Lord Lieutenant of viceregal rank, and a Chief Secretary who is usually a member of the Cabinet, Scotland should be expected to accept it as an unspeakable boon that at last, and after long waiting, there has been assigned to her an Under-Secretary of State. Scotland earns, in this respect, the usual reward of the peaceable and the well-disposed child as compared with the riotous and troublesome prodigal. If she had been mutinous and disloyal she would have had her Viceroy and her Cabinet Minister long ago. Because she is law-abiding and industrious—because she remembers that it is more blessed to give than to receive—she is treated with coldness, with indifference, even with neglect.

In every view of the matter, this is bad policy. The time has come for adopting a more generous treatment; and Scotland will be satisfied with nothing less than with giving to the member of the Government who is intrusted with the oversight of her affairs the rank of a Cabinet Minister. At present, it is only by an accident that Scotland has a representative in the Cabinet. It is only by another accident that Scotland has been able to achieve some good results by means of a Minister who has not Cabinet rank. However influential an under-secretary may be, he has no direct power, he cannot initiate legislation, and he cannot speak with authority. It is not satisfactory, it is in one sense humiliating, that the representative of Scotland in the Ministry has to confess to an influential deputation that he has no authority either to promise anything or to refuse anything, and that the utmost he can do is to represent their demands to his superior, the Home Secretary for England. What Scotsmen have learned from their recent gains is that there is a way by which they could obtain the full consideration to which, both on material and on historical grounds, they are well

entitled; and that is, by the appointment of a Minister for Scotland with a seat in the Cabinet.

There is another Scottish claim, the consideration of which cannot be much longer delayed—the claim for increased representation in the House of Commons. On that point the strength of Scotland's position cannot be gainsaid; and as the question of the redistribution of seats will necessarily come up by-and-by, along with that of the extension of the county franchise, the time is opportune for stating the grounds of the claim.

Two tests of the adequate representation in Parliament of the constituent members of the United Kingdom are generally recognised. The one is proportionate population; the other is proportionate taxation. There are other tests that might quite fairly be applied. There is, for example, on the one hand, the degree in which each of the three kingdoms contributes to the strength and prosperity of the empire as a whole. There is, on the other hand, the extent to which each draws on the imperial resources; and in this respect Scotland undoubtedly fares worse than either England or Ireland. There is the measure of trouble and anxiety which each costs the central Government. There is the amount of help which each gives, through its present representatives, in advancing useful legislation. Once more, there is the educational test—the test of comparative culture and enlightenment—the application of which would undoubtedly place Scotland in a much higher position than she at present holds with her 60 members, against 103 from Ireland. These are tests, however, which cannot be reduced to a numerical stand, and which therefore it is difficult to apply in practice. We may be content, therefore, to leave them out of account at present, and to abide by the ascertainable and precise statistical tests afforded by a comparison of population and taxation.

On this subject Mr. Gladstone said in Midlothian in 1879: 'It is my opinion that Scotland is not represented in the Imperial Parliament up to the full measure which justice demands. If Scotland were represented according to population, it would, instead of sixty members, possess seventy members. If Scotland were represented according to the share of revenue which it contributes, it would, instead of sixty members, possess seventy-eight members.'

As regards the population test, the substantial accuracy of Mr. Gladstone's estimate is capable of complete demonstration. There is an important respect, however, in which that test, as usually applied, is not quite satisfactory. It takes numbers into account, but it takes no account of intelligence, of material well-being—that is, of 'stake in the country'; or of separate interests reckoned either by their variety or by their value. I say nothing here of intelligence, because it is, as has already been indicated, an intangible quality. Neither do I say anything at present of material well-being, or 'stake in the country,' because that will be considered under the head of

taxation. As regards interests, however, it must be said that a population distributed over 30,000 square miles necessarily gives scope for much greater variety than the same population concentrated within an area of 125 square miles. The former area is that of Scotland, the latter is that of London; and the populations are nearly the same. If population alone were regarded, London would be entitled to as many members as Scotland: instead of having only twenty-two members, it ought to have sixty at least. Yet no one doubts that London is quite sufficiently represented. Though its population is nearly the same as that of Scotland, it does not embody anything like the same variety of interests. For example, the local interests which in Scotland are spread over fifty-six constituencies are in London centred in eleven. Then London has no agricultural interests; but in Scotland they are manifold. The fishing interests in Scotland are local as well as general; in London they are wholly absent. Not only are there fewer interests in London, but each of them embraces five or ten men, and in some cases more, for every one man affected by the same interests in Scotland. London, therefore, may be adequately represented by twenty-two men, while Scotland might be but barely represented by five times that number.

That forms a reason, not only for declining the numerical comparison between Scotland and London, but also for leaving London out of account when comparing Scotland and England. Even, however, if the latter consideration be disregarded—that is to say, if Scotland's claim as regards representation be compared on the score of population with England and Wales, including London, Scotland will be entitled to 69 members instead of 60. But there are good reasons for treating the metropolis as a place by itself; and if that be done, if Scotland be compared with England and Wales without London, then Scotland will be entitled, not to 69 members, but to 78.¹

In like manner, the application of the taxation test—the test of contributions to the revenue—justifies the claim of Scotland to a much larger share in the representation than she at present possesses. When Mr. Duncan McLaren was member for Edinburgh, he moved

¹ The population of Scotland is 14·1 per cent. of that of all England and Wales; England and Wales have in round numbers 490 members; therefore Scotland should have 69·09.

The population of Scotland is 16·8 per cent. of that of England and Wales without London: England and Wales without London have 468 members; therefore Scotland should have 78·6.

The mean between these extremes would give Scotland 73·8 members. The estimate that Scotland, according to population, is entitled to 70 members is therefore quite within the mark.

According to Mr. Shaw-Lefevre's estimate, published in *The Times* of December 11, Scotland is entitled, under the population test, to 70 members, Ireland to 95, and England and Wales to 478, exclusive in each case of University members.

for and obtained a return showing the proportionate contributions to the revenue from all sources—from excise, customs, and general taxation—made by England, Scotland, and Ireland respectively. According to their return it appears that England and Wales contribute 79 per cent. of the total taxation, that Scotland contributes 11 per cent., and Ireland 10 per cent. This would entitle England and Wales to 515 representations, Scotland to 72, and Ireland to 65. But here again, as in the case of population, we must have regard to the exceptional position of London, in which, not to mention other considerations, the rating of houses is adventitiously high and the rating of lands is exceptionally limited. If this be taken into account, it will be found on a fair estimate that England is entitled to 507 seats in the House of Commons, Scotland to 78, and Ireland to 67. It was probably by giving effect to this consideration that Mr. Gladstone fixed the proportionate number of seats to which Scotland was entitled at 78—the same number as has just been specified.

This conjecture is warranted by other considerations. For example, if we compare the annual value of house property in Scotland with that in England as a whole, the result gives to Scotland only 11·5 per cent.; but if we compare Scotland with England, excluding London, the result gives to Scotland 16·1 per cent. If we compare the returns for Income Tax (for the year 1880–81) with the whole of England, we find that Scotland contributes only 11·5 per cent.; but if we exclude London, Scotland's proportion is again 16·1 per cent., which would entitle her to 74·4 members in the House of Commons.

Perhaps the fairest way to arrive at a definite conclusion is to combine the results produced by the application of these various tests and to strike an average. By this method Scotland is fairly entitled to 73·5 members, so that Mr. Shaw-Lefevre's estimate of 72 members—70 for boroughs and counties, and 2 for the universities—is the lowest number with which the people of Scotland ought to be satisfied. This claim becomes the stronger and the more irresistible when it is remembered that it rests, not merely on statistical grounds, but also and quite as much on the position of Scotland as an integral factor in the composition of the United Kingdom, possessing a history of its own, and a nationality that is worthy of being respected and preserved, and that cannot be ignored without loss to the imperial copartnership.

W. SCOTT DALGLEISH.

RUSSIAN PRISONS.

It is pretty generally recognised in Europe, that altogether our penal institutions are very far from being what they ought to be, and no better indeed than so many contradictions in action of the modern theory of the treatment of criminals. The principle of the *lex talionis*—of the right of the community to avenge itself on the criminal—is no longer admissible. We have come to an understanding that society at large is responsible for the vices that grow in it, even as it has its share in the glory of its heroes; and we generally admit, at least in theory, that when we deprive a criminal of his liberty, it is to purify and improve him. But we know how hideously at variance with the ideal the reality is. The murderer is simply handed over to the hangman; and the man who is shut up in a prison is so far from being bettered by the change, that he comes out more resolutely the foe of society than he was when he went in. Subjection, on disgraceful terms, to a humiliating work gives him an antipathy to all kinds of labour. After suffering every sort of humiliation at the instance of those whose lives are lived in immunity from the peculiar conditions which bring man to crime—or to such sorts of it as are punishable by the operations of the law—he learns to hate the section of society to which his humiliation belongs, and proves his hatred by new offences against it. And if the penal institutions of Western Europe have failed thus completely to realise the ambition on which they justify their existence, what shall we say of the penal institutions of Russia? The incredible duration of preliminary detention; the horrible circumstances of prison life; the congregation of hundreds of prisoners into dirty and small chambers; the flagrant immorality of a corps of gaolers who are practically omnipotent, whose whole function is to terrorise and oppress, and who rob their charges of the few coppers doled out to them by the State; the want of labour and the total absence of all that contributes to the moral welfare of man; the cynical contempt of human dignity, and the physical degradation of prisoners—these are the elements of prison life in Russia. Not that the principles of Russian penal institutions were worse than those applied to the same institutions in Western Europe. I am rather inclined to hold the contrary. Surely, it is

less degrading for the convict to be employed in useful work in Siberia, than to spend his life in picking oakum, or in climbing the steps of a wheel; and—to compare two evils—it is more humane to employ the assassin as a labourer in a gold mine and, after a few years, make a free settler of him, than peaceably to turn him over to a hangman. In Russia, however, principles are always ruined in application. And if we consider the Russian prisons and penal settlements, not as they ought to be according to the law, but as they are in reality, we can do no less than recognise, with all the best Russian explorers of our prisons, that they are an outrage on humanity.

In England and in the United States several attempts have recently been made to represent the Russian prisons under the most smiling aspect. The best known of them are those made by the Reverend Mr. Lansdell in England, and by Mr. Kennan in the United States. Mr. Kennan came to the conclusion that his sojourn as an officer of the Overland Telegraph Company on the shores of the Sea of Okhotsk—a few thousand miles, more or less, from the penal quarters of Siberia—entitles him to speak authoritatively about Siberian prisons and prisoners. Is it surprising that his experience should be flatly contradicted by those Russians who have seriously studied the life of prisoners in Siberia? Of Mr. Lansdell there is something more to say. He has seen Siberian gaols. Outstripping the post in his career, he has crossed a country which has no railways, at a speed of 6,300 miles in 75 days; and in the space of fourteen hours, indeed, he breakfasted, he dined, he travelled over 40 miles, and he visited the three chief gaols of Siberia—at Tobolsk, at Alexandrovskiy Zavod, and at Kara. Amply furnished with official recommendations, he saw, during this short time, as much as the officials chose to show; and for a country like Siberia that is surely a great deal. Had he anything of the critical faculty which is the first virtue of a traveller, it would have enabled him to appreciate the relative value of the information he obtained in the course of his official scamper through the Siberian prisons; and his book—especially if he had taken note of existing Russian literature on the subject—might have been a useful one. Unhappily, he neither saw nor read, and his book—in so far, at least, as it is concerned with gaols and convicts—can only convey false ideas. This being the case, I think the present paper may prove of interest. Such information as it contains is, at least, authentic, inasmuch as it is derived, not only from books, but from the personal experience of prison life of myself and certain of my friends.

One of the greatest results of the Liberal movement of 1857–1862 was the judicial reform. The old law-courts, in which the procedure was all in writing, were done away with, and trial by jury, which had disappeared under the despotism of the Tsars of Moscow, was re-introduced. The new law of judicial procedure, promulgated in 1864,

was considered as decidedly the most liberal and humane in Europe. About the same time punishment by the *knot* and the branding-iron was abolished. It was high time. Public opinion was revolted by the existence of these shameful implements, and it was so powerful at that time that governors of provinces refused to confirm the sentences that enjoined their use; others—as I have known in Siberia—would give the executioner to understand that, unless he merely played at doing his abominable office (a well-known and highly profitable art), ‘his own skin should be torn to pieces.’ But, like all other reforms of the last reign, the benefits of the new judicial reform were paralysed by subsequent modifications. The reform was not made universal, and in thirty-nine provinces out of seventy-two, the old courts are still maintained. They are in operation over the whole of Siberia, for instance; and each of them is a perfect sink of corruption. Again, the old penal code, with a scale of punishments in flagrant disagreement with the present state of our prisons, was maintained; while subsequent regulations have completely altered the sense of the Judiciary Law of 1864. I shall only set down what is continually repeated in the Russian press, if I write that the examining magistrates (*juges d’instruction*) have never enjoyed the independence bestowed on them by the new law; that the judges have been made more and more dependent upon the Minister of Justice, whose nominees they are, and who has the right of transferring them from one province to another; that the institution of sworn advocates, uncontrolled by criticism, has degenerated absolutely; and that the peasant whose case is not likely to become a *cause célèbre* does not receive the benefit of counsel, and is completely in the hands of a creature like the procureur-impérial in Zola’s novel. Independent jurors are, of course, impossible in a country where the peasant-juror knows that he may be beaten by anything in uniform at the very doors of the court. As for the verdicts of the juries, they are in poor repute indeed; they are not respected at all if they are in contradiction with the judgment of the governor of the province, and the acquitted may be seized as they leave the dock and imprisoned anew on the simple order of the Administrative. Such, for instance, was the case of the peasant Burounoff. He came to St. Petersburg on behalf of his fellow-villagers to bring a complaint to the Tsar against the authorities, and he was tried as a ‘rebel.’ He was acquitted by the court; but he was rearrested on the very flight of steps outside, and sent in exile to the peninsula of Kola. Such, too, were the cases of Vera Zassoulitch, of the *raskolnik* (nonconformist) Tetenoff, and many more. The Third Section and the governors of provinces look on the new courts as mere nuisances, and act accordingly. Finally, a great many cases are disposed of by the Executive *à huis clos*—away from judges and juries alike. The preliminary inquiry in all

cases in which a 'political meaning' is discovered is simply made by gendarmerie officers, sometimes in the presence of a procureur, who accompanies them in their raids—an official in civil dress attached to the corps of gendarmerie, who is a black sheep to his fellows, and whose function is to assist, or appear to assist, at the examination of those arrested by the Third Section. Sentence and punishment (which may be exile for life within the Arctic circle in Siberia) are the wish of the Third Section, or of the Executive. In this category are included, not only the cases of political offenders belonging to secret societies, but also those of religious dissenters; almost all cases of disobedience to authority, both individual and collective; the strikes; the 'offences against His Majesty the Emperor'—under which 2,500 people were recently arrested in the course of six months; in short, all those cases which might compromise the authorities, or tend—to use the official language—'to the production of excitement in the public mind.' As to political trials, only the early societies were tried under the law of 1864. Afterwards, the government having perceived that the judges are rather well disposed than otherwise towards political offenders, they were tried before packed courts; that is, by judges nominated especially for the purpose. To this rule the case of Vera Zassoulitch was a memorable exception. She was tried by a jury, and acquitted. But—to quote Professor Gradovsky's words in a journal suppressed since—'It is an open secret in St. Petersburg that the case would never have been brought before a jury but for certain "quarrels" between the Prefect of Police on the one side, and the Third Section and the Ministers of Justice and the Interior on the other—but for certain of those *jalousies de métier*, without which, in our disordered state of existence, it would often be impossible for us to so much as breathe.'

It need hardly be noted that true reports of political trials in the press were never permitted. Formerly the journals were bound to reproduce the 'cooked' report published by the *Official Messenger*; but now the Government has perceived that even such reports produce a profound impression on the public mind, which is always favourable to the accused; and now its work is done in complete darkness. By the law of September 1881 the governor-general and the governors of provinces are enabled to request 'that all those cases be heard *in camera* which might produce a disturbance of minds (*sic*) or disturb the public peace.' For preventing the divulgation of the speeches of the accused, or of such facts as might compromise the Government, nobody is admitted to the court, not even members of the Ministry of Justice—'only the wife or the husband of the accused (always in custody also), or the father, mother, or one of the children; but no more than one relative for each person accused.' At the last trial of Terrorists, when ten people were condemned to death, the mother of Sukhanoff was the one person who enjoyed this privilege.

Many cases are despatched in such a way that nobody knows when the trials take place. Thus, for instance, we remained in ignorance of the fate of an officer of the army, son of the governor of the gaol of the St. Petersburg fortress, who had been condemned to hard labour for connection with revolutionists, until we learned it incidentally from an act of accusation read at a trial a long while posterior to his own. The public learns from the *Official Messenger* that the Tsar has commuted to hard labour for life a sentence of death pronounced on revolutionists; but nothing transpires either of the trial, or of the crimes imputed to the condemned. Nay, even the last consolation of those condemned to death, the consolation of dying publicly, was taken away. Hanging will now be done secretly within the walls of the fortress, in the presence of none from the world without. The reason is, that when Ryssakoff was brought out to the gallows he showed the crowd his mutilated hands, and shouted, louder than the drums, that he had been tortured after trial. His words were heard by a group of 'Liberals,' who, repudiating any sympathy with the Terrorists, yet held it their duty to publish the facts of the case in a clandestine proclamation, and to call attention to this flagrant offence against the laws of humanity. Now nothing will be known of what happens in the casemates of the fortress of Paul and Peter after the trial and before the execution. At least, the Government think so, after having sent to hard labour the son of a gaoler and a dozen soldiers accused of letter-carrying between prisoners and their friends in the town. But we know—and I have not the slightest hesitation in asserting the fact—that at least two revolutionists, Adrian Mikhailoff and Ryssakoff, *were submitted to torture by electricity.*

In 1861, our governors of provinces were ordered to institute a general inquiry into the state of the prisons. The Government—that of the early years of Alexander II.—was Liberal at that time, and on the whole the inquiry was fairly made. Its results determined what was generally known: namely, that the prisons in Russia and Siberia were in the worst state imaginable. The number of prisoners in each was commonly twice and thrice in excess of the maximum allowed by law. The buildings were so old and dilapidated, and in such a shocking state of filth, as to be for the most part not only uninhabitable, but beyond the scope of any theory of reform that stopped short of reconstruction.

Within affairs were even worse than without. The system was found corrupt to the core, and the officials were even yet more in need of improvement than the gaols. In the Transbaikal province, where, at that time, almost all hard-labour convicts were kept, the committee of inquiry reported (I was secretary to it, and entrusted with the drawing up of its report) that the prison buildings were mostly in ruins, and that the whole of the penal system had followed suit. Throughout the Empire it was recognised that theory and

practice stood equally in need of light and air; that everything must be changed, alike in matter and in spirit; and that we must not only rebuild our prisons, but completely reform our prison system, and reconstitute the prison staff from the first man to the last. The Government, however, elected to do nothing. It built a few new prisons which proved insufficient to accommodate the new prisoners (the population having since increased by more than 10,000,000); convicts were farmed out to proprietors of private gold mines; a new penal colony was settled on Sakhalin, to colonise an island where nobody was willing to settle freely; and that was all. The old order remained unchanged, the old mischief unrepaired. Year after year the prisons fall further into decay, and year after year the prison staff grows more dishonest and more shameless. Year after year the Ministry of Justice applies for money to spend in repairs, and year after year the Government is content to put it off with the half, or less than the half, of what it asks; and when—as in 1879 to 1881—it calls for over three million roubles, can spare it no more than a paltry twelve hundred thousand. The consequence is that the gaols are becoming permanent centres of infection, and that, according to the report of a recent committee, at least two-thirds of them are urgently in need of being rebuilt from top to bottom. Rightly to accommodate her prisoners, Russia would have to build half as many prisons again as she has. Indeed, in 1879, there were 70,488 cases for trial, and the aggregate maximum capacity of the Russian prisons is only for 54,253 souls. In single gaols, built for the detention of 200 to 250 persons, the number of prisoners is commonly 700 and 800 at a time. In the prisons on the route to Siberia, when convict parties are stopped by floods, the overcrowding is still more monstrous.¹

¹ The Russian prison system is thus constituted: First of all, we have 624 prisons or lock-ups, for cases awaiting trial, for a maximum of 54,253 inmates, together with four houses of detention for 1,134 inmates. The political prisons at the Third Section and in the fortresses are not included in this category. Of convict depôts—for prisoners waiting transfer to their final stations—there are 10, with accommodation for 7,150; with two for political convicts (at Mtsensk and Vyshniy-Volochok), with accommodation for 140. Then come the *arrestantskiya rotty*, or 'convict companies,' which are military organisations for the performance of compulsory labour, and which are worse than the hard-labour prisons in Siberia, though they are nominally a lighter punishment. Of these there are 33, with accommodation for 7,136 (9,609 in 1879). In this category must be included also the 13 'houses of correction': two large ones with accommodation for 1,120 (962 in 1879), and 11 smaller ones for 435. The hard-labour cases are provided for in 13 'central prisons.' Of these, there are seven in Russia, with accommodation for 2,745; three in Western Siberia, with accommodation for 1,150; two in Eastern Siberia, with accommodation for 1,650; and one on Sakhalin Island, with accommodation for 600 (1,103 in 1879). Other hard-labour convicts—10,424 in number—are distributed among the Government mines, gold-washings, and factories in Siberia; namely, at the Kara gold-washings, where there are 2,000; at the Troitsk, Ust-Kut, and Irkutsk salt-works, at the Nikolayevsk and Petrovsk iron-works, and at a prison at the former silver-works of Akatui. Finally, hard-labour convicts are farmed out to private owners of gold-

The great majority of our prisoners (about 100,000) are persons awaiting trial. They may be recognised for innocent; and in Russia, where arrests are made in the most haphazard way, three times out of ten their innocence is patent to everybody. We learn, in fact, from the annual report of the Ministry of Justice for 1876, that of 99,964 arrests made during that year, only 37,159—that is, 37 per cent.—could be brought before a court, and that among these were 12,612 acquittals. More than 75,000 persons were thus subjected to arrest and imprisonment without having any serious charge against them; and of the 25,000 or so who were convicted and converted into ‘criminals,’ a very large proportion (about 15 per cent.) are men and women who have not complied with passport regulations, or with some other vexatary measure of our Administration. It must be noted that all these prisoners, three quarters of whom are recognised innocent, spend months, and very often years, in the provincial lockups, those famous *ostrogs* which the traveller sees at the entrance of every Russian town. They lie there idle and hopeless, at the mercy of a set of omnipotent gaolers, packed like herrings in a cask, in rooms of inconceivable foulness, in an atmosphere that sickens, even to insensibility, any one entering directly from the open air, and which is charged with the emanations of the horrible *parasha*—a basket kept in the room to serve the necessities of a hundred human beings.

In this connection I cannot do better than quote a few passages from the prison experiences of my friend Madame C——, *née* Koutou-zoff, who has committed them to paper and inserted in a Russian review, the *Obscheye Dyelo*, published at Geneva. She was found guilty of opening a school for peasants’ children, independently of the Ministry of Public Instruction. As her crime was not penal, and as, moreover, she was married to a foreigner, General Gourko merely ordered her to be sent over the frontier. This is how she describes her journey from St. Petersburg to Prussia. I shall print extracts from her narrative without comment, merely premising that its accuracy, even to the minutest details, is absolutely unimpeachable:—

I was sent to Vilno with fifty prisoners—men and women. From the railway station we were taken to the town prison and kept there for two hours, late at night, in an open yard, under a drenching rain. At last we were pushed into a dark corridor and counted. Two soldiers laid hold on me and insulted me shamefully. I was not the only one thus outraged, for in the darkness I heard the cries of many desperate women besides. After many oaths and much foul language, the fire was lighted, and I found myself in a spacious room in which it was impossible to take a step in any direction without treading on the women who were sleeping on the floor. Two women who occupied a bed took pity on me, and invited me to

washings in Siberia. The severity of the punishment can thus be varied *ad infinitum*, according to the wish of the authorities and to that degree of revenge which is deemed appropriate.

share it with them. . . . When I awoke next morning, I was still suffering from the scenes of yesterday; but the female prisoners—assassins and thieves—were so kind to me that by-and-by I grew calm. Next night we were 'turned out' from the prison and paraded in the yard for the start, under a heavy rain. I do not know how I happened to escape the fists of the gaolers, as the prisoners did not understand the evolutions and performed them under a storm of blows and curses; those who protested—saying that they ought not to be beaten—were put in irons and sent to the train, in the teeth of the law which says that in the cellular waggons no prisoner shall be chained.

Arrived at Kovno, we spent the whole day in going from one police station to another. In the evening we were taken to the prison for women, where the lady-superintendent was railing against the head gaoler and swearing that she would give him bloody teeth. The prisoners told me that she often kept her promises of this sort. . . . Here I spent a week among murderesses, thieves, and women arrested by mistake. Misfortune unites the unfortunate, and everybody tried to make life more tolerable for the rest; all were very kind to me and did their best to console me. On the previous day I had eaten nothing, for the day the prisoners are brought to the prison they receive no food; so I fainted from hunger, and the prisoners gave me of their bread and were as kind as they could be; the female inspector, however, was on duty: she was shouting out such shameless oaths as few drunken men would use. . . . After a week's stay in Kovno, I was sent on foot to the next town. After three days' march we came to Mariampol; my feet were wounded, and my stockings full of blood. The soldiers advised me to ask for a car, but I preferred physical suffering to the continuous cursing and foul language of the chiefs. All the same, they took me before their commander, and he remarked that I had walked three days and so could walk a fourth. We came next day to Wolkowsk, from whence we were to be sent on to Prussia. I and five others were put provisionally in the dépôt. The women's department was in ruins, so we were taken to the men's. . . . I did not know what to do, as there was no place to sit down, except on the dreadfully filthy floor: there was even no straw, and the stench on the floor set me vomiting instantly. . . . The water-closet was a large pond; it had to be crossed on a broken ladder which gave way under one of us and plunged him in the filth below. I could now understand the smell: the pond goes under the building, the floor of which is impregnated with sewage.

Here I spent two days and two nights, passing the whole time at the window. . . . In the night the doors were opened, and, with dreadful cries, drunken prostitutes were thrown into our room. They also brought us a maniac; he was quite naked. The miserable prisoners were happy on such occurrences; they tormented the maniac and reduced him to despair, until at last he fell on the floor in a fit and lay there foaming at the mouth. On the third day, a soldier of the dépôt, a Jew, took me into his room, a tiny cell, where I stayed with his wife. . . . The prisoners told me that many of them were detained 'by mistake' for seven and eight months awaiting their papers before being sent across the frontier. It is easy to imagine their condition after a seven months' stay in this sewer without a change of linen. They advised me to give the gaoler money, as he would then send me on to Prussia immediately. But I had been six weeks on the way already, and my letters had not reached my people. . . . At last, the soldier allowed me to go to the post-office with his wife, and I sent a registered letter to St. Petersburg. [Madame C—— has influential kinsfolk in the capital, and in a few days the governor-general telegraphed for her to be sent on instantly to Prussia.] My papers (she says) were discovered immediately, and I was sent to Eydtkunen and set at liberty.

It must be owned that the picture is horrible. But it is not a whit overcharged. To such of us Russians as have had to do with

prisoners, every word rings true and every scene looks normal. Oaths, filth, brutality, bribery, blows, hunger—these are the essentials of every *ostrog* and of every *depôt* from Kovno to Kamchatka, and from Arkhangel to Erzerum. Did my space permit, I might prove it with a hundred stories more.

Such are the prisons of Western Russia. They are no better in the East and in the South. A person who was confined at Perm (it is a pity that Mr. Lansdell, when arrested in August last under suspicion of Nihilism, in the neighbourhood of Perm, did not make acquaintance with this prison!) wrote to the *Poraiok*:—‘The gaoler is one Gavriloff; . . . beating “in the jaws” (*v mordu*), flogging, confinement in frozen black-holes, and starvation—such are the characteristics of the gaol. . . . For every complaint the prisoners are sent “to the bath” (that is, are flogged), or have a taste of the black-hole. . . . The mortality is dreadful.’ At Vladimir, there were so many attempts at escape that it was made the subject of a special inquiry. ‘The prisoners declared that on the allowance they received it was utterly impossible to keep body and soul together. Many complaints were addressed to headquarters, but they all remained unanswered. At last the prisoners complained to the Moscow Superior Court; but the gaoler got to hear of the matter, instituted a search, and took possession of the document.’ It is easy to imagine that the mortality must be immense in such prisons; but, surely, the reality supersedes all that might be imagined. Thus, the priest of the Kharkoff prison said in 1878 from the pulpit, and the *Eparchial Gazette* of 1869 reproduced the fact, that in the course of four months, of the 500 inmates of the prison two hundred died from *scurvy*. No Arctic expedition, recent or remote, was so mortal as the detention in a Russian prison. At Kieff, the gaol was a sink of typhus fever. In one month the deaths were counted by hundreds, and fresh batches were brought in to fill the room of those removed by death. This was in all the newspapers. Only a year afterwards (June 12, 1882) a circular from the Chief Board of Prisons explained the epidemics as follows:—‘1. The prison was dreadfully overcrowded, although it was very easy to transfer many of the prisoners to other prisons. 2. The rooms were very damp; the walls were covered with mildew, and the floor was rotten in many places; 3. The cesspools were in such a state that the ground about them was impregnated with sewage;’ and so on, and so on. The Board added that owing to the same foulness other prisons were also exposed to experience the same epidemics.

The chief prison in St. Petersburg, the so-called ‘Litovskiy-Zamok,’ is cleaner; but this old-fashioned, damp, and dark building should simply be levelled to the ground. The common prisoners have a certain amount of work to do. But the political ones are kept in their cells in absolute idleness; and some friends of mine—the heroes

of the trial of 193 who had two years and more of this prison—describe it as one of the worst they know. The cells are very small, very dark, and very damp; and the gaoler Makaroff was a wild beast pure and simple. The consequences of solitary confinement in this prison I have described in a former paper. It is worthy of notice that the common allowance for food is seven kopeks per day, and 10 kopeks for prisoners of privileged classes, the price of black-eye bread being three and four kopeks a pound.

But the pride of our authorities—the show-place for the foreign visitors—is the new ‘House of Detention’ at St. Petersburg. It is a ‘model prison,’—the only one of its kind in Russia,—built on the plan of the Belgian gaols. I know it from personal experience, as I was detained there for three months, before my transfer to the lockup at the Military Hospital. It is the only clean gaol for common prisoners in Russia. Clean it certainly is. The scrubbing-brush is never idle there, and the activity of broom and pail is almost demoniac. It is an exhibition, and the prisoners have to keep it shining. All morning long do they sweep, and scrub, and polish the asphalt floor; and dearly have they to pay for its brightness. The atmosphere is charged with asphaltic particles (I made a paper-shade for my gas, and in a few hours I could draw patterns with my finger in the dust with which it was coated); and this you have to breathe. The three upper stories receive all the exhalations of the floors below, and the ventilation is so bad that in the evenings, when all doors are shut, the place is literally suffocating. Two or three special committees were appointed one after the other to find out the means of improving the ventilation; and the last one, under the presidency of M. Groth, Secretary of State, reported in June last that to be made habitable, the whole building (which has cost twice as much as similar prisons in Belgium and Germany) must be completely rebuilt, as no repairs, however thorough, could make the ventilation tolerable. The cells are ten feet long and seven feet wide; and at one time the prison rules obliged us to keep open the traps in our doors to the end that we might not be asphyxiated where we sat. Afterwards the rule was cancelled, and the traps were shut, and we were compelled to face as best we could the effects of a temperature that was sometimes stiflingly hot and sometimes freezing. But for the greater activity and life of the place, I should have regretted, all dark and dripping as it was, my casemate in the fortress of Peter and Paul—a true grave where the prisoner for two, three, five, ten years hears no human voice and sees no human being, excepting two or three gaolers, deaf and mute when addressed by the prisoners. I shall never forget the children I met one day in the corridor of the House of Detention. They also, like us, were awaiting trial months and years along. Their greyish-yellow emaciated faces, their frightened and bewildered looks, were worth whole volumes of essays and reports ‘on the benefits of cellular

confinement in a model prison.' As for the administration of the House of Detention, sufficient to say that even the Russian papers talked openly of the way in which the prisoners' allowances were sequestered; so that last year, a committee of inquiry was appointed, when it was found that the facts were even darker than had been reported. But all this is a trifle, indeed, in comparison with the treatment of prisoners. Here it was that General Trepoff ordered Bogoluboff to be flogged, had the prisoners who protested in their cells knocked down and beaten, and afterwards confined several of them—for five days—in cells by the washing-rooms, among excrements, and in a temperature of forty-five degrees. In the face of these facts, what a pitiful irony is in the words of Mr. Lansdell's admiring remark:—'Those who wish to know what Russia *can* do, ought to visit this House of Detention'!

The great variety of punishments inflicted under our penal code may be divided broadly into four categories. The first is that of hard labour, with the loss of all civil rights. The convict's property passes to his heirs; he is dead in law, and his wife can marry another; he may be flogged with rods, or with the *plète* (cat-o'-nine-tails) *ad libitum* by each drunken gaoler. After having been kept to hard labour in the Siberian mines, or factories, he is settled for life somewhere in the country. The second category is that of compulsory colonisation, accompanied by a complete or partial loss of civil rights, and is equivalent to Siberia for life. Under the third category are dealt with all convicts condemned to compulsory labour in the *arrestantskiya rotty*, without loss of civil rights. The fourth—omitting much of less importance—is of banishment to Siberia, without trial, and by order of the Executive, for an undetermined period; that is, mostly for life.

The subject of Siberian exile is so vast and tragical in itself, and has given rise to such an amount of error and misrepresentation, that it would be idle to approach it in this place. On a future occasion I hope to discuss it at length. In the present paper, however, I shall confine myself to an account of such convicts as are detained in Russia itself, in the so-called Provisory Central Prisons.

These are but recently introduced. Formerly, the hard labour convicts were sent straight off to Siberia: to the mines belonging 'to the Cabinet of the Emperor'—that are, in other words, the private property of the Crown. Some of these, however, got worked out; others were found (or represented) so unremunerative in the hands of the Crown administration that they were sold to private persons who made fortunes with them; and Russia in Europe was compelled to take charge of her hard labour cases herself. A few central prisons were therefore built in Russia, where convicts are kept for a time (one third to one fourth of their sentence) before being sent to Siberia or Sakhalin. Society at large is of course inclined to regard hard labour

convicts as the worst of criminals. But in Russia this is very far from being the case. Murder, robbery, burglary, forgery, will all bring a man to hard labour; but so, too, with an attempt at suicide; so with 'sacrilege and blasphemy,' which usually means no more than dissent; so with 'rebellion'—or rather what is called rebellion in Russia—which is mostly no more than common disobedience to authorities; so with any and every sort of political offence; and so with 'vagrancy,' that mostly means escape from Siberia. Among the murderers, too, you will find not only the professional shedder of blood—a very rare type with us—but men who have taken life under such circumstances as, before a jury, or in the hands of a honest advocate, would have ensured their acquittal. In any case, only 30 per cent. or so of the 2,000 to 2,500 men and women yearly sent down to hard labour are condemned as assassins. The rest—in nearly equal proportions—are either 'vagrants' or men and women charged with one of the minor offences recapitulated above.

The Central Prisons were instituted with the idea of inflicting a punishment of the severest type. The idea was—there can, I am afraid, be no doubt about it—that you could not take too little trouble with convicts, nor get rid of them too soon. To this end these prisons were provided with such gaolers and keepers—mostly military officers—as were renowned for cruelty with men; and these ruffians were gifted with full power over their charges and with full liberty of action, and had orders to be as harsh as possible. The end to which they were appointed has been magnificently attained: the Central Prisons are so many practical hells; the horrors of hard labour in Siberia have faded before them, and all those who have the experience of them are unanimous in declaring that the day a prisoner starts for Siberia is the happiest of his life.

Exploring these prisons as a 'distinguished visitor,' you will, if you are in search of emotions, be egregiously disappointed. You will see no more than a dirty building, crammed with idle inmates lounging and sprawling on the sloping, inclined platforms which run round the walls, and are covered with nothing but a sheet of filth. You may be permitted to visit a number of cells for 'secret' or political cases; and if you question the inmates, you will certainly be told by them that they are 'quite satisfied with everything.' To know the reality one must oneself have been a prisoner. Records of actual experience are few; but they exist, and to one of the most striking I propose to refer. It was written by an officer who was condemned to hard labour for an assault committed in a moment of excitement, and who was pardoned by the Tsar after a few years' detention. His story was published in a Conservative review (the *Russkaya Ryeck*, for January 1882) at a time, under Loris-Melikoff's administration, when there was much talk of prison reform and some liberty in the press; and there was not a journal that did not recognise the unimpeachable veracity of this tale. The experience of our friends wholly confirms it.

There is nothing uncommon in the account of the material circumstances of life in this Central Prison. They are in some sort invariable all over Russia. If we know that the gaol was built for 250 inmates, and actually contained 400, we do not need to inquire more about sanitary conditions. In like manner, the food was neither better nor worse than elsewhere. Seven kopeks ($1\frac{1}{2}d.$) a day is a very poor allowance per prisoner, and the gaoler and econome being family men, of course they save as much as they can. A quarter of a pound of black rye bread for breakfast; a soup made of bull's heart and liver or of seven pounds of meat, twenty pounds of waste oats, twenty pounds of sour cabbage, and plenty of water—many Russian prisoners would consider it as an enviable food. The moral conditions of life are not so satisfying. All day long there is nothing to do—for weeks, and months, and years on end. There are workshops, it is true; but to these only skilled craftsmen (whose achievement is the prison-keeper's perquisite) are admitted. For the others there is neither work, nor hope of work—unless it is in stormy weather, when the governor may set one half of them to shovel the snow into heaps, and the other half to shovel it flat again. The blank monotony of their lives is only varied by chastisement. In the particular prison of which I am writing, the punishments were varied and ingenious. For smoking, and minor offences of that sort, a prisoner could get a two hours' kneeling on the bare flags, in a spot—the thoroughfare of icy winter winds—selected diligently *ad hoc*. The next punishment for the same minor offences was the black-holes—the warm one, and the cold one, underground, with a temperature at freezing point. In both, prisoners slept on the stones, and the term of durance depended on the will of the governor.

'Several of us,' says our author, 'were kept there for a fortnight; after which they were literally *dragged out* into daylight and then dismissed to the land where pain and suffering are not.' Is it any wonder that during the four years over which the writer's experience extends, the average mortality in the prison should have been thirty per cent. per annum? 'It must not be thought,' the writer goes on to say, 'that those on whom penalties of this sort were inflicted were hardened desperadoes; we incurred them if we saved a morsel of bread from dinner for the supper, or if a match was found on a prisoner.'

The 'desperadoes' were treated after another fashion. One, for instance, was kept for nine months in solitary confinement in a dark cell—originally intended for cases of ophthalmia—and came out all but blind and mad. There is worse behind.

In the evening (he continues) the governor went his rounds and usually began his favourite occupation—flogging. A very narrow bench was brought out, and soon the place resounded with shrieks, while the governor, smoking a cigar, looked on and counted the lashes. The birch-rods were of exceptional size, and when not in use were kept immersed in water to make them more pliant. After the

tenth lash the shrieking ceased, and nothing was heard but groans. Flogging was usually applied in batches, to five, ten men, or more, and when the execution was over, a great pool of blood would remain to mark the spot. Our neighbours without the walls used at these times to pass to the other side of the street, signing themselves in horror and dread. After every such scene we had two or three days of comparative peace; for the flogging had a soothing influence on the governor's nerves. He soon, however, became himself again. When he was very drunk, and his left moustache was dropping and limp, or when he went out shooting and came home with an empty bag, we knew that that same evening the rods would be set at work.

After this it is unnecessary to speak about many other revolting details of life in the same prison. But there is a touch that foreign visitors would do well to lay to heart.

On one occasion (the writer says) we were visited by an inspector of prisons. After casting a look down the scuttle, he asked us if our food was good? or was there anything of which we could complain? Not only did the inmates declare that they were completely satisfied, they even enumerated articles of diet which we had never so much as smelt. . . . This sort of thing (he adds) is only natural. If complaints were made, the inspector would lecture the governor a little and go away; while the prisoners who made them would remain behind and be paid for their temerity with the rod or the black-hole.

The prison in question is close by St. Petersburg. What more remote provincial prisons are like, my readers may imagine. I have mentioned above those of Perm and Kharkoff; and, according to the *Golos*, the Central Prison at Simbirsk is a centre of speculation and thievery. Friends of mine report the same of the second Central Prison of the government of Kharkoff, where political convicts are detained. These latter are far worse off than their companions, the criminals. They are kept for three to five years in solitary confinement and in irons, in dark, damp cells that measure only ten feet by six, absolutely isolated from any intercourse with human beings. Knowing by two years and a half of personal experience what solitary confinement is, I do not hesitate to say that, as practised in Russia, it is one of the cruellest tortures man can suffer. The prisoner's health, however robust, is irreparably ruined. Military science teaches that in a beleaguered garrison which has been for several months on short rations, the mortality increases beyond any measure. This is still more true of men in solitary confinement. The want of fresh air, the lack of exercise for body and mind, the habit of silence, the absence of those thousand and one impressions which, when at liberty, we daily and hourly receive, the fact that we are open to no impressions that are not imaginative—all these combine to make solitary confinement a sure and cruel form of murder. If conversation with neighbour prisoners (by means of light knocks on the wall) is possible, it is a relief, the immensity of which can be duly appreciated only by one who was reduced for one or two years to absolute separation from all humanity. But it is also a new source of sufferings, as very often your own moral sufferings are increased by those

you experience from witnessing day by day the growing madness of your neighbour, when you perceive in each of his messages the dreadful images that beset and overrun his tormented brain. That is the kind of confinement to which political prisoners are submitted when awaiting trial for three or four years. But it is still worse after the condemnation when they are brought to the Kharkoff Central Prison. Not only the cells are darker and damper than elsewhere, and the food is worse than common (the allowance being five farthings a day); but, in addition, the prisoners are carefully maintained in absolute idleness. No books are allowed, and, of course, no writing materials, and no implements for manual labour. No means of easing the tortured mind, nor anything on which to concentrate the morbid activity of the brain; and, in proportion as the body droops and sickens, the spirit becomes wilder and more desperate. Physical suffering is seldom or never insupportable; the annals of war, of martyrdom, of sickness, abound in instances in proof. But moral torment—after years of infliction—is utterly intolerable. This our friends have found to their cost. Shut up in the fortresses and houses of detention first of all, and afterwards in the Central Prisons, they go rapidly to decay, and either go calmly to the grave, or become lunatics. They do not go mad as, after being outraged by gendarmes, Miss M——, the promising young painter, went mad. She was bereft of reason instantly; her madness was simultaneous with her shame. Upon them insanity steals gradually and slowly: the mind rots in the body ‘from hour to hour.’

In July 1878 the life of the prisoners at the Kharkoff prison had become so insupportable, that six of them resolved to starve themselves to death. For a whole week they refused to eat; and when the governor-general ordered them to be fed by injection, such scenes ensued as obliged the prison authorities to abandon the idea. To seduce them back to life, officialism made them certain promises: as, for instance, to allow them walking exercise, and to take the sick out of irons. None of these promises were kept; and for five long years the survivors were left to the mercy of such a gaoler as I have described. A few months ago a first party of our friends detained in Central Prisons were sent to the Kara mines (to make a total of 154 political prisoners, men and women, at these mines); they knew very well the fate that was reserved to them in Siberia, and still the day they left this hell was considered by all them as a happy day of deliverance. After the Central Prison, hard labour in Siberia looks as a paradise.

It may seem that the harshness of solitary confinement in such conditions cannot be surpassed. But there is a harder fate in store for political prisoners in Russia. After the ‘Trial of the Sixteen’ (November 1880), Europe learned with satisfaction that out of five condemned to death, three had had their sentences commuted by the

Tsar. We now know what commutation means. Instead of being sent to Siberia, or to a Central Prison, according to law, they were immured in the fortress of Peter and Paul at St. Petersburg, in cells contrived in what has been the ravelin.² These are so dark that candles are burnt in them for twenty-two hours out of the twenty-four. The walls are literally dripping with damp, and 'there are pools of water on the floor.' 'Not only books are disallowed, but everything that might help to occupy the attention. Zoubkovsky made geometrical figures with his bread, to practise geometry; they were immediately taken away, the gaoler saying that hard-labour convicts were not permitted to amuse themselves.' To render solitary confinement still more insupportable, a gendarme and a soldier are stationed within the cells. The gendarme is continually on the watch, and if the prisoner looks at anything or at any point, he goes to see what has attracted his attention. The horrors of solitary confinement are thus aggravated tenfold. The quietest prisoner soon begins to hate the spies set over him, and is moved to frenzy by the mere fact of their presence. It is superfluous to add that the slightest disobedience is punished by blows and black-holes. All who were subjected to this *régime* fell ill in no time. After less than one year of it, Shiryaeff had taken consumption; Okladsky—a robust and vigorous working man, whose remarkable speech to the Court was reproduced by the London papers—had gone mad; Tikhonoff, a strong man likewise, was down with scurvy, and could not sit up in his bed. By a mere 'commutation of sentence' the three were brought to death's door in a single year. Of the other five condemned to hard labour, and immured in the same fortress, two—Martynovsky and Tsukermann—went mad, and in that state were constantly black-holed, so that Martynovsky at last attempted suicide.

I cannot enter here into more details and give more facts to illustrate the fate of political and common law convicts in Russia. The foregoing give, however, some idea of it. The whole is summed up in a sentence of that record of prison life on which I have already drawn so largely and to such terrible purpose.

In conclusion (writes the author) I must add that the prison now rejoices in another governor. The old one quarrelled with the treasurer on the subject of peculation from the prisoners' allowance, and in the end they were both dismissed. The new governor is not such a ruffian as his predecessor; I understand, however, that with him the prisoners are starving far more than formerly, and that he is in the habit of giving his fists full play on the countenances of his charges.

This remark sums up the whole 'Reform of Prisons' in Russia. One tyrant may be dismissed, but he will be succeeded by some one

² The authentic record of their imprisonment was published in the last number of the *Will of the People*, and reproduced in the publication *Na Rodinye* ('At Home').

as bad, or even worse, than himself. It is not by changing a few men, but only by changing completely from top to bottom the whole system, that any amelioration can be made; and such is also the conclusion of a special committee recently appointed by the Government. But it would be mere self-delusion to conceive improvement possible under such a *régime* as we now enjoy. At least half a dozen commissions have already gone forth to inquire, and all have come to the conclusion that unless the Government is prepared to meet extraordinary expenses, our prisons must remain what they are. But honest and capable men are far more needed than money, and these the present Government cannot and will not discover. They exist in Russia, and they exist in great numbers; but their services are not required. Mr. Lansdell knew one, and has described him—Colonel Kononovitch, chief of the penal settlement at Kara. He has told us how, without any expense to the Crown, M. Kononovitch had repaired the weatherworn, rotten buildings, and had made them more or less habitable; and how, with the microscopic means at his disposal, he contrived to improve the food; and all he has told is true. But Mr. Lansdell's praise, together with like praise contained in a letter intercepted on its way from Siberia, were sufficient reasons for rendering M. Kononovitch suspicious to our Government. He immediately was dismissed, and his successor received the order to reintroduce the iron rule of years past. The political convicts, who enjoyed a relative liberty after the legal term of imprisonment had expired, are in irons once more; not all, however, as two have preferred to commit suicide; and once more affairs are ordered as the Government desires to see them. Another gentleman, of whom Mr. Lansdell speaks, and justly, in high terms—General Pedashenko—has been dismissed too, for refusing to confirm a sentence of death which had been passed by a military tribunal on the convict Schedrin, found guilty of striking an officer for insulting two ladies, his fellow sufferers, Bogomolets and Kovalsky.

It is everywhere the same. To devote oneself to any educational work, or to the convict population, is inevitably to incur dismissal and disgrace. Near St. Petersburg we have a reformatory—a penal settlement for children and growing lads. To the cause of these poor creatures a gentleman named Herd—grandson of the famous Scotchman employed by Alexander I. in the reform of our prisons—had devoted himself body and soul. He had an abundance of energy and charm; his whole heart was in the work; he might have rivalled Pestalozzi. Under his ennobling influence boy-thieves and ruffians, penetrated with all the vices of the streets and the lockups, learned to be men in the best sense of the word. To send a boy away from the common labour-grounds or from the classes was the greatest punishment admitted in this penal colony, which soon became a real model colony. But men like Herd are

not the men our Government is in need of. He was dismissed his place, and the institution he ruled so wisely has become a genuine Russian prison, complete to the rod and the black-hole.

These examples are typical both of what we have to suffer and of what we have to expect. It is a fancy to imagine that anything could be reformed in our prisons. Our prisons are the reflection of the whole of our life under the present *régime*; and they will remain what they are now until the whole of our system of government and the whole of our life have undergone a thorough change. Then, but only then, 'Russia may show what it *can* realise;' but this, with regard to crime, would be—I hope—quite different from what is now understood under the name of 'a good prison.'

P. KRAPOTKINE.

●

ON TASTE IN DRESS.

It will readily be agreed that fashion in female dress should be in good taste, but to say dogmatically what constitutes good taste in costume or lay down precise rules to govern it would not be easy. Opinions on such a subject may be but opinions, more or less coloured by individual idiosyncrasy, education, and habit, and it is desirable that a wide margin should be left for the play of fancy in combinations that are almost infinite. Mountains are made up of molecules; the atmosphere in which we move has much to do with the life we live; no one floats independently on the current that carries all along, and it is impossible to suppose that habits of mind will not be influenced by the impressions surroundings make upon us. We become habituated to bad or good language, coarse or refined manners, and acquire more or less the one or the other. Fashion, as long as it deals only with outward effects, if not persistently bad enough to destroy natural taste, is not a matter to be treated with overmuch solemnity. Proportion is to be observed even in our sincerest convictions, and we may smile or sigh lightly over aberrations which have no more importance than can belong to things put on one moment and thrown off the next. But if such things become indications of the presence or absence of what is much to be regretted or much to be valued, they reasonably give rise to reflections deeper and more serious than their essence seems at first to warrant. In complicated machinery all things may be said to depend upon all other things; and what so complex as our social machine? The waywardness of feminine fashions is not a subject for puritanic objection; the changeableness affords occupation for many, and variety is a better thing than monotony. But while these considerations should check dogmatic utterances, it will not do to ignore conclusions based upon acknowledged principles. What we may certainly lament is the apparent want of any principle in the fluctuations of fashion, excess in one direction being invariably followed by excess in the opposite direction. Crinoline is dropped, but everything seems to be dropped with it. The fashionable lady's gown fits so closely to her person that freedom of movement becomes impossible. One thing only appears to be a permanent idea—that a very small waist is a beautiful thing, a thing to be attained at the expense of health and comfort and good sense.

A small waist is only pretty when harmonising with youthfulness and general slightness; but when the shoulders spread above and the hips jut out below, a small waist is nothing but a deformity, and it is only because modern men and women grow up accustomed to such departure from nature and grace of line, that the deformity is not only tolerated but admired. The expression 'good taste' has come to be used seriously for much that is in the worst possible taste—alas! for art, and alas! for many things that belong to the beautiful and noble. With more regard to what belongs to true distinction in matters of taste, fashion would not be less free to indulge in freaks and pleasantries that would relieve dulness and add interest to the passing show. The resources of good taste are inexhaustible; and rules of good sense prescribed, or at least suggested, by natural conditions are no more trammels than are the rules of good nature. The varieties, even the vagaries of fashion, are the natural outcome of society, leisure, and wealth. The sober thinker will not condemn or discourage them; he will only desire the fanciful utterance of the fancied need should not transgress the bounds of good taste and a certain amount of reason. The philosopher should even find pleasure in such variety, for variety is one of the properties of nature; but it will be evident to all lovers of nature (and surely the education is defective that does not stimulate the love of nature) that no fashion can be in good taste that seems to imply contempt for the beautiful arrangements of created things. There is nothing to be said against the taste of the savage when he decorates himself with shells and feathers. These things are but superadded, wholly distinct from his form, leaving the man a specimen of the human being; but we are provoked to laughter or disgust when he flattens his head and stretches his lips and ears out of place and proportion. So any variety in shape and colour of gown and bonnet within limits that may be defined will be interesting and pleasurable; but when an accomplished lady deliberately sets about distorting the shape of her foot and body, it is more surprising, and if not contemptible, distressing, than the preference for ugliness displayed by the savage; for the delicate and cultivated lady does know, or ought to know, better, and ought to be guided by some sense of beauty and fitness. Love of beauty, even when it leads to the desire of possessing it and making some efforts after such possession, is not unhealthy, and belongs to the love of approbation, in the absence of which society would become very angular; but unhealthy love of display and desire to produce effect, no matter by what device and at what cost of good taste and good sense, for the object of attracting notice, is a quality so ugly and vain that it will destroy the true power even of the greatest beauty, and leads the most civilised societies into monstrous extravagances in fashion.

Perhaps all that can be attempted with any chance of general approval or usefulness is to say what is bad taste, basing the position on an appeal to established principles. It may be safe to assert that good taste is violated when natural conditions are entirely lost sight of. It may be distinctly stated that it cannot be in good taste to outrage the laws of proportion, or to ignore in cut and arrangements of dress ~~an~~ reference to natural form.

The Greek canons of human proportion may be taken as established into law; the innate taste of the Greeks, their opportunities of studying, and their loving study of the subject, combining to invest their conclusions with an authority which has never since been questioned. They divided a perfectly beautiful human figure into ten or eight parts—ten if the face were taken as the divider, eight if the head—the face into three parts, viz. from the root of the hair to the spring of the nose, one; the nose, one; and one from the nose to the bottom of the chin; from the root of the hair to the top of the head gave the fourth part, and constituted what is technically called a head. To the heroic human figure were given eight heads or ten faces, varying wonderfully little in the lengths; in like manner by heads or parts of heads were measured the length and breadth of the upper and lower extremities, and also of the trunk.

Whether or not these measurements were commonly found among the beautiful inhabitants of Asia Minor we do not know; but they are not the average proportions of modern dwellers in the cities of Europe, the head, and especially the face, being usually disproportionately large. It is not uncommon to find the relative proportions of the limbs fairly corresponding with the Greek measurements, with perhaps rather a tendency to shortness of the lower extremities; but the small head is so far unusual that it is always remarkable and justly considered a great beauty.

Here attention may be called to the fact that bigness and tallness are not the same things, though commonly confounded with each other. A person may be of tall proportions on a small scale, and of short proportions on a large one. A model of Apollo may be two feet high, preserving the heroic or divine proportions, tall as a god, while a model of a dwarf may be ten feet high, having still the stumpy proportions of a dwarf. Now, according to this, fashions that create or increase a disproportionate size of head cannot be in good taste; and the habit of piling up enormous masses of hair, mostly or always false, needs no comment. Hair is beautiful, and Greek poetry is full of allusions to it and its value as a splendid possession; but it never will be found that the size of the head of a Greek statue is much enlarged by it; it is closely confined to the shape of the head so as not materially to increase the size of it. The relative proportion was felt to be important before all; in the coins hair is more voluminous, but, the head being cut off at the throat, the principle of proportion does

not come into play. The Greeks, with their fine taste, reduced art instincts to a science; they never violated by top-heaviness in their sculpture the sense of security which the upright tower of the human form should suggest; and to overweight the upright human figure with an immense quantity of hair massed into a solid lump is to distort that fitness without which there is no harmony or beauty. It will be in better taste, if a large hat or bonnet be worn, to make it of light materials, while one of denser materials should be small. In a picture any amount of hair may be made to fall or fly about with charming effect, because its lightness may be delightfully suggested; but, excepting in the case of children, the effect of hair flying about is not good, for the suggestion of untidiness and want of cleanliness, with general unfitness, would counteract pleasure in picturesque effect. So that, as a rule, it may be said that it is in better taste to braid the hair closely to the head, not, of course, so tightly as to destroy the especial quality and beauty of hair; for, notwithstanding the advantage of form and proportion, to plaster the hair down upon the head till it resembles a metal cap cannot be in good taste. And here it may be observed that it cannot be good sense and good taste to make by art any natural object look like something quite different. Also a great mistake is made when it is supposed that a small stature can be made to look taller by piling up a quantity of hair, real or false; the only result being to put the face in the wrong place. A dwarf a foot high would still appear to be but a foot high, though a structure ten feet high were placed upon his head. The apparent length of an individual is up to the eyes; indeed, the height of the shoulders determines the impression more than anything else; this may be proved by putting a pad on the shoulders under the coat. A man 5 ft. 8 in., with a pad a couple of inches thick, will look like one 5 ft. 10 in.; for if a man 5 ft. 10 in. bends his neck ever so much, he does not look shorter. It cannot be wise or in good taste to try by artificial means to give the appearance of height and length of line that nature has denied, the result being only to disturb the proportion; indeed, the piquancy, vivacity, and delicacy that so often accompany smallness of stature are often far more attractive and more than a match for superior length of line. Good taste is shown by making the best of Nature's intentions, not by trying to subvert her intentions. In what particular manner hair should be arranged ought to be governed by personal peculiarities; it cannot be in equally good taste for persons differing wholly in appearance to dress their hair exactly in the same manner. The hair parted evenly and equally over the forehead, as it is the most natural, is no doubt the best; fringes are often very pretty, especially in youth, though they cover from sight what is perhaps one of the greatest beauties—namely, the spring and growth of the hair from the forehead and temples—but variety and fancy in all such matters should have plenty

of liberty. What, however, is objectionable is parting the hair on one side, such disturbance of the balance being unnatural, the two sides of all organic structures always corresponding even in what is purely ornamental; and it is a safe rule to make that what is unnatural is not in good taste; it may be laid down as a rule in dressing the hair, and in all other dressing, that all that is false is in bad taste, and a lady should be as unwilling to wear false hair as she would be to wear false jewels. There are exceptions to this rule, of course, in which good taste would dictate its infringement rather than its observance.

It may be again insisted on that a true understanding and observance of nature's laws and intentions will alone keep in check wayward extravagance in taste. The remarks made about the arrangement of hair must be taken with this reservation, that when it is a special beauty, the chief or only beauty, it may be allowed by good taste to have an otherwise undue importance. It is so beautiful a thing that a short person rich in possession of it in its loveliness need not sacrifice the display of it in order to appear taller, even though proportion is one of the greatest of beauties and topheaviness one of the greatest of disturbances. In whatever manner the hair may be dressed, it is desirable always to preserve the shape of the skull somewhere, if only a portion at the top of the head.

Among the distinctions of form which distinguish man from the inferior creatures, none separate him more emphatically and nobly than the manner in which the neck rises like a stem or column from the square shoulders, equally removed from the form and character of bird and quadruped. It cannot be good taste to destroy by perverse arrangement of costume so beautiful and grand a distinction. The collar of a man's coat which obliterates in appearance the spring of the throat from the shoulders is therefore in bad taste. Perhaps any reform in masculine costume is not a thing to be at all hoped for; but women should certainly abstain from following so ugly an example.

It is a pity, as the habit has been to leave uncovered this beautiful stem on which the head is poised, to invent or fall into a fashion of covering it, especially as there is reason to believe health is rather a gainer than otherwise by leaving it free. All dress, of whatever form, should be so cut as to leave the arm at the shoulder as free as possible; not only good taste demands this, but ease and comfort also; but in no case can ease and comfort be sacrificed without infringement on good taste.

From the moment the wearing of splendid materials ceased to be habitual—and for this there were many reasons, one probably being growing love of cleanliness, for the magnificence which descended from one generation to another was apt to become a little bit musty—fashion began to lose as a governing principle regard for impressiveness, what might be called its self-esteem. Mediæval costumes

were often grotesque enough, but they were seldom without some strange sort of dignity; for the so to speak solemnity of the materials resented frivolity of cut; but in the slight, comparatively inexpensive materials, lightly replaced or easily washed, the also comparatively flimsy trimmings govern the general impression to be produced; and if there is no understanding of or respect for the essence of the human form, there is nothing to prevent any amount of ignoble strangeness.

Quality of material should govern form. The severe cut, which would have an admirable effect in brocade, rich in texture, colour, and weight, would not have an equally good effect in muslin. So the closely-fitting cuirasse, splendid in margin velvet or other noble textures and colours, would not look so well in simple, colourless materials; and, if for no other reason, the stiff corset destroying the pliancy so beautiful in the natural form, this fashion of garment is apt to produce the effect of an artist's stuffed lay-figure, over which good taste will at least hesitate. The persistent tendency to suggest that the most beautiful half of humanity is furnished with tails can hardly be in good taste, yet amid the constant changes of fashion this strange peculiarity is almost as constantly preserved. Crinoline is not only extravagant in form, but selfish in disregard of the convenience and comfort of others; and selfishness cannot be in good taste. A long waist means a short skirt; length of line in skirt will always be more graceful than brevity. This is piquant and effective on occasions, but not beautiful. A long waist also means in appearance short legs, a disproportion good taste will not desire to suggest. The divided skirt scarcely seems to be a necessity, or to recommend itself on the score of beauty. Extreme tightness is, at all times, a very hazardous experiment. Even beautiful arms, when very tightly enclosed, look not a little like sausages; but, within limits that should not be difficult to define, tightness and looseness may fluctuate with agreeable variety; but it is always to be remembered that folds, with their infinite changeableness of shape, and light, and shadow, are more beautiful than anything, excepting that perfection of form which is very rarely found, and of which neither our climate, our habits, nor modern sense of modesty would permit the exhibition.

Nothing is more admirable or surprising in its adaptability to an infinite number of purposes, or noble in the sense of power conveyed by its form, than the human hand. It cannot, therefore, be in good taste to squeeze it into a glove so much too small for it that it becomes useless for any purpose beyond holding a visiting card; the division of the fingers extending only down to the middle of the knuckle, and the back and inside of the hand pinched into shapelessness and uselessness. Though the hand is not permanently injured by the tight glove as the foot is by the tight shoe, the effect is ignoble and absurd. The hand should not be too small or too limp a thing to be capable of any kind of duty; and when fashion suggests that it

is, there can be no doubt about the bad taste. The hand of the finest lady should be able to clasp with the full fervour of friendship, and pull a child out of danger; and a hand upon which no dependence could be placed in an emergency is by no means a credit to man or woman. The notion that any lady's hand should be of this kind is, in the real sense of the word, vulgar. Delicacy is delightful, but weakness must either excite pity or contempt, according as it is self-imposed or not. The Chinese mandarin allows his nails to grow till they resemble claws, priding himself upon this evidence that he never did, and is incapable of doing, any manly work; and many ladies cultivate their hands to suggest the same notion. It must be remembered that the longer and more pointed the nails, the more they are suggestive of claws. This is increased by the polishing of them. Surely it cannot be in good taste to recall our animal origin at the expense of human capabilities.

The Greeks, who accentuated all peculiarly and distinctly human characteristics, carefully avoided pointing the nails, though no Darwin had shown them whence the nails came; they also rejected smallness of hand, such as the ideal of modern taste demands. Proportion and fitness were to them ruling principles, outside of which they found no beauty. Hands are no more beautiful for being small than eyes are for being big; but many a modern girl would ask her fairy godmother, if she had one, to give her eyes as big as saucers and hands as small as those of a doll, believing that the first cannot be too large nor the last too small. Tiny feet and hands are terms constantly used by poets and novelists in a most misleading manner. It cannot be possible that they are intended by the writers to express anything but general delicacy and refinement; but a notion is encouraged that results in the destruction of one of the most beautiful of natural objects—the human foot. This unfortunate notion, that the beauty of the foot depends upon its smallness, leads to the crippling of it till it becomes, in many cases, a bunch of crumpled deformity. It is a most reprehensible practice, alike revolting to good taste and good sense, to put the foot of the growing girl into a shoe that is not only too short, crumpling the toes into a bunch, but, being pointed, turns the great toe inwards, producing deformity of general shape and, in the course of time, inevitable bunions, the only wonder being that steadiness in standing or any grace of movement at all is left. To this pernicious habit of crippling the foot by the short, misshapen shoe has of late been added the equally pernicious and even disastrous practice of wearing a peg under the heel and towards the middle of the sole, to the destruction of that balance, which cannot be interfered with without evil consequences, not only to the foot and ankle, but to the whole frame, by reason of the strain upon muscles which maintain the balance and which are called upon to act permanently in a manner intended

only to be occasional. These very muscles, being impaired by constant pressure of the stays, are still less able to bear a strain that would injure them even in a healthy state, so that peculiar maladies actually caused by this fashion of high heels have come into being. The high heel is also a great mistake if only regarded as a matter of appearance, as it greatly increases the apparent size of the foot at a little distance, making it look like a hoof, and, to say nothing about taste, the fashion is attended with very serious danger in walking quickly, or over uneven ground, or descending stairs.

The extraordinary perversion of taste and sense, proved by the general opinion of what is desirable in female form, may go far to prove that the principle of evolution is balanced by that of retrogression. The cave-men have left proofs of the possession of faculties not possessed by savage people of the present day, which may be taken as showing in the case of those who, incapable of improvement, die out before the march of civilisation, that these latter are not going over the same ground of progress, but relapsing from a superior condition. The singular state of ideas respecting beauty of form in all modern civilised countries can hardly imply anything but retrogression in one of the senses at least. Judging of the opinion of the ancient Greeks as expressed in their sculpture, a modern, ideal, well-dressed young lady, probably by nature's intention as fine, or finer, than anything they ever saw, would be to them, could they revisit the earth, a subject of amazement! Tiny hands, white till they look bloodless, and pointed nails; feet with no more shape than a spoon; but, above all, a waist like a pipe, having scarcely any natural reference to the form above or below—in reality hideous! The deeply-rooted preference for this deformity must surely be a mark of retrogression. One sense apparently is gone; others will probably follow. If we are to be acted upon, and actuated by, purely material conditions and consequences, what need of any of the finer sensibilities? Human beings may become scientific, till everything but breathing and the digesting of food—perhaps even this—may be done by machinery, and life regulated upon the principles of a scientific puzzle. To eat, and drink, and sleep comfortably may become the sum of human good—a sum perhaps attainable by all; no need of any exertion of mind, or taste, or any of the senses but those that serve the most material needs; none obliged to work beyond keeping watch upon the machinery—happy state!—in which no matter whether the lungs act, their place may be scientifically filled; no matter if the back gives way, machinery will come to aid; no matter if feet are crumpled out of shape and use, perhaps machinery will supply wings, or some other mode of locomotion, and mankind, perhaps not by slow degrees, be improved off the face of the earth. We may be well on the way to such a consummation, and congratulate ourselves that in one direction we have reached the boundary line.

Waists cannot well be more contracted, or, according to a fixed ideal, more unlike nature's intentions.

The most serious part of the subject, in which the question of good taste is supplemented with considerations of the gravest nature, is the corset. Men, not always the youngest and most thoughtless, accustomed from the beginning to the pipe waist, without reflecting upon the matter, and without the sense of beauty which would desire grace of line, think of the waist as a thing *per se*, a part of the appearance which might be put on or off like a bonnet. They somehow associate it with ideas of delicacy, lightness, freshness, trimness, brightness, and the like, and value all these desirable things in it. Even that quality which is said to be next to godliness is mixed up with its connection with trimness and neatness, which in our climate, and with our surroundings, good taste will certainly not lead us to undervalue; dowdiness and want of attention to cleanliness it will absolutely disapprove of, but the considerations here involved carry the subject far beyond the domain of taste.¹

Women, especially those of the upper classes, who are not obliged to keep themselves in condition by work, lose after middle age (sometimes earlier) a considerable amount of their height, not by stooping, as men do, but by actual collapse, sinking down, mainly to be attributed to the perishing of the muscles that support the frame, in consequence of habitual and constant pressure of stays, and dependence upon the artificial support by them afforded. Every girl who wears stays that press upon these muscles, and restrict the free development of the fibres that form them, relieving them from their natural duties of supporting the spine, indeed incapacitating them from so doing, may feel sure she is preparing herself to be a dumpy woman. A great pity! Failure of health among women when the vigour of youth passes away is but too patent, and but too commonly caused by this practice. Let the man who admires the piece of pipe that does duty for a human body picture to himself the wasted form and seamed skin.

Most women, from long custom of wearing these stays, are really unaware how much they are hampered and restricted. A girl of twenty, intended by Nature to be one of her finest specimens, gravely assures one that her stays are not tight, being exactly the same size as those she was first put into, not perceiving her condemnation in the fact that she has since grown five inches in height and two in shoulder-breadth; her stays are not too tight because the constant pressure has prevented the natural development of heart and lung

¹ A proof of what the eye may become accustomed to, and taste accept, will be found in the practice that obtained in the early part of the present century of what was called docking horses' tails and giving them an unnatural turn upwards, also the practice that has been but recently abolished of cropping dogs' ears. General consent now condemns a tastelessness and barbarity that was not greater than the crushing of the ribs, and was not attended with such serious results.

space. The dainty waist of the poets is precisely that flexible slimness that is destroyed by stays. The form resulting from them is not slim, but a piece of pipe, and as inflexible.

But while endeavouring to make clear the outrage upon practical good sense and sense of beauty, it is necessary to understand and admit the whole state of the case. A reason, if not a necessity, for some sort of corset may be found when the form is very **redundant**; this, however, cannot be with the very young and slight, but all that necessity could demand, and that practical good sense and fitness would concede, could be found in a strong elastic kind of jersey, sufficiently strong and even stiff under the bust to support it, and sufficiently elastic at the sides and back to injure no organs and **impede** no functions. Even in the case of the young and slight an elastic band under the false ribs would not be injurious, but perhaps the contrary, serving as a constant hint to keep the chest well forward and the shoulders back; but every stiff unyielding machine, crushing the ribs and destroying the fibre of muscle, will be fatal to health, to freedom of movement, and to beauty; it is scarcely too much to say that the wearing of such amounts to stupidity in those who do not know the consequences (for over and over again warning has been given) and to wickedness in those who do.

Bad taste, even if proved by incontestable principles, may be regretted and combatted, but if not degrading and harmful may be submitted to with a sigh; but when vital consequences are involved, the question is removed to a higher court, and reticence becomes cowardly. Tender mothers would be horrified could they but realise how much and in how many ways they are destroying the happiness of their daughters in obedience to a stupid conventionality and degraded taste. The advance of medical science and the many means of escaping from destructive agencies should result in a greatly increased vigour in the race. This is not the case; longevity is no doubt increased, death is kept at bay; but the upper classes, which ought to be, from advantages obviously possessed by them, types of splendid vitality, do not generally exhibit such an example. How much of this is to be attributed to one pernicious habit? It is common for deluded mothers, looking at the grandly growing girl, to say, 'The child is becoming a monster! she must be immediately put into stays.' A little girl of twelve being for the first time jammed into the abomination, complained that she could not breathe. The answer of her mother's French maid was, '*Il faut souffrir pour être belle,*' and so commenced the deformity of the poor child's body and mind. There ought to be no such thing as a waist as now understood. In early youth flexible slimness is a natural characteristic, later it does not commonly exist, being replaced by a beauty of greater dignity; and when a small waist is formed by art it is at the expense of health and beauty. Every young lady who compresses her waist out of its natural shape

and size should be made to understand that she does it at her peril,² whether she feels the pressure or not, for from habit she may not be at all times conscious of it; she should know that she will pay a fearful price in loss of health and height and elasticity of movement, without which there can be no healthy pleasure and no real beauty. The test of beauty of form is the effect of the silhouette, and whether it would go well into sculpture; in fact, the effect of the lines bounding the shape. Compression in one place must produce corresponding expansion in another, excepting indeed in the disastrous crushing-in of the ribs, which give way internally, sometimes entering the lungs. The ampler the form the less can good taste consent to compression. The sudden bulges and violent amplitudes which are the consequence of unnatural restrictions, are distressing alike to the sense of beauty and modesty—positively ugly—Nature avenging herself! General amplitude is indeed far from ungracious, but on the contrary carries a dignity that is pleasant to look upon; but short violent curves are eminently ugly.

What is called the backbone is formed of bones placed one upon another, making a very beautiful and flexible column. Between each of these bones there is an elastic pad; and, threading the whole number, is the spinal cord. The top seven of these go to form the neck, the rest to form the mainstay of that body in which are placed the whole of the vital organs—the heart, the lungs, the organ of digestion, &c. About the spinal cord it is not necessary to say anything, as it is well known in a vague way that injury to it is destruction to the whole system. A great many muscles are distributed about this vertebral column, which is the most important portion of the bony structure. The spinal cord, in direct communication with, or rather proceeding from, the brain, is the prime agent of movement, sensation, and all that goes to make up physical being. This spinal cord is guarded by projections called spines, which also serve as attachments for the very strong outside muscles, necessary to support this long loose column without destroying its flexibility. These give the strength and shape to the back. Now it must be obvious that constant pressure, especially before Nature has finished her work of growth, will destroy these muscles, if not absolutely and permanently, at least as long as the influence is continued, and that when the natural supports are done away with, the separate bones will sink one upon another in consequence of the weight of the head and upper part of the body; loss of height and power of movement being the consequence. In early

² For how can so vital a principle as the expansion and contraction of the elastic frame formed by the ribs in breathing, the flux and reflux of the tide of life, the day and night of respiration, be interfered with without grave consequences? Is not all nature governed by general laws that have singular and beautiful identity, impressively suggesting a general and mighty plan, alike active and potent in the construction of the most insignificant animal, and in the tides of the far-away Sirius?

growth this may not be the visible result, the weight to be sustained being less, as young bones are less heavy than older ones, and the physical vigour greater. But the strain and fatigue soon begin to tell, and no artificial support can supply the place of Nature's beautiful design and perfect arrangement. Nor is this all the mischief. The general form produced by the arrangement of the ribs is actually reversed. The cavity containing the heart and lungs is contracted; these being grievously impeded in their vital functions; the ribs crumpled together are occasionally driven into the lungs, causing death—and all for what? For pleasure? Certainly not. For beauty? No less certainly not. For nothing but the gratification of a most depraved taste. In this indifference to, this defiance of natural laws, does not the highly cultivated and highly refined lady, who knows all that can be said against the custom, place herself on a level with the squaw who sticks a bone through her lip to make it hang down below her chin? A cynic might ask on which side the savagery is greater. The Indian woman never knew better, and though the distortion seen may therefore appear to be greater than the hidden crippled feet and crumpled ribs, it does not affect health and free exercise of the fine animal powers bestowed on the human creature.

There are frequent letters in the newspapers from mothers and fathers of families, calling attention to the dangers of football and other exercises; for one boy injured by football or other games, there are many thousand girls whose lives, and whose children's lives after them, suffer from a fashion for which no sort of rational excuse can be offered, no reason or excuse at all but debased taste.

Scarcely a more complete proof can be found of the tyranny of fashion, or the unconscious slavery to which it can reduce the best intellects and sincerest characters, than is supplied by the fact of the comparative silence of the medical profession on this subject; silence to which one must think no small blame will attach if ever the world becomes wiser. Members of the medical profession know very well how much Nature is outraged, and how she avenges herself. If only on the score of grace and charm, cultivated and thoughtful men, whose studies have made them acquainted with Nature's beautiful design, and who have unusual opportunities of putting in a word for her, might be expected to express regret at the spoiling of anything so perfect. For pure love and admiration of the perfection, they might draw attention to the hidden ugliness and scars which good taste will not allow outsiders to hint at. But they know how much more of still greater importance is involved.

Hitherto most doctors, when they do speak upon the subject, do not sufficiently insist upon the disagreeable theme, perhaps accepting the fact as part of a condition of things it is not possible to make head against. But surely the whole body collectively might be

expected to testify strenuously against an obstinate perversity that is nothing short of disastrous. In all matters where it is necessary to lift ideas out of an established groove, and bring about reform, those are wanted who will speak with the bitterness of conviction and the weight of authority.

Many mothers and fathers of families accept literally the text, 'God created man in His own image,' &c. How can these reconcile such defacement of the type with the reverence they believe they have for the divine origin of the great history—would they at the court of any small sovereign be guilty of the like want of respect? Nor can the advocates for enlightened freedom, from all traditions whatever, answer better for their indifference. They, taking nature and science for their guides, should see how nature and science alike protest, and how they are joined in the protest by good sense and good taste against the degrading fashion.

Nature is grievously insulted; it is true she accommodates herself wonderfully to the conditions imposed upon her by her rebellious or unfortunate children. But she does not forget her dignity, and will ever take vengeance for disregard of her will; she may permit the account to run a long time, but she always sends in the bill and sternly exacts payment.

G. F. WATTS.

CARDINAL MANNING'S DEMAND ON THE RATES.

THE reply of his Eminence Cardinal Manning to the question, 'Is the Education Act of 1870 a just law?'¹ is rather oblique. His Eminence deprecates the charge that he is opposed to the Act itself; he acknowledges that its 'principles have been so long admitted, and have worked themselves so deeply into public opinion and practice, that no scheme or proposition at variance with them would be listened to;' but he contends that 'the present way of carrying out the Act is open to the censure of inequality and injustice.'

His article, however, is not an impeachment of her Majesty's inspectors, or of School Boards, or of the Education Department. To remedy the wrongs of which he complains would require a very grave change in the Act itself. When the Bill was submitted to the House of Commons by Mr. Forster on the 17th of February, 1870, it contained a clause enabling School Boards to grant assistance out of the rates to existing denominational schools, or to any denominational schools that might be established after the Bill had become law. The Boards were not to be compelled to grant this assistance; but in supplying the educational destitution in their districts they were to be at liberty to subsidise Methodist, Episcopalian, and Roman Catholic schools, as well as to set up schools of their own, the only condition being that if they subsidised any denominational schools they must subsidise them all on equal terms. For reasons stated with admirable force by Mr. Gladstone on the motion for going into committee on the Bill (on the 16th of June, 1870), this permissive clause was withdrawn. 'We shall sever,' he said, 'altogether the tie between the local Board and the voluntary schools.' This made a great and vital change, for good or evil, in the character of the Bill.

Many of those who had pressed the Government to introduce a measure providing for the establishment of schools, to be sustained by rates and administered by local Boards responsible to the rate-

¹ *Nineteenth Century*, December 1882.

payers, always believed that the new schools would gradually displace the old; they desired that this should happen; and they feared that a subsidy from the rates would renew the vigour of the denominational schools and add very many undesirable years to their life. Others, again—I do not know that they were very numerous—believed that if the denominational schools were aided by the rates, the School Boards would gradually encroach on the irresponsible authority of denominational managers, and give to the administration of the denominational schools a freer and more popular character. The School Boards were to make the managers an offer of oats, in order to throw over their heads the halter of public control. To these Machiavellian politicians the withdrawal of the clause seemed unfavourable to the development of a great public system of national education; it perpetuated the isolation of the schools established by the churches.

Cardinal Manning's proposal is to levy a school rate on the whole population, and to give a share of the rate to all schools that are now qualified to receive grants from the Committee of Privy Council. He would practically restore the clause which was withdrawn from the Bill of 1870, and would make it compulsory instead of permissive. It is not the administration of the Act that he impeaches, but the Act itself. The Act definitely excludes denominational schools from any share in the education rate; it has done this, not by accident, but consciously and deliberately. His Eminence insists on their right to a share in it. It is the Act itself, I repeat, not 'the present way of carrying out the Act,' which in his judgment is 'open to the censure of inequality and injustice.'

His Eminence proposes that men of all parties should 'unite in humbly praying that her Majesty be graciously pleased to issue a Royal Commission to review the whole course of legislation in respect to education, with all the Acts of the Committee of Privy Council since 1838.' Should the Commission be issued, he would no doubt be willing to appear before it and to sustain the elaborate indictment which he has published in the *Nineteenth Century* against 'the inequality and injustice' of our present educational system.

I too might ask permission to be heard in support of the same charge; and my case would be sustained, not indeed by distinguished persons like the Cardinal, but by labouring people living in hamlets, villages, and small country towns situated in all parts of England.

The Commissioners might be invited to listen to evidence that in a large proportion of the villages, and in nearly all the small towns in every part of the country, a considerable number of the poorer inhabitants are Nonconformists. Royal Commissioners seldom know much about rural Nonconformity, and to enable them to form a true estimate of the facts with which they would have to deal it might be necessary to take a typical case and to illustrate it with some fulness.

Such a case it would be easy to find. In the village—say of Blackford—there are a thousand people, with a scattered population of five hundred more within walking distance. The village has a Baptist chapel, with accommodation for 250; a Wesleyan Methodist chapel, with accommodation for 200; a Primitive Methodist, with accommodation for 150. Three or four small farmers, one of the village butchers, a shoemaker, a little grocer, a carpenter and builder employing half a dozen men, are the most important and the most prosperous members of the Nonconformist congregations; the rest are ordinary labourers. Altogether, with their families, they number about five hundred people. There is ample room for them in the parish church, and if they went there they might go without any cost to themselves. The rector receives his income from his tithes and glebe, and has probably a few hundreds a year of his own besides; the church is warmed, lighted, swept, and kept in repair by the voluntary contributions of the squire, the doctor, the larger farmers, and a few gentry living in the parish. But the Nonconformists prefer their ‘Ebenezer,’ their ‘Bethesda,’ their ‘Mount Zion.’ The chapels were built by a preceding generation of villagers, partly at their own cost, partly by the aid of friendly contributions, rising from 1s. to 20l., which were laboriously collected in neighbouring towns. On one of them, however, there is a small mortgage, and there is the annual interest to be paid of 10l. or 12l. The roofs of all of them have to be kept watertight and the windows mended; the walls have to be whitewashed and the seats painted every few years. Coal has to be paid for; the oil lamps have to be fed in winter time, or, if there are gasworks in the neighbourhood, the quarterly gas bill has to be met. A shilling or two a week must be found at each place for a chapel-cleaner. The Baptists have a minister of their own; they raise 50l. or 60l. for his salary, and this is supplemented by a grant from some denominational fund. The Methodists of both descriptions share in the services of the ‘travelling ministers’ assigned to the circuit, and contribute to their maintenance. They have their Sunday schools, for which books have to be bought and pictures; and every summer, money has to be found for a children’s treat. There is a tract society at each place, and a few shillings are spent every year in buying tracts.

I often wonder how these small congregations succeed in covering all their expenses; but they do it. And the persistent loyalty which they show to what they describe as their ‘little cause,’ the liberality with which, out of their poor incomes, they sustain it, the time and energy they devote to it, are a sufficient proof, even where they have not to endure petty injuries and annoyances from the members of the dominant Church, that there is some mysterious and vital force which holds them together. Within the walls of their red-brick conventicles they find nearer access to God than within the walls of the Norman

church. Rude and vehement extemporaneous prayers are a more natural vehicle of their devotion than the Anglican liturgy. Their preachers reach their heart and conscience; the sermons of the rector seem to them without pith and force. Sometimes within the mean buildings where they worship there burns a wonderful fire—a fire which is kindled from heaven, though the flame may be fed with earthly passion; and then the hearts of strong hard men are melted to penitence, and the sluggish are conscious of the glow of a most blessed fervour. The remembrance of such visitations from the Living God remains for years, and sustains the hope that they may return. But these great times never seem to come to the congregation in the parish church; and for the young men and women to ‘go over’ to the Church seems like a desertion of the home of Divine grace. If some of the attendants at these village chapels were asked why they are Nonconformists they might not give a very intelligible or logical answer to the question, though others of them could hold their own against the rector or the rector’s son from Oxford. The real reason of their Nonconformity lies in the fact that their whole religious life is alien from the life of the Establishment.

But though there are four places of worship in the parish—the church and the three Dissenting chapels—there is but one public elementary school. This is under the management of the rector, who appoints the master and mistress, superintends the religious instruction, and sometimes examines the children in the catechism himself; two or three afternoons in the week the rector’s wife goes to look to the girls’ sewing. I have not a word to say in depreciation of the zeal and liberality with which the clergy have established and maintained their schools. They have been often left to bear too large a part of the cost themselves; and the squire with his 6,000*l.* or 7,000*l.* a year has contributed less than the rector with his 600*l.* or 700*l.* The school is naturally and honourably regarded by the clergyman as a necessary part of the ecclesiastical organisation of the parish. The time he spends in it is properly regarded by him as time spent in discharging his clerical duty. ‘But to me it seems a policy of ‘inequality and injustice’ for the Government to entrust the administration of a public educational grant to the parish clergyman when a half or third of the parishioners, whose children have to go to the public elementary school, are Nonconformists. When there are three chapels in a village, bearing their very obvious testimony to the fact that there are people so alienated from the Church that they are willing to bear the cost of maintaining separate worship, it seems to me an act of oppression for the Government to compel the children of the Nonconformists to receive their education at a school managed by the minister of the Church from which the parents have revolted.

My typical village represents the actual condition of immense districts of England. You may drive from village to village, and

from parish to parish, and find no schools except the schools of which the clergyman is practically the sole manager. The Government grant for education is so administered that the children of Nonconformists of every description—Baptists, Independents, Methodists—are driven by educational necessities and by the force of a compulsory law into the schools of the Anglican clergy. From compulsory attendance at the Anglican churches Nonconformists have escaped; but the compulsory attendance of Nonconformist children at Anglican schools prevails over a large part of England. It prevails at a time when the doctrines and practices of the Anglican clergy are regarded by Nonconformists of every description with deeper distrust than they have ever felt since the days of Archbishop Laud.

'But the children,' it may be urged, *'have the protection of the Conscience Clause, and the parents can claim their exemption from religious teaching.'* No doubt. The rural Nonconformist, however, has a sense of honour. The school to which he sends his children is the rector's school, partly supported by the rector, wholly managed by the rector; and to withdraw a child from the religious teaching seems a graceless return for the obligation which the rector is conferring on him. He shrinks from doing it for another reason. He knows that his own attendance at the chapel is regarded with great disfavour by the principalities and powers of the parish, and that even among his poorer neighbours he is a marked man. He is unwilling to subject his child to the annoyances which it would suffer if it were isolated from the rest of its schoolfellows—sent into a separate class-room while the rest of the children are at prayers or receiving a religious lesson from the rector.

Even if the Nonconformist children were really protected by the conscience clause from the influence of Anglican religious teaching, the large influence which the rector derives from being entrusted by the State with the general education of the parish would remain. With whatever delicacy of feeling he might avoid making his schools a proselytising agency, he could not help doing it. The mere fact that the children of Nonconformists are obliged to go to him for their education must operate to the disadvantage of Nonconformity.

'But the Dissenters could build schools of their own, and so secure the administration of their share of the Government grant.' But to build schools of their own, and to provide for their maintenance, is precisely what these poor people cannot do. Nor is it desirable that they should. In a population of 1,500 people there ought to be only one public elementary school. If the Nonconformists united their strength—or their weakness—and got sixty or seventy children together, their own school would be a poor one, and they would impair the efficiency of the school already in existence.

The principle of our education policy in relation to denominational

schools is extremely simple. It does not profess to provide denominational schools in harmony with the religious convictions of the parents whose children are taught in them. It sells the children of a district to any church that is rich enough to buy them. A parish may swarm with Methodists; two-thirds of the labouring people may attend the Methodist chapels; but the Methodists are usually too poor to build proper schools for their own children. The rector and his friends step in and pay the price for the power of administering the annual educational grant from the Consolidated Fund; he receives 200*l.* a year from the State towards the maintenance of his schools, and the Methodist children have no choice but to go to them.

When the denominational system is defended on public platforms, it is customary to weave together eloquent sentences about the right of the poor man to claim for his child the kind of religious instruction he prefers. To any one who knows much about the rural districts of England this lofty declamation is altogether irrelevant. What the defenders of the denominational system have to demonstrate is the right of the rich to determine what kind of religious education shall be given to the poor in schools which derive a considerable part of their support from public taxation. We have abolished 'purchase' in the army; we should now abolish it in the school; and then we might be able to abolish it in the Church. If Cardinal Manning's commission should ever meet, I should, therefore, ask for a consideration of the justice and equality of an educational system which in large tracts of England hands over the elementary education of Non-conformists to the clergy of the Anglican Church. An excellent clergyman, for whom I have a very great respect, once described these elementary schools under clerical management as 'the bulwarks of the Church of England.' The description was accurate; I should ask the commissioners whether such schools ought to be regarded as 'suitable' schools for the children of Baptists, Independents, and Methodists. I should further ask whether the annual Parliamentary vote for elementary education is equitably used in keeping 'the bulwarks of the Church of England' in repair and mounting them with artillery of precision.

Having offered this contribution in support of the Cardinal's indictment of our present educational policy as 'open to the censure of inequality and injustice,' I may now consider the reasons which his Eminence alleges in behalf of his contention that it is unjust to exclude the denominational schools from a share of the education rate. The order in which these reasons are arranged does not seem to me the most convenient that could have been chosen for a systematic investigation of the subject; but I will accept it as it stands, and will attempt to reply point by point to the Cardinal's case.

1. It is alleged that for the Board Schools to receive the whole

advantage of the education rate is inequitable and unjust, because they 'represent one and only one form of opinion, and that form which is repugnant to the majority of the people of the United Kingdom—namely, that such schools should be only secular, to the exclusion of religion.'² His Eminence does not forget that the Bible is read in the majority of the schools; and he might have added that in the majority of them instruction in the contents and meaning of the Bible is provided for in the time-table and made part of the regular work of the school. But, he says—

all doctrinal formularies and catechisms are expressly excluded by the Act of 1870. But religion without doctrine is like mathematics without axioms, or triangles without base or sides. I heartily rejoice that the life, and words, and works, and death of the Divine Saviour of the world should be read by children. But that is not the teaching of religion, unless the true meaning and the true intrinsic worth of all these things be taught. *But this would perforce be doctrinal Christianity prohibited by law.*

The Cardinal is not quite accurate. 'Doctrinal Christianity' is not 'prohibited by law' in the Board Schools of England. It is true that the Act of 1870 provides that 'no religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught' in the schools; but this does not forbid the teaching of 'doctrinal Christianity.' It forbids the school to carry the flag of any particular religious denomination, but does not forbid the teaching of definite religious doctrine. This was pointed out during the debates on the Bill in 1870. When this clause was relied upon as a guarantee that the rate schools should not be made the denominational schools of the Church that happened to be dominant in any school district, it was replied that the clause placed no limitation on the power to give religious teaching; 'there was no provision to prevent any religion or any creed from being expounded and taught.' Mr. Jacob Bright's amendment on the clause, to the effect that 'in any such school in which the Holy Scriptures shall be taught the teaching shall not be used or directed in favour of or against the distinctive tenets of any religious denomination,' was rejected by a majority of 251 to 130. According to Sir Roundell Palmer the only object of the clause excluding catechisms and formularies was 'to prevent rate-created schools from having a formal denominational character;' and he went on to say that 'distinctive catechisms and formularies, although convenient and useful, were not necessary for the integrity and freedom of religious truth and teaching.' Precisely so.

² Towards the end of his article, and when he wishes to show that the people of this country are unfavourable to 'secular' education, his Eminence gives quite a different colour to the Board Schools. He says, 'The people of this country, so far as they have yet been able, have pronounced decisively against merely secular instruction. In all School Boards, with the exception of a few, it has been resolved that the Bible shall be read and explained in their schools. This covers about twelve millions of the population,' &c. I cannot pretend to harmonise these conflicting representations.

If his Eminence will allow me to say it, I hold a considerable number of very definite Christian doctrines. I am in the habit of teaching them in the pulpit and elsewhere. Children of 15 have written for me statements of Christian doctrine definite enough to satisfy even the Cardinal. But I never use a 'catechism' or 'formulary.' His Eminence can instruct a congregation on the great doctrines of our Lord's Dignity, His atonement for the sins of men, the future judgment, without the aid of any such document as the clause in the Act of 1870 was intended to forbid in the Board Schools. And Parliament distinctly declined to deal with the tenets taught by the schoolmaster. Amendment after amendment was proposed with the object of excluding from the Board Schools what the Cardinal describes as 'doctrinal Christianity;' but they were either withdrawn or rejected. Mr. Gladstone, Sir Roundell Palmer, and other ministerial speakers condemned them with warmth and vehemence.

It is the ratepayers acting through the School Boards who have excluded, or have done very much to exclude, 'doctrinal Christianity.' Using the powers conferred by the Act, they have adopted bye-laws imposing limitations on the teaching of the schoolmaster which are not imposed by the Act itself; they have tried to make the teaching undocrinal; they have aimed at being what is called 'unsectarian.' If his Eminence were to ask me what I think to be the worth of the 'unsectarian religious teaching' given in Board Schools I should prefer to remain silent. If he asked me what I thought the phrase meant I should be compelled to acknowledge that I could not tell. It is no part of my business to defend the religious policy of the School Boards; but, in reply to the statement that schools in which this sort of teaching is given are 'repugnant to the majority of the people of the United Kingdom,' it is fair to say that throughout England the ratepayers, wherever School Boards exist, have deliberately chosen to establish schools of this kind. They have shown no desire to secure 'doctrinal Christianity.' Their representatives, even those of them who are most zealous for 'religious teaching,' have insisted that the religious teaching must be 'unsectarian.'

It may be replied that since the Boards are elected by ratepayers of every creed and of none, and since the schools are intended for children whose parents are of every creed and of none, a colourless type of religious teaching is inevitable, if any religious teaching is given at all. Granted. The ratepayers see clearly that in the common school they ought not to teach a sectarian faith. But from what I know of the working people in different parts of England I do not believe that any considerable number of them would desire to have any other kind of teaching than that which they suppose to be given in Board Schools. They do not want a 'doctrinal Christianity' for their children—at any rate on week-days. The Roman Catholics of course I except; his Eminence has a right to speak for them. But as to the rest of

the working people, I am tolerably confident that they have no wish for 'formularies and catechisms,' or for the kind of religious teaching which the 'formularies and catechisms' represent. If their children read 'the life, and words, and works, and death of the Divine Saviour of the world' in the day school they are content. Very large numbers of them would be content if even this kind of religious instruction were withdrawn. When the Birmingham School Board was absolutely 'secular' in its policy there was no reluctance to come to the schools. I find no proof that the middle classes care more for 'doctrinal Christianity in the day school' than the working people. They are not eager that their own sons and daughters should be taught catechisms and creeds. When, therefore, the Cardinal declares that the rate is appropriated to 'a class of schools which represent one and only one form of opinion, and that form which is repugnant to the majority of the people of the United Kingdom,' I differ from him. The repugnance is the repugnance of the clergy, not of the people. The 'unsectarian' school is precisely what the vast majority of the people prefer.

2. The school rate is declared to be a 'sensible burden' on the poor; and 'for so great a sensible burden the poor ought to receive a sensible benefit.' No doubt. And the 'sensible benefit' is open to them: they can send their children to the Board Schools. But—

3. It is alleged that 'the character of the Board Schools has been gradually so raised that the poor children are thrown upon the voluntary schools.' No proof is given of this extraordinary allegation. I believe that no proof can be given. As might have been expected, the Roman Catholic schools show a higher percentage of free scholars than schools of any other class; but the scale of fees in the Board Schools is lower than in any of the denominational schools—lower than in either the Church of England or the Roman Catholic schools.³

If the children who can pay no fees were driven into Roman Catholic schools by the refusal of the Board Schools to receive them for nothing, the Cardinal would have a grievance; but his Eminence

³ The table given below, taken from the last Report of the Committee of Privy Council (p. 154), gives the percentages of children paying the respective fees. The Board Schools have a heavy excess of children paying one penny and twopence a week. Including the free scholars, it appears that the Roman Catholic schools have 57·31 per cent. paying less than threepence a week, the Church of England schools 57·10 per cent., the Board Schools 67·18 per cent.

	Free	Less than 1d.	1d. and less than 2d.	2d. and less than 3d.	3d. and less than 4d.	4d. and less than 6d.	6d. and less than 9d.	9d.	More than 9d.
Church of England schools .	2·63	·12	15·14	39·21	27·82	11·99	2·72	·33	·04
Wesleyan schools .	·97	·02	2·01	24·83	29·9	28·05	12·63	1·79	·1
Roman Catholic schools .	13·9	—	10·85	32·46	29·48	11·02	2·01	·18	—
British undenominational schools .	4·6	·25	9·64	28·49	30·47	17·81	7·08	1·44	·22
School Board .	4·19	·05	20·62	42·32	24·41	6·99	1·16	·28	·01

would not allege that this is the explanation of the large proportion of free scholars in the schools connected with his own Church.

4. What is described as the 'profuse and needless expenditure' of the School Boards is alleged as an aggravation of the injury inflicted on the denominationalists by their exclusion from any share of the rate. This, however, is a piece of rhetoric which may be passed over. If the School Boards are spending too much the rate-payers should compel them to exercise economy; that their excessive expenditure is a reason for adding to the rates in order to subsidise the denominational schools is not apparent.

5. '*Finally, the injustice will be seen to be still graver and more glaring if we compare the manner in which voluntary schools and Board Schools have been dealt with since the Act of 1870 became the law of the land.*' Cardinal Manning recites with characteristic eloquence the educational achievements of the churches during 'those dreary and starving days' which preceded the establishment of the School Board system; acknowledges that after all their energy and self-denial 'there were perhaps a million of children' without education; denounces every successive Government and Parliament which had failed to make provision for this terrible educational destitution; denounces 'the apathy and want of generous self-denial' of those who had never taxed themselves to provide and maintain schools for the neglected children of their fellow-countrymen; and closes his denunciations by asking, 'What has the Act of 1870 done? It has done nothing for those who by their self-denial had created the national education of England; and it has done everything for those who had never done anything for the country or for themselves.'

This is a very remarkable outburst, and indicates that when Cardinal Manning speaks about 'the inequality and injustice' of our educational policy he is thinking not so much of the children of the poor, or of their parents, as of the churches.

I do not underestimate the value of the educational work which the clergy and the churches had done for the country; but those who, during the years immediately preceding 1870, pressed upon the Government the necessity of new educational measures were not thinking of acknowledging and rewarding clerical and ecclesiastical services; they were thinking of the unfortunate children who were in no schools at all, or who were in schools that were badly taught, or who attended good schools irregularly. It appears from the complaint of his Eminence that they were guilty of a grave offence because they succeeded in getting an Act passed which, though it has done a great deal for the children, has 'done nothing' for the churches and the clergy.

There was some excuse for their omission. The children were helpless and their necessities were urgent; the churches and the clergy had usually been strong enough and willing enough to look

after themselves. Nor was this all. Through a long succession of years 'those who by their self-denial had created the national education of England' had shown themselves hostile to every proposal that the nation itself should complete the work which they had originated, but which they had not strength to carry through. The denunciations which his Eminence has directed against 'every successive Government and Parliament' which had neglected to provide that an efficient public elementary school should be within the reach of every English child, should have been directed against those who 'by their self-denial had created the national education of England,' and whose distrust of any scheme of education not conducted by themselves had paralysed every attempt to reach the neglected children of the community by means of a system that should be independent of the churches. In the controversies which preceded the Act of 1870 many of them offered a strenuous resistance to some of the fundamental principles on which the Act was constructed. I have not yet forgotten how, in every part of the country, those of us who insisted that the State should protect the right of every child to receive a simple but thorough elementary education, and that the only secure protection of this right was a law enforcing attendance at school, were howled at as un-English; nor have I forgotten that among those who provoked and led the popular clamour were the friends and supporters of the churches and the clergy. I have not forgotten how, by these same people, men whose faith in the Son of God and Saviour of men was as loyal and as fervent as that of their opponents were denounced as 'infidels' and 'atheists' because they insisted that the ratepayers should undertake the education of the children for whom the churches had been unable to make adequate provision, and that the schools founded and established by the ratepayers ought to be free from sectarian colour. Perhaps it was excusable that the men whose whole strength was devoted to doing something for more than a million of neglected children should have forgotten to ask that something should be done at the same time for those who did their best to obstruct a very great and urgent reform.

But is it true that the Act of 1870, and the educational policy of which it was a part, did nothing for those who 'by their self-denial had created the national education of England'?

(1.) They were zealous for the education of all the children in the country; many of them had put a severe strain on their resources to build and to maintain schools; but there were still more than a million children for whom there was no school accommodation. Was it nothing that within four years the Board Schools provided accommodation for nearly a quarter of a million, within six years for more than half a million, within eleven years for more than a million? They might have thought that the work could have been done better by themselves; but was it not better that the work

should be done this way than not at all? If the Act has 'done nothing' for them as Churchmen, it has at least done something for them as educationists.

(2.) It is true that their schools have received nothing from the rates; but the promoters of the Act of 1870 may at least claim one slight merit. They did not proceed on the exclusive lines on which, under the influence of those who, 'by their self-denial, had created the national education of England,' the Government grants in aid of education had previously been administered. Before 1870 no school could receive a grant unless it was 'in connection with some recognised religious denomination,' or unless it was a school 'in which, besides secular instruction, the Scriptures [were] read daily from the Authorised Version.' The 'secularists' had been expressly excluded from their share in the grants from the Consolidated Fund; but in the day which his Eminence regards as the day of their triumph they did not attempt any revenge; they made no proposal to withdraw the grants from schools in connection with religious denominations, or in which 'the Scriptures are read daily from the Authorised Version.' The grants were continued as before.

(3.) Nor was this the only merit of the policy of 1870. The withdrawal from the Bill of the clause which permitted the local Boards to subsidise the denominationalists had created considerable disappointment. To compensate the denominational schools for the loss of a possible source of income, Mr. Gladstone, when he announced the withdrawal, promised that the grants from the Privy Council should be augmented, and said that the augmentation would probably amount at its maximum to 50 per cent. If I remember aright, there was some complaint during the next year or two that the promise had not been completely redeemed. No such complaint can be made now. In 1870 the average grant earned by 'voluntary schools' was 9s. 9½d. on each scholar in average attendance. In 1881 the average grant earned by these same schools was 15s. 7½d. on each scholar in average attendance.

(4.) The School Boards have helped to fill the vacant places in the 'voluntary schools.' The visiting officers and the compulsory laws render precisely the same service to the schools under the management of the denominationalists as to the schools under the management of the Boards themselves. In 1870, when the 'voluntary schools' had places for only 1,878,584 children, and when there were more than a million children for whom there was no accommodation, the average attendance was only 1,152,389, or nearly 39 per cent. below the accommodation. In 1881, when the places in the voluntary schools had risen to 3,195,365, the average attendance was 2,007,184, or only a little more than 30 per cent. below the accommodation.

(5.) With larger annual grants, and the aid received from compulsory laws administered by School Boards or by the School Attendance

Committees created by the Act of 1876, the denominationalists have been able greatly to increase the number of their schools, and greatly to increase the number of children in average attendance. The schools have increased 75 per cent.; the average attendance has increased about 90 per cent. The total grant earned by the denominational schools in the year ending the 31st of August, 1870, was 528,039*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.* The total grant earned by these same schools in the year ending the 31st of August, 1881, was 1,570,201*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.* They have nearly twice as many children in average attendance; they receive nearly three times the amount of grant from the Consolidated Fund.

It looks, therefore, as if the Act of 1870, and the policy of which it was a part, had not worked very badly even for 'those who by their self-denial had created the national education of England.'

What his Eminence means when he says that the Act 'has done everything for those who had never done anything for the country or for themselves' I do not profess to be able to comprehend. It is a dark saying. Perhaps the allusion is to those persons who before 1870 had no wish to see the children of the country educated, or no inclination to contribute to the cost. In the course of twelve years the Act has increased the average attendance at elementary schools by about 120 per cent., and has compelled these unpatriotic persons—if they happen to live in School Board districts—to pay an education rate for building and maintaining the Board Schools.

But still his Eminence is full of fears. For—

6 and 7. Notwithstanding the enormous addition to the strength of the 'voluntary schools' since 1870, he is certain that in the long run they will be supplanted by the system which rests on 'the inexhaustible school rate,' and the 'remnant of Christian schools will be a tolerated survival of the tradition of English Christianity.' Indeed, the process has already begun. 'Many schools have been handed over to the School Boards by Nonconformists, and some also by clergy of the Established Church.'⁴ The Cardinal thinks that this process will go on. I think so too, and I will try to show before I close this paper why I think the School Board system is certain to supersede the schools of the denominationalists.

8. The Cardinal complains that the denominationalists cannot establish a school in a district for which the School Board, in its own

⁴ In the last Report of the Committee of the Privy Council (page xii.) it is stated that of the 7,237 schools established by the aid of Government grants—that is, of building grants—382 Church schools, with accommodation for 98,349 scholars, 10 Wesleyan schools, with accommodation for 3,740 scholars, and 166 British and undenominational schools, with accommodation for 57,022 scholars, have been transferred to School Boards. But Cardinal Manning is almost certainly right in saying that 'many schools' have been handed over by Nonconformists, and 'some' by the clergy of the Established Church. Comparatively few of the Nonconformist day schools—excluding the Wesleyan schools—received building grants.

judgment and the judgment of the Privy Council, has already made adequate provision. This he regards as a grave injustice. It would be a more accurate statement of the case to say that no new denominational school within a School Board district can obtain an annual grant if, in the judgment of the Board and of the Department, adequate provision of any kind—whether made by the denominationalists or the Board—already exists. I observe that in the last Report of the Privy Council annual grants have been refused to three Roman Catholic schools, and to a school which I suppose is a Church of England school, for this reason.

But does his Eminence really wish Section 98 of the Elementary Education Act of 1870 repealed? Has he considered how that section works? It restricts the Boards as well as the denominationalists; and it constitutes an impregnable line of defence for the denominationalists against the attacks of their rivals. Indeed, it prevents attack and prevents rivalry. The clause reads—

If the managers of any school which is situate in the district of a School Board acting under this Act, and is not previously in receipt of an annual Parliamentary grant, *whether such managers are a School Board or not*, apply to the Education Department for a Parliamentary grant, the Education Department may, if they think that such school is unnecessary, refuse such application.

How does this clause work? Suppose that in a School Board district containing 50,000 children, for whom places should be found in public elementary schools, the denominationalists have provided for 30,000. The Board is at liberty to provide for only 20,000. The 30,000 for whom the denominationalists have made provision are compelled to attend the denominational schools whether their parents like it or not. The territory on which the denominationalists have 'squatted,' without asking leave from the ratepayers, is made sure to them. The parents of 35,000 out of the 50,000 children in the district might prefer Board Schools, the ratepayers might be willing to pay for building and maintaining schools for the whole 35,000, but the Board is not free to build for more than 20,000. The denominationalists have monopoly rights over 30,000 under the clause of which his Eminence complains. In every school district in England the Board, when it was established, found the territory largely occupied. Whether the schools were religiously 'suitable' to the people of the district was a question that could not be raised. The rich people who had built the schools might have been Episcopalians; the poor people, whose children had to be sent to them, might be Baptists, Independents, Methodists, Secularists; no matter; the 'voluntary schools' had a claim to all the children for whom they had found places. In at least one considerable district of Birmingham at the present moment the parents have no choice but to send their children to the schools of the denominationalists; the educational wants of the locality are provided for, and the Board has no power to

establish a Board School. Nor is this all. In districts of Birmingham where Board Schools and denominational schools stand near to each other, the Board Schools are overcrowded; the average attendance last year was in excess of the accommodation, and applications for admission had to be refused; but in the denominational schools there were several thousand vacant places, although the compulsory powers of the Board were exerted in their favour. But, I repeat, the clause in the Act of 1870 to which the Cardinal objects prevents the Board from providing accommodation of the kind which the parents prefer. The monopoly of the denominationalists must be maintained.⁵

There are strong administrative reasons, which are sufficiently obvious, for maintaining the present restriction; but if the restriction is to be removed in favour of the denominationalists it must also be removed in favour of the ratepayers and the Boards. Whether the denominationalists would be better off if a Board could erect a school wherever it pleased I leave the denominationalists to judge.

9. The Cardinal concludes his indictment by dwelling on the rapid development of the School Board system and by reasserting his fears that 'the Christian schools of Christian England' are in peril of disappearing. He summarises his statement of his case in a single sentence: 'The voluntary system rests on free-will alone; the School Boards are armed with compulsory taxation and compulsory education.' The antithesis is an excellent piece of workmanship; but the workmanship has been wasted on worthless material. The 'voluntary system,' which his Eminence describes as resting on 'free-will alone,' received last year 1,570,200*l.* from 'compulsory taxation;' within the districts under School Boards compulsory laws are exerted as much in favour of the 'voluntary schools' as of the Board Schools; in districts under School Attendance Committees, and including nine millions and a quarter of the population, compulsory attendance is enforced for the advantage of 'voluntary schools' only.

I have now gone over the Cardinal's charges against our present educational policy. His reply to some objections which might be urged against a universal rate, from which all public elementary schools would have a right to claim subsidies, may be dismissed very briefly. But in the course of it he makes some remarkable statements, which may deserve a passing notice.

His Eminence says that '*the Government has reduced voluntary*

⁵ It may be necessary to press upon the Department considerations which ought to prevent it from estimating some of the Birmingham denominational schools as providing for anything like the number of children for whom they have accommodation, if the accommodation is to be reckoned by square feet; for some of these schools are in districts from which the working population has been driven by changes in the town, and some of them are situated in very poor neighbourhoods, but are in the hands of managers who are obliged to charge high fees.

schools to the condition of secular schools. No religion can be taught in the school hours; no religious books can be used. In what, then, do they differ from Board Schools? . . . The religious teaching costs nothing. It is freely given by our clergy, or by our teachers out of the school time.'

In what do the 'voluntary schools differ from the Board Schools'? Of course the Cardinal means during the two hours of each school meeting assigned to secular instruction. They ought not to differ at all. But I should be glad to know whether it would be impossible for an ordinary visitor who listened to the instruction and watched the discipline during secular hours to tell whether he was in a Board School, an Episcopalian school, or a Roman Catholic school. On the theory of the Act of 1870, on the theory which accepts a denominational school with the Conscience Clause, as suitable for the children of parents of all creeds, the Roman Catholic school should be as free during secular hours from all Roman Catholic colour as the Board School, and the Episcopalian school as free from all Anglican colour as the Roman Catholic school. If, as the Cardinal intimates, this theory is carried out in practice, and if during the secular hours there is really no difference between the Roman Catholic school and the Board School, the State which cares only for secular instruction may find it unnecessary to continue grants to the schools of the Roman Church.

And what does his Eminence mean by saying that 'no religion can be taught in school hours; no religious books can be used'? Does he really mean that the Roman Catholic schools are secular schools, that there is no provision in their time-tables for religious instruction, that the children are not required to come to school till the religious instruction is over, or that they are at liberty to go home before it begins? In all the voluntary schools of which I know anything the religious instruction and observances are provided for within the ordinary school hours; and though the Conscience Clause permits the children to be 'withdrawn' and employed at other work, it is perfectly well known that, as the children are compelled to be in the school while the religious instruction is given, the chances are more than a thousand to one that the claim for withdrawal will not be made.

What, again, does the Cardinal mean by saying that the religious instruction 'is freely given . . . by our teachers out of the school time'? Does the Cardinal mean that in the engagement of Roman Catholic schoolmasters and mistresses there is no provision that they shall be present in the school during the time of religious instruction; that if they regularly absented themselves they could plead that the religious instruction was given 'out of school time,' and that, therefore, their absence did not affect their claim to their salary? I should like to see the question tried in a county court.

In other 'voluntary schools' the masters and mistresses are engaged for the religious instruction as they are engaged for the secular instruction; they are no more at liberty to absent themselves from the religious lesson than from the lesson in geography or arithmetic: their salary covers all their work.

What, again, does the Cardinal mean when he says of the 'voluntary schools' that 'they support themselves'? As we have seen, they received from taxation last year a million and a half. They received in fees from their scholars about a million more. They received in fees paid by the guardians about 29,000*l*.

Further, what does his Eminence mean when he says, in support of his demand on the rates, that 'the voluntary system is a moral power which no public money could create. It is zeal against hire. It is the unbought energy of those who gladly spend and are spent for the common weal. It is free service and free gift against paid service and public money'? But it is 'public money' for which he is asking. If in addition to what the 'voluntary schools' in common with the Board Schools receive from fees and from the Consolidated Fund they are to share with the Board Schools the product of the rates, what will become of the voluntarism, of 'the moral power which no public money could create,' of 'the unbought energy,' 'the free gift'? The members of School Boards, the managers of Board Schools, give to the schools service as free as that of the managers of the 'voluntary schools.' Already out of 1*l*. 14*s*. 11½*d*. which is the cost to the voluntary schools for every scholar in average attendance, only 7*s*. 1*d*. comes from 'voluntary contributions.' Grant the schools a subsidy from the rates, and the title 'voluntary' will become more ironical than it is at present.

The apprehensions of his Eminence are not unfounded. If the Christianity of England depends, as his Eminence seems to believe, on getting a subsidy—say a million a year—from the rates for the support of 'voluntary' schools, and so making them independent of voluntary subscriptions, the prospects of the Christianity of England are very gloomy. If for the maintenance of the national faith it is necessary that the working people of the country should continue to send their children to the schools of the denominationalists, the national faith is likely to disappear within a generation or two. His Eminence is under a grave delusion when he supposes that the Board Schools are regarded with repugnance by the majority of the people. The majority of the people—at least of the working people (and it is these whose opinions and inclinations are of chief importance in relation to this question)—are quite content that their children should attend schools from which 'catechisms and formularies' are excluded, and in which there is no instruction in 'doctrinal Christianity.' As a rule the Board Schools are larger, handsomer, better lighted,

better warmed, more attractive, and more healthy than the denominational schools. The staff is stronger, the equipment more complete. The working people are, therefore, likely to prefer them. Even if the two classes of schools were in every respect equal, the working people would generally elect those which are supported by rates and under the management of a representative Board. They have a generous pride which makes them resent dependence on the charity of the churches and the clergy. Why should they be under an obligation to the voluntary supporters of denominational schools when they might have their children educated in schools which are their own—their own as the parks, and libraries, and museums are their own, which have been provided out of the rates and are maintained out of the rates?

But I have a larger faith than the Cardinal in the prospects of English Christianity. It is not dependent upon the success of his Eminence in getting a million a year from the rates for the support of denominational schools. Let the secular education of the people be provided by secular authorities, and let the churches, by whatever arrangements seem expedient to them, provide for religious education at their own cost and out of school hours. This is the true solution of the problem, and the sooner it is frankly accepted the better it will be for the interests both of English education and of English Christianity.

R. W. DALE.

GIRL-CHILDREN OF THE STATE.

THERE is one thought continually present, in considering the scheme; and really hard work for bettering the condition of the unfortunate which occupy many—how superficial much of such work necessarily is. We struggle against this necessity; and happy are those who feel they can build from the foundation: but in this mysterious and painful world it is a very condition of work that much must go in mere alleviation. This is at once felt in any time of widespread calamity; we cannot stop to consider and pluck up the roots of evil, but must content ourselves with nipping the blossoms, lest they should ripen seed which would multiply a thousandfold. We must feed the starving, provide shelter for the homeless, and deal with the criminal, even while feeling that in no case have we touched the root of the matter, and that had we worked sooner or more wisely, there might have been no necessity for measures which are far from being entirely beneficial, even for the moment.

How can we help, in any solid manner, those who cannot, or do not, help themselves? Where is the power that can reach or benefit the drunkard, or the innocent ones, it may be, who depend on him? or those whose life from earliest years has been surrounded by degrading influences of every kind? There is hope for all, and there are those who labour, not in vain, to reach the very sources of misery and crime, if perchance the waters, healed at their spring, may nourish instead of poisoning our land.

Yet there is one work so obvious, and, we may say, so easy, while truly fundamental, that it seems wonderful it should not have been so taken in hand long ago as to leave nothing more to be desired on that score. I mean the care and bringing up of orphan children so entirely destitute as to have no refuge but the workhouse. For, in their case, there are none of the difficulties which meet us at every step in the attempt to do good to children whose parents use their natural rights only to work them evil.

They are absolutely in our hands, and ours is the responsibility as to their future. Is their education, and the atmosphere in which they grow up, such as will fit them to be good, and happy, and useful men and women?

Here there is a work which does, indeed, go to the root of the matter. There can be no question as to their being proper 'objects of charity,' or any fear of demoralising or pauperising others by spending care upon them. And we receive them as unformed children, to work upon for good or ill. I will not speak here of orphan boys, but of those who amongst all unhappy ones have perhaps the greatest and most touching claims on our compassion.

They are women, their very nature appealing to us for protection and tenderness; they are utterly destitute (through no fault of their own), and they are children, in our power to be made happy, or the reverse, now and hereafter.

How do we fulfil our trust? Alas! we fear that masters of work-houses will almost invariably tell us the same sad tale—of results proving that even in the best regulated workhouses the atmosphere and surroundings are not those in which a girl-child can be safely brought up. There can be few records sadder than those which the books of workhouses reveal concerning the girls brought up within their walls, leaving them to return too soon with ruined lives.

Such records bring intense sadness, because we feel that it need not have been so; that in many cases innocent infants were left in our care with the germs of all lovely womanly qualities which might have been developed, and that this ruin is the result of our education—of the only home we have provided for them.

And even if this last, worst ruin be averted, is our training of these helpless little ones such as we could for a moment bear to think of our own children enduring? We know how love and brightness seem as necessary for the moral and even physical well-being of a child as sun and soft air are for seedlings.

Poor little fatherless and motherless children! who can help grieving over their condition? They came into the world with the same capacity for enjoyment as others, with hearts as ready to love, and faculties as ready to expand under the influence of that affection which seems the natural right of children; but they are *paupers*, and the very name of pauper seems branded upon them. Given over in infancy to the State, to grow up, by hundreds under a cold unnatural system, and entirely deprived of that individual care and influence which in the case of girls is essential to their future welfare, statistics are not needed to prove that their after-history is the saddest possible; that very few remain in a respectable condition of life, while a large proportion are found in our prisons and penitentiaries, where any effort to benefit them is found to be almost hopeless.

But, dreary and hopeless as is the life of the workhouse orphan while she is an inmate of those walls, how inconceivably more sad and terrible is her lot when she leaves them! for at thirteen or fourteen she begins the hard battle of life, probably as maid-of-all-work

in a small family. She whose wants have hitherto been supplied as by machinery, and who has perhaps never scrubbed a floor, washed a plate, or handled a broom in her short existence, finds that she is expected to minister not only to her own wants, but to those of a whole household: to be the servant and drudge of all. Added to this is the fact that the kind of persons willing to employ workhouse girls are seldom of a very respectable class, and not unfrequently their very employers tempt the poor unprotected children to their ruin.

How can any heart not ache and burn at the very thought of the hardness endured by these, our women-children? There is but too much to make our hearts ache which yet we cannot see our way to mend. What we contend for in this case is, that it *can* be prevented.

Happy, indeed, are those orphans who are 'committed' to Industrial Schools, since the results of the training given in them stand out in striking contrast with those which almost certainly follow upon workhouse training. Nay, the after-history of girls committed to Reformatory Schools is *infinitely* better than the sorrowful story of the womanhood of workhouse girls. Most accurate statistics are kept of all the children who pass through Reformatory or Industrial Schools in Ireland, and we find that in the three years 1876-7-8, 133 girls were discharged from Reformatory Schools, of which there are five in Ireland, one for Protestants and four for Roman Catholics. Of these 133 girls, 115 are reported as doing well, four as doubtful, six had been lost sight of, and only eight had been reconvicted.

When we consider that all these children were young offenders, committed for some crime or misconduct, we cannot but feel the more strongly and pitifully what results we might hope for if the innocent girls left orphans, often from infancy, in our workhouses were given the same advantages and training as are bestowed upon young criminals.

But besides Reformatory, there are Industrial Schools, five for Protestants and thirty-two for Roman Catholic girls. The following statistics are taken from the blue book containing the Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools in Ireland, Sir John Lentaigne, presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty in 1880.

Nothing can be more hopeful or cheering than the results so far of the training given in these schools. The number of girl inmates on January 1880 was 3,073, while 544 had been discharged during the preceding year. Of these, only three had been sent to Reformatories; 464 had been placed in service or in employment of some kind, and twenty-four had emigrated.

The proportion of orphans amongst these girls is not given in the blue book, but exact information as to one of the largest of these Industrial Schools, that at Merrion, near Dublin, has been kindly supplied to the writer by the Sister in charge. Of 196 children in

the house, 109 are orphans. Besides these Industrial children there are in this admirable institution 148 blind girls, of whom 124 are orphans. Of these, eighty were sent from workhouses, the Guardians paying a small sum for their support. No one could see these eighty blind girls rescued from the contamination of a workhouse without feeling how blessed they were in comparison with others not so afflicted, but left to grow up in those dreary homes of orphan paupers. Their blind sisters are surrounded by every comfort and refining influence; pianos and harps provided for those who possess musical talent, on which some of them, taught by the Sisters, play well; also writing machines, with which they write rapidly, touching the notes which form the letters with unerring accuracy.

And as amongst the blind, so in the Industrial School. Never can we forget the rows of bright, lovely, happy faces in the schoolroom, or the motherly pride with which the Superior turned to us, as she patted the cheek of one fair-faced little one, and said: 'There, can any one show such a fine family as that?' Of this Industrial School the Inspector writes that it has peculiar attractions, and is intended to develop a new system of Industrial-School management, through which the best sympathies of human nature are awakened and fostered in the inmates by training the girls to nurse and administer to the wants of the blind, and to treat them with respect and kindness. 'There is not,' the Inspector adds, 'in the United Kingdom a finer, better kept, or better managed institution than this.' When we read in his Report that 'the blind girls are for the most part sent from the different workhouses throughout Ireland, their maintenance being paid for by the guardians of the union from which they are sent,' how can we but feel with burning hearts, 'here is all the machinery and organisation needed for orphan girls; why should *any* be kept in the miserable atmosphere of a workhouse?' We cannot prevent the children of parents who are themselves in workhouses from being there, but pauper orphans are, as we have said, ours to do as we will with. Why should the misfortune of blindness be necessary to deliver them from the sorrowful childhood and polluted womanhood to which a workhouse education with rare exceptions condemn them? Surely they might come under one head, No. 7, set forth in a circular to magistrates as that under which a child can be sent to an Industrial School, viz. 'A child found destitute, and being an orphan without any parent.' Or, if this cannot be done now legally, if once the child be in the poorhouse, is it too much to hope that the attention of Government might be so directed to the subject as to deliver *all* orphan children from a workhouse bringing-up?

In an interesting article on 'Our Child Criminals' in the *Nineteenth Century* (April 1880), the writer, Mrs. Surr, dwells forcibly on the need of providing a home and motherly care for young offenders if they are to be reclaimed. This is exactly what is done with

so much success in Industrial Schools. Every one of the thirty-two schools for Roman Catholic girls, who, of course, form the immense majority of our orphans in Ireland, are under the care of a staff of Sisters of Charity, of Mercy, or of some other religious order; and the result shows what motherly care can do to replace that which the children have lost. The Inspector writes:—

The training in girls' schools has been particularly successful, and it is to be hoped that in the future the women who have been children in the schools will, by their influence, wean their husbands from the public-house, and rear their offspring in the way they should go.

Yet these are the girls who are of so low a class that, of 1,075 children received into Industrial Schools in 1879, only 68 had both parents living who were not either paupers, criminals, or had deserted their offspring and fled the country. The moral inheritance of workhouse children is often far higher; in one of the last Reports of a large orphanage in England we read (dated the 15th of March, 1881):—

Two dear little girls arrived to-day from F—— Union. They lost their father some years ago, but the mother only died a few weeks since. She was a very fond mother, and the poor little girls seem broken-hearted at their loss.

Such cases abound; why should they receive far less consideration at the hands of the State than the children of criminals, or idle, careless parents?

A few days ago (the Superior of this Orphanage writes) a very young child was brought here by the master of the Union himself. He told us he had spent fourteen years of his life as master of different Unions, and had had wide experience of workhouse life generally; and added that he had invariably noticed the extraordinary dulness and apathy of pauper children. Vainly had he often tried to rouse them into something like animation and cheerfulness. His efforts had always proved failures. He ended by begging us to suggest some reason for this, adding, 'While waiting for you I watched about forty of your children marching through the garden on their return from school, and was much struck by the contrast they presented, with their bright faces, dancing steps, and merry peals of laughter, to the children I have left behind me.'

This Home for Orphan Girls at Kilburn is the only perfectly free Orphanage in England, and the single rule is to take none but orphans from the workhouse. The histories of children received there would alone, if widely published, throw such light on the misery of workhouse training for girls, that we can hardly imagine the heart of England any longer enduring to give over to it her orphan daughters:—

Some time ago (the head of this Orphanage writes) we took from a country workhouse a poor friendless child who had made her home there ever since she could remember, and whose elder sister, soon after she had been sent to service, had to be consigned to a penitentiary. As soon as our poor girl began to feel at home, she begged us to admit another little pauper—her companion in misfortune—whom she had left behind in the dreary abode. A lady visitor at this Union was asked to make inquiries, and wrote: 'I saw the little orphan whom you desire to befriend. Her story is a sad one. Her father died, and the mother

deserted her children, and nothing has been heard of her. Another little brother is in the Union, and an elder sister who was sent to service some months ago, and has now returned to the Union, having fallen. Poor girl! she is only 16. An improper place was found for her somewhere in London. When they leave the Union they are like birds let out of a cage, and so they are very easily led astray.'

Another case received about three weeks ago is less sad. The husband and father was killed by an accident. The widow, labouring to support herself and two little girls by needlework, sank under the strain, and died full of trouble and anxiety respecting the probable future of her helpless offspring. No one could be found to undertake their care, and they were therefore sent to the workhouse, where the eldest has lately died suddenly from sheer cruelty. The lady who wrote implored us to take the younger child, now left alone in this dreary mockery of a home.

Another child received at the same Orphanage, after recounting the hardships of her poor little orphanhood, said, 'At last sister put me in the workhouse. I wasn't much better off there. They was so strict, if you only turned your head they leathered you. They kept a long strap, our arms was bare, for we wore short sleeves to our frocks, and they would just catch us on them where it would hurt us; we all had it about three times a day. I had more to eat in the workhouse, but not as much as I wanted.' This child's father had been a groom in excellent service, and with a first-rate character for steadiness, industry, and honesty. But his health, always delicate, failed at last, and he sank quickly. The mother died suddenly not long after.

Another girl, rescued from — Workhouse, had been so severely beaten that raw beef was applied to the wounds on her arms to try and heal them before the Guardians came. Her condition was, however, discovered, and on being questioned by the Guardians, she said that she had been beaten because the schoolmistress thought she had done her sum wrong, but added that she knew it was right. Her copybook was sent for, and it was found to be as she had said; the sum was right, and the mistake for which the child had been so cruelly treated was that of the mistress, who was dismissed. If these words should chance to fall under the eye of any of the Guardians of that workhouse, they will know they are not exaggerated.

Five little sisters were received lately from a workhouse in the North of England. Let us hear their story in the words taken down from the lips of the eldest, who is really fourteen though she does not look more than ten.

Father was a furnace-worker. He was governor-like over the other men. He hadn't to work himself, but to see as they done *their* work.

He hadn't good health, but he would always go, though mother often begged on him to stop at home when he felt bad. He wouldn't ever let mother do no work as he could help. He made her have a servant to cook and wash and that.

Father started being ill of a Friday. He went to his work three times that day, and had to come back, he was that bad.

The last time he came in he sat down by the fire, and when mother asked what ailed him, he gave her no answer, for she started crying, and he didn't want her to be made troubled.

He never went to his work no more; he died that day week. He didn't stop abed all the time; he just sat by the fire and laid down now and a bit. He couldn't take hardly nothing except a sup o' milk. Mother made him all sorts of nice things, but he couldn't touch 'em after she made 'em.

He fretted and cried badly many times, when he knowed he was going, about what 'ud come to all of us. He said he'd be frightened we'd have to go to t' workhouse at last.

The last night father asked mother and me to stop up with him. He seemed in a sleep like most of the time; but towards morning he waked up a bit and kissed us both, and said 'God bless you!' When he'd done that he died.

Mother had to sell up everything. It fetched 20*l*. And then we moved to F——, a town about ten miles off.

Mother said all along as she'd not live long after father. She were so fond of him, she were always fretting after him. I used to hear her crying and crying of nights, and in the day and all she'd be crying.

Wi' all this trouble she got worse, and after we moved to F—— she got quite ill. She was that bad that she couldn't put her foot to the ground.

We got poorer and poorer, and mother had to pawn a lot of things she'd brought with her fra' C——. First a set of silver spoons, and eight watches as father'd bought for the biggest children when they be big enough to wear them—we did cry to see 'em go—and three shawls as had never been on her back, and her best black as she wore for father, and the *Pilgrim's Progress*, and the big Bible, and lots o' things after that.

Mother used to have work from a shop. She'd sit up abed wi' a pillow at her back all day long, stitching. She could earn 1*s*. 6*d*. a day if she worked hard.

Mother got no better. She'd often been as bad before when father was alive. But then she'd him to take care of her, and she'd strong food—chickens, and rabbits, and all—and could rest herself till she coom round. At last we had to live so hard we'd sometimes but one meal all day, and I begged on mother to let me go to work at t' factory. At first she wouldn't hear of it, 'cause of t' bad company, and me being so weakly; but she was so bad off she was forced to let me. I had 4*s*. 6*d*. a week, going from six in the morning till six at night. It were a flax factory, and t' dust got into my chest and made me cough.

Yes, we were bad off! The little 'uns would many a time be crying for food. Mother often cried, thinking how happy we all was once, and she fretted sadly when she thought we'd have to go to t' workhouse. But Mrs. J——, t' parson's wife, as were good to us, persuaded mother as we'd better all go in before we was hungered to death.

First they took us to F—— Workhouse. We was only there four days, while they passed us on to another. It was a bad workhouse, much worse than the one we went to afterwards. The food were very bad. We only had two bits o' bread allowed, one wi' our breakfast, and t'other at dinner. Besides this, we had thin gruel to our breakfast. I never used to eat my bit o' bread of a morning, for my baby-sister wouldn't touch the salty gruel, and she'd cry wi' hunger afore dinner-time came. She were little more nor a year old, and could just run alone.

Was I hungry afore dinner? Yes, we all was; and when we'd got our dinners, we was hungry afore supper-time, I know! We had dinner at twelve, and then at six o'clock we all had a little thick porridge and a gill o' milk each. It were good porridge, and so was t' bread good too, if there'd been more of it allowed.

They put mother in the infirmary, and they were very good to her, and give her nice things, everything as she wanted. But they wouldn't let her see her childer, not once all the four days, and this made her fret. The childer used to cry to go to her all day long, and very near all night too. If I stopped crying a

bit, I soon started again when I see the little 'uns fretting and calling for mother. We'd never been departed from her before—none of us.

We went by train to S—, where our proper workhouse was. This were a much nicer place. When we was first there, we'd such a nice governess over us. She'd let me go and see mother a bit every afternoon, and she wouldn't let none of the childer eat dry bread—she spread it wi' her own butter and preserve.

And one day she made t' doctor look how white and thin t' little childer all were, and he spoke to t' Guardians, and after that we'd lots to eat. Every one was so glad. But t' governess went away to be married, and the good doctor died. We was so sad when he died; we said, 'We'll never get another like him.' And so it was; for the next doctor knocked it all off, and we had just t' old house-diet again. Little baby had the house-diet till she was ill, and then she had lots o' milk, and meat, and things. How did she get ill? It were one day when me and the big childer had been out. When I coom in I found her crying. I asked her what was to do, and she told me how she'd had a bad fall off some high place in the schoolroom, and hurt her side. She'd a burn, too, as a boy had done wi' a red-hot poker for sport. It had gone in her eye, and it was all red. I took her up wi' my arm, and run with her to the missis o' the House, and she told me to carry her to the high infirmary, and sent for t' doctor to see her. After this she were quite blind with inflammation i' the eyes, and she couldn't never walk nor stand no more. Her back grew out a bit, and her chest in front.

Was mother in the same room? No, she were in what we called t' sick ward; we was all departed one fra' another.

After our good governess went away, we had a new one—a thorough bad, cruel one. She'd no one over her in t' House, so she could do just as she liked to us. We couldn't go and tell no one of her. We might ha' told t' Guardians, of course; but how mad she'd ha' been with us when they was gone! She used to knock us about and beat us all 'most every day. I mind once she was beating a girl, and t' child screaming so loud she couldn't hear us when we run and told her t' Guardians were coming, so they caught her. When they was gone, she was that wild with us for not telling her sooner, she said that she'd beat us all round; such a caning we had!

She used to vex me most by not letting me ever nurse little baby. She was so little she oughtn't to ha' been i' the schoolroom at all; and she used to be so tired afore the end of the day, sitting up on t' high forms wi' t' big girls (it was before she had t' accident); yet governess wouldn't never let me take her i' my arms. I've known t' governess stand by t' fire and watch us both, while she made me sit a long way off little baby; and she crying and holding out her arms for me to take her, till at last she'd cry herself asleep on t' floor. Oh, she was cruel! At last she fell down drunk in t' yard one day, and t' Guardians gave her notice to leave at once.

They was very kind to mother all the time she was in t' House. She had everything as she liked, and as could do her good—meat, and wine, and arrowroot, and pancakes—whatever she fancied. And the doctor were very good to her, too. She'd ha' been very comfortable and happy if it hadn't been for the thought of us childer, and leaving us in t' workhouse behind her. Mother was thirty-four when she died. The last thing she said to me was to mind and take care of little baby. When mother was gone, Mrs. J— coom up to t' infirmary one day, and told me my three sisters was going away to a very good place up in London. I did so cry to go too. It seemed so lonely without them. One o' my sisters was left too, but she wasn't along with me. Then it were settled for me and my sister to go to London too. I were so glad! We came a long journey to London, and I found my sisters looking so bouny. Little baby was dead; but I don't fret much after her. It's nice for mother to have her again, and I can go and see her grave, and plant flowers on it. The Sisters sent me to the sea-side, where I can play all day, and I hope I'll soon grow quite well and strong.

Such histories might be multiplied indefinitely; they are being enacted around us. We have doomed bright young creatures, with their lives before them, full of possible hopes and joys, to be sacrificed to an unnatural and senseless system; to be starved and stinted in bodily necessities, and still more grudgingly supplied with what is needed for mental and spiritual growth.

At the Kilburn Orphanage, girls rescued from this system may be seen in every stage of training, from the baby in the nursery to the young woman who is being 'finished off' for service. But you look in vain for the slouching gait, the expressionless face, the sullen stare, and the stunted form of the workhouse girl; while diseases, to which the latter are especially subject, have taken flight before those cheerful giants—plentiful food, fresh air, warmth, and, best of all, happiness.

A workhouse Guardian visiting this orphanage asked whether he could possibly be allowed to pass on there any specially distressing cases which came under his notice, 'for,' he said, 'my heart oftentimes bleeds for the poor little things that I see brought into our workhouse, children whose parents have occupied a very respectable position in life, and who would have shrunk with horror from such a fate for their family.' Alas! those who are the most intimately connected with the workhouses of England are also those able to speak most forcibly of their awful evils and dangers, especially for young and innocent girls.

How could it be otherwise? Children, like birds, were meant to be reared in a safe, happy nest; and if they lose their natural home and mother, the best hope for their welfare here and hereafter is to provide for them a happy home and true motherly care. This is the secret of success in Industrial Homes in Ireland, under the care of Sisters. In reading the Inspector's Report two things are especially striking: the motherly influence gained over the girls, and the care taken to surround them with home employments and country occupations. As to the first, there are constantly such notices as the following: 'Eleven girls were placed out in situations in 1879, and are all doing well. They keep up a constant correspondence with the Sisters.' Of another school (Reformatory), the Inspector writes that the girls 'who have emigrated have written letters full of gratitude, and with fond remembrance of the days they spent in school.' Or again, 'The Sisters correspond with the girls after their discharge, and all who reside within convenient distance of the school frequently visit their former teachers.' Of another school he says, 'Former inmates, when temporarily out of employment, are re-admitted until suitable situations offer, which is often of immense importance for their future well-being, as so many are orphans who would otherwise be without homes and friendless.'

It is indeed of importance; but what a fresh light it throws on

the mistake of bringing up orphan girls in workhouses, who, even if they leave it uncorrupted, have no home to turn to if out of employment- but the dangerous and evil atmosphere of the workhouse women's ward! In looking through the pages of Sir John Lentaigne's Report, we find repeated notices such as the following, showing the motherly care given to Industrial school-girls: 'They visit and consult the Sisters most freely through life; the girls look on the school as a home, and after discharge correspond with the Sisters when they require advice or assistance.' 'A House of Mercy on the premises affords the girls a refuge where they can always find a home after discharge . . . until a good situation offers. With few exceptions they keep up a correspondence with their former companions and teachers.' 'The girls are taught to look on the school as a home, where they can always obtain advice and assistance in procuring situations when out of place.'

In this way a mother's care is as far as possible supplied, and it must be the girl's own fault if she has not through life a true motherly friend.

And then, secondly, as to the training in home duties and household industries which is so important. I find on a careful analysis that of the thirty-two Industrial Schools for Roman Catholic girls in Ireland, there are only three where cows are not kept, and in almost all pigs and poultry in addition. And of these three, one, at Belfast, is in a town; one, at Galway, has no land attached to it, and one is taken up with the care of poultry on a very large scale, hatching chickens with incubators, and exporting eggs. Of all the other twenty-nine schools, milking cows, making butter, rearing calves, &c., is mentioned as part of the girls' education, besides the care of pigs and poultry. We are sorry to find that of the five Protestant Industrial Girls' Schools in Ireland there are only two where cows are kept, and dairy work taught to the girls; and in other branches of women's industry the Protestant schools are certainly considerably behind those conducted by Sisters. Of most of the latter it seems as if the words of the Inspector about one at Wexford might be truly said, 'No expense or labour is spared to benefit the children by the ladies who devote themselves to the management of this school.'

Many and various works are taught to the girls under the care of Sisters, besides cutting out and making their own clothes. Let us take a few at random from the Report:—Baking bread, upholstering beds, using sewing and knitting machines, glove-making, fine embroidery, laundry work, making confectionery and preserves, lace making, (Brussels and Honiton, as well as Irish point and Limerick lace), polishing furniture and floors, curling ostrich feathers, ribbon embroidery. Specimens of the latter were sent to the Paris Exhibition, where they were much admired. In most of the schools vocal and

instrumental music is well taught, and the more gifted girls are trained to be teachers under the National Board. In one, at Parsentown, there is a drawing class in connection with the South Kensington School of Art, which obtained nineteen prizes at the examination in March 1879.

At Strabane Industrial Schools the finest description of under-clothing and shirts are made, and exported to a leading house in London. One of the former inmates of another school was, in 1880, assistant matron in a county prison, another was laundress at Hazlewood Castle, in Yorkshire, another housemaid at Lord Gainsborough's.

The more details we gather from Sir John Lentaigne's Report, the sharper appears the contrast between the treatment and fair start in life given to girls in these schools, and the almost hopeless blighting of character, abilities, and future happiness to which their unhappy orphan sisters in workhouses are condemned.

The question of boarding out these poor children has not been touched upon, purposely, in this paper. To many it may seem to offer greater advantages than Industrial Schools. But if these institutions are under the management of ladies, devoting themselves to the personal care of the children, we cannot hesitate in believing that the latter are in better hands and a purer atmosphere than they would be in most of the homes of the labouring poor. At least those who have seen the working and results of such a school as that in Randolph Gardens, Kilburn, cannot but earnestly desire that *all* workhouse orphans should enjoy the same motherly care and healthy education. Begun but eleven years ago, the Orphanage now contains 160 children; and an addition to the building for 100 more has been begun, in consequence of the many pressing cases of misery refused for want of room, while the evils apt to arise from large numbers are guarded against by breaking them up into families. There is the nursery, generally in summer moved to the sea-side; then the school children, attending daily the parish National School; above them the industrial children, doing most of the house-work of a large establishment, and also serving, under the supervision of ladies, at several workmen's restaurants in various parts of London. Lastly, there are the elder girls, who are being finished off for service. At present it is almost useless to try and procure a servant from amongst these girls; the demand exceeds the supply.

A lady was struck one day by a group of pretty ladylike looking girls returning to the Orphanage from the National Schools, and asked who they were. 'These are our pupil-teachers,' was the reply. They had once been workhouse orphans, and were now studying to become certificated schoolmistresses under two of the ladies in charge of the Orphanage, who had themselves passed the Government examination. Why should it be left to a few individuals to rescue a

child here and there from the workhouse? In Ireland, Roman Catholic orphan girls are sent to schools under the care of Roman Catholic Sisters, who nobly fulfil their trust, the Government paying a certain sum per week for each child. Is it too much to hope that the same may be done for children of the English Church, now that Sisters of their own communion have proved their readiness and ability to take charge of them? There are village homes where the orphan children of Dissenters would receive tender motherly care.

Not long ago, a lady, walking on the quays in Dublin, observed a poor woman carrying a miserable-looking infant in her arms, which she was trying to cover with a wretched shawl. As the lady lingered, pitifully watching the baby, a passer-by said in half brutal jest, 'Ah, throw it into the river.' 'It has the makings of a man in it,' was the mother's instant reply, clasping it more fondly in her arms. Surely her pathetic repartee, full of unconscious poetry and deep truths, may seem to us but the echo of guardian angels' words, and tells us the secret of their patience with us their charges, as they fold their wings but the closer around us for our weakness, our infirmities, and our temptations, saying of each soul committed to their care, 'It has the makings of a Saint in it.' Shall we, to whom much has been given, deal wholly otherwise with the helpless little ones left in our care—the orphan daughters of our country?

MARIA TRENCH.

PUSS IN BOOTS.

POPULAR tales are, as a general rule, provided with exemplary morals. Virtue in them is, in the long run, almost always triumphant, and honest right seldom fails to overcome dishonest might. An exception must perhaps be made in the case of certain stories about thieves, in which the audacious ingenuity of the malefactor is called as a witness in his favour, and eventually procures for him not only an acquittal but a reward. But such freaks of popular fiction as the Highland 'Shifty Lad,' the German and Scandinavian 'Master-Thief,' and all the rest of their felonious kinsmen, belong to a peculiar class. They are, for the most part, purloiners who, like Jack Sheppard or Dick Turpin, have been rendered heroic by literature. There have been periods, moreover, in which properly regulated larceny was regarded in the light of an art or science, and these records of theft may date back to some such unprejudiced epoch. However this may be, they occur in most of the collections of the tales of the common people. But the modern introducers of folk-tales into polite society, the writers who, like Perrault, have made the fortune of the fairy-tale by rendering it neat and trim and fit to be received into drawing-rooms, have generally avoided subjects which might be looked upon with suspicion by stern moralists, and have selected as the heroes and heroines of their tiny dramas only such beings as regulate their lives in accordance with modern opinions about right and wrong. In the case of Perrault's *Contes* there is only one notorious exception to this rule. The true hero of 'Le Maître Chat, ou le Chat Botté' is not the miller's son who passes under the name of the Marquis de Carabas, but the cat which gains for him the hand of the princess, by means of several falsehoods and the murder of an unsuspecting and hospitable Ogre. The success of the youthful peasant whom these manœuvres convert into a king's son-in-law, and that of the intriguing cat itself, which becomes a grandee, and no longer chases mice except by way of relaxation, do not lend themselves to edification. The story, as it runs in Perrault's pages, teaches a distinctly immoral lesson. It was all very well for the author to tack on to it a *moralité*, to the effect that industry and tact are of more use to young people than a rich inheritance. The conclusion at which an ordinary reader would arrive, if he were not

dazzled by fairy-land glamour, would probably be that far better than either tact or industry on a master's part is the loyalty of an unscrupulous retainer of an imaginative turn of mind. The impropriety of this teaching is not balanced by any other form of instruction. What the story openly inculcates is not edifying, and it does not secretly convey any improving doctrine.

But this great fault appears to be mainly due to the pains which its narrators have taken to make it presentable. They have ignored its proper beginning and its fitting termination, and they have thereby suppressed the whole of its moral significance. At the same time they have conferred upon it the characteristic attraction which it did not originally possess, and which has had much to do with its world-wide success, in the shape of the boots which the cat asked its master to make for it in order that it might tread thorn bushes unpricked. It is impossible to say whether this stroke of genius was due to Perrault's unassisted imagination, or to the fancy of the narrators from whom he drew so much of his inspiration. All that we know with certainty is that the animal which figures as the hero of the story wears, as a general rule, no boots; and indeed is, in most instances, not only no booted cat, but no cat at all. In what seem to be the more archaic forms of the tale, the leading animal is usually a fox; and its behaviour, throughout the whole of its history, appears to be more in accordance with vulpine than feline traditions. But of that more anon.

In that rich treasure-house of information respecting popular fiction, the Introduction to his translation of the *Panchatantra*, the late Professor Benfey remarked that the booted cat had no sufficient motive for its abnormal conduct. It was merely a commonplace retainer, bound by no tie but that of ordinary domesticity to its master. Therefore some piece of evidence was undoubtedly wanting at the beginning of the story, to prove why the cat acted in so remarkable a manner. Then again, the cat's unbroken prosperity to the end was evidently a liberty taken with the original. For the narrative clearly belonged to the great cycle of stories, apparently of Buddhistic origin, in which the gratitude of the lower animals was strongly contrasted with the ingratitude of the self-styled 'superior animal,' man. The story, therefore, ought to begin with an explanation of the reasons which induced the cat to do what it did for the miller's son, and to end with an account of the ungrateful manner in which that youth, after becoming an aristocrat, repaid the cat's devotion to his interests.

If we turn from Perrault's artistic rendering of the tale to the ruder variants current in different parts of Europe, we find that some of them have preserved the due opening and others the meet termination, but that scarcely any of them can boast of both opening and

closing aright. The story does not occur in the collection of the Brothers Grimm, but one variant of it figures in Haltrich's *Deutsche Volkemärchen* (No. 13), and another in the Tyrolese collection of Schneller. In the tale told by Haltrich, the tutelary animal is a wild cat, which carries off an infant from a cradle and rears it in a forest. When the boy comes to man's estate the cat provides him with a dress composed of feathers borrowed from all manner of birds, for it has the power of calling together all the fowls of the air whenever it sounds its silver pipe, and also with a splendid feather mantle, which he offers as a present to the king. The rest of the story closely resembles the Norwegian 'Lord Peter' (*Tales from the Norse*, No. 42). In that variant a youngest son is helped by a domestic cat which but for him would have starved. So the opening is partially correct. But for the proper termination, in which the cat ought to be ungratefully treated, there has been substituted a quite inappropriate close, borrowed from the story which we know best under the name of 'The White Cat'—in which a cat, or other equally valuable animal friend, is beheaded by the hero, at its own urgent request, and then turns into a beautiful princess. The leading idea of stories of 'The White Cat' class—that of a brilliant being who is condemned to suffer a temporary eclipse, a celestial spouse who is obliged to don for a time a disfiguring hide or husk—is quite different from that which manifests itself in unadulterated variants of the 'Puss in Boots' group. The Swedish story of 'The Castle that stood upon Golden Pillars' (Hyltén-Cavallius & Stephens, No. 12), is remarkable for the fact that its cat works not for a master but for a mistress, but this discrepancy seems to be due to the forgetfulness of some narrator who has mixed up several stories together. In three other Scandinavian variants, one Norwegian the others Swedish, the protecting animal is not a cat but a dog.

The domestic cat, so far as Europe is concerned, is generally supposed to be somewhat of an upstart. In Egypt its cultus had existed for ages before our ancestors dreamt of paying it that species of worship which at present appears to connect it with the tutelary genius of the hearth. We have the authority of Herodotus for the fact that when a cat died in an Egyptian home the members of the bereaved family shaved off their eyebrows, and that of Diodorus for the touching statement that although Egyptians have been known to eat their fellow-creatures during famines, no instance of cat-eating was ever heard of. If an Egyptian happened to find a dead cat, says the Sicilian historian, he was careful not to approach it closely, for fear of being suspected of its murder. Standing at a distance, he made the sad loss known by cries of distress. During conflagrations, according to Herodotus, the Egyptian spectators allowed the flames to rage unchecked, devoting their attention to saving the cats belonging to the burning houses. A Roman happened one day to kill a cat by accident. The melancholy

event took place at a time when the Egyptian Government was very anxious to conciliate Rome. But in spite of the exertions of the king and his ministers, the mob broke into the Roman's dwelling and intentionally did to him what he had accidentally done to the cat. Of this act of popular vengeance Diodorus says that he was a spectator. According to Lenormant, the cat does not appear on Egyptian sculptures earlier than the Twelfth Dynasty (2020 B.C.) and therefore the credit of its domestication is due to the inhabitants of the Upper Nile. That process, remarks Hehn, must have taken a long time, but it was thoroughly successful in the end. The domestic cat very rarely deserts civilisation in favour of savage freedom, its character offering in this respect a strong contrast to that of its fellow Oriental, the Gipsy. How the tame cat made its way into Europe remains uncertain, although it is reported to have travelled from Egypt by the way of Cyprus. The period of its arrival, also, is shrouded in mystery. It does not seem to have been known in classic times, and the early centuries of our era appear to have been unaware of its existence. In so catless a period, the arrival of such a beneficent beast as that which has kept Whittington's memory green might well be hailed with acclamation. It is easy to believe that the progress of the cat was rapid when it had once shown itself. Silently but irresistibly it seems to have subjugated the European hearth. It is terrible to think of how much pleasure as well as profit the world would have been deprived, if the cat's career had been cut prematurely short. Most fortunate was it, as Hehn remarks, that its introduction preceded those epochs in which its associations with idolatry might have caused it to fall a victim to the fanaticism of Islam or the asceticism of Christianity.

The cat has never filled quite so high a position in Europe as it occupied in Egypt, but still it has never been entirely deprived of its supernatural reputation. In Sicily, says Professor A. de Gubernatis, 'the cat is sacred to St. Martha, and is respected in order that she may not be irritated. He who kills a cat will be unhappy for seven years.' That there is something diabolical about a domestic cat is still a fixed idea in the popular European mind. A Russian proverb asserts that a black tom-cat, at the end of seven years, is bound to become a devil. In Brittany it is believed that an animal of that kind, which has served seven masters in succession, has the right of carrying off the soul of the seventh to hell. In such cases as these it seems to be probable that the cat's 'fallen divinity' has spread a shade over its character. Such stories as 'Puss in Boots' might be taken as evidence of the favour with which the cat has been regarded by the people, were it not that the balance of testimony is against that animal's claims to be considered the guardian angel of the Marquis de Carabas and his brethren. For in the south and the east of Europe, as well as in Asia, the four-footed creature which plays that

part is almost invariably a fox. There seems to be good reason for supposing that in all the stories of the 'Booted Cat' cycle, there ought to be no cat and no boots.

The variants of the story in which a fox figures instead of a cat have this advantage, that they have retained the proper opening of the narrative. Thus, in a Finnish variant¹ the assisting animal is a fox which had been trapped by a youth, who let it go when it asked him if he would like to get married. The rest of the story runs the usual course, and at the end the fox retires quietly into the forest. In another Finnish variant the proper opening has been as much forgotten as the close. A youth who has inherited nothing but a cow sells it to an unknown man. The purchaser turns into a fox, and makes over the cow to fifty other foxes, which it afterwards presents, along with an equal number of wolves and bears, to a king whose son-in-law the youth becomes. Here both the beginning and the end have been changed. The Russian variants of the story (Afanasief, iv. Nos. 10 and 11) are curious. In one of them a certain Bukhtan Bukhtanovich is wont to lie stretched on a pillared stove, 'half elbow-deep in tarakan milk'—the tarakan being the Russian equivalent for our black-beetle. A fox, without any perceptible motive, wins for him the hand of the usual princess—employing the well-known trick of returning a borrowed sieve with a coin fastened in it, and pretending that it has been used to measure Bukhtan's countless wealth—and also the property of two demoniacal beings, Voron Voronovich and Kokot Kokotovich (Raven Raven's son and Cock Cock's son), whom it puts out of the way after inducing them to hide from 'a king who is coming with fire and a queen with lightning.' In the other tale, that of 'Kosma the Swiftly-rich,' the assisting animal is a fox which was in the habit of killing Kosma's poultry. Caught by him in the act, it promised to make him 'swiftly rich' if he would pardon its offence. He consented, and the fox showed its gratitude by inducing scores of wild beasts to follow him to the palace of the king, to whom it presented them in Kosma's name. The sieve trick followed, after which fine clothes were obtained for Kosma, who had fallen into a river together with a bridge which he and the fox had cut half through. Kosma married the king's daughter, and the fox gained for him the property of a 'Tsar Zmiulan,' a snake prince of the Nāga class, who was induced, by the news that 'King Fire and Queen Lightning' were coming, to take refuge in a hollow tree, which Kosma and his royal father-in-law afterwards blew to bits. The fox was regaled with chickens, and stayed at Kosma's dwelling till they were all eaten up. In a third Russian variant (Khudyakof, No. 98) a fox of its own free will offers the hand of a princess to a youth, and

¹ Quoted by Dr. Reinhold Köhler in his exhaustive note to Gonzenbach's Sicilian tale of *Conto Piro*.

obtains it for him in the usual way. The youth's want of retinue is accounted for by the explanation that all his attendants and baggage have been lost in a swamp. The proprietor who is dispossessed in favour of the youthful impostor is an ordinary landowner, a Barin (or Mr.) Tsygaryn. He and his wife are induced by the fox to take refuge from the wrath of 'King Thunder and Queen Lightning' in a hollow tree in their garden. The king and his son-in-law hear sounds proceeding from the tree, which are really due to the fact that Mr. and Mrs. Tsygaryn are choking in their hiding-place. The king inquires what that noise is. The fox replies that the tree is haunted by devils, and had better be burnt. So the tree is consumed with fire, and together with it the innocent victims of the fox's partiality for the king's son-in-law. In a fourth Russian variant (Afanasief, iv. p. 45), a youth who was 'not in the full possession of his reason,' but who rejoiced in the singular name of Nikita of Macedon, was presented by his parents with a horse and a cock, with which he set out to seek his fortune. A fox met him and asked for the fowl, promising in return the hand of the beautiful daughter of 'King Fire and Queen Lightning.' The rest of the story is as before.

The idea of the youth whom the animal assists being more or less idiotic occurs in some other variants of the story. The opening of the Sicilian tale of 'Count Pear-tree' is a case in point (Gonzenbach, No. 65). A youth was left nothing at his father's death but a cottage and a pear-tree. Moreover he was ignorant and foolish. 'As he could not earn his bread, God mercifully allowed the pear-tree to bear fruit all the year long, whereby the youth was nourished.' One day in winter a fox came by, and asked for a basketful of pears. The youth gave them, and the fox took them to a king whose daughter it eventually obtained for the Conte Piro. The main body of the story is much the same in all these variants. But the Sicilian tale possesses the final incident which the foregoing variants have omitted. The fox had asked the Conte Piro to give it a handsome funeral when it died. One day it lay down and pretended to be dead. Conte Piro's princely spouse was much grieved, and said, 'Now must we hasten to have a right beautiful coffin made for it.' But the Count exclaimed, 'A coffin for that beast! Take it by its legs and fling it out of window!' Whereupon the fox jumped up and severely reprimanded the ingrate, who hastened to excuse himself by affirming that he had spoken without thinking of what he was saying. In this Sicilian form the story ends as it ought to end, but its opening is defective, for the fox obtains the pears not for itself but for the king, therefore it has no reason for being grateful to the man. The missing incident, however, is supplied by another Sicilian variant of the same story (Pitré, ii. No 88). In it Don Giuseppi Piru begins by pardoning a fox which he catches in the act of stealing pears from a tree belonging

to himself and his brothers. The grateful animal plays the usual tricks, and Don Giuseppi becomes a great man. One day, when he is walking on the terrace with his wife, and the fox is lying down near an open window, Don Giuseppi takes some dust and sprinkles the animal's head with it. The fox is disgusted with this ungrateful levity, and threatens to tell that the Don used to be a pear-owner. Don Giuseppi is frightened at the idea of his wife being told the story of his early career. So he takes a flower-pot, and hits the fox over the head with it. 'Thus, ingrate that he was, he killed the creature that had done so much for him. This variant of the story is complete at both ends. The tragic termination of the tale, so far as the protecting animal is concerned, is found also in 'Lou Compaire Gatet,' a cat story from the south of France,² and the man's ingratitude is mentioned in a Bulgarian variant quoted by Khudyakof, at the commencement of which a miller is promised a regal crown by a fox, on condition of his daily providing it with a hot wheaten cake, a roast fowl, and a pitcher of wine. A Polish variant (Glinski, iii. 149) is more akin to the French and Scandinavian than to the Russian, Sicilian, and Bulgarian forms of the story. There remains to be mentioned one other European variant which has the merit of being quite complete, having preserved the original opening as well as close of the tale. A man named Triorrhōgas, who was 'both lazy and poor,' caught a fox one day in the act of stealing his grapes. He was about to kill it when it begged for mercy, promising to make him a king. In this it succeeded, after playing the usual tricks, including the burning of forty dragons. In return for this service the king, who had been Triorrhōgas, promised it a silver coffin at its death. One day it pretended to be dead. The king said, 'Take it by the tail, and fling it out of window.' Then the fox jumped up and severely reprimanded the king in the presence of his wife, thereby reducing him to confusion. This well-preserved specimen of the story was found at Melos. It is published in the *Contes Populaires Grecs* of M. Emile Legrand, who says that he himself heard a variant of the tale at Philippopolis, in 1875, in which the fox was replaced by a greyhound.

The Asiatic variants of the tale are unfortunately few in number. But one of them is so complete that it may be supposed to give a fair idea of the story as it originally existed in India, which doubtless was its original home. Let us take first two specimens from Central Asia, preserved by Radloff in his great work on *The Turkish Races of South Siberia*. The first (i. 271) is a quaint Tartar poem about an orphan youth who lived alone without food to eat or clothes to wear. To him there came a fox which told him what to do. Borrowing a pair of scales from a rich neighbouring prince, he pretended to weigh in them

² Quoted by M. Charles Deulin in his excellent work *Les Contes de ma Mère L'Oye avant Perrault* (Paris, 1879), who refers to the *Revue des Langues Romances*, vol. iii. p. 396.

butter belonging to the youth to the amount of a thousand poods, or forty thousand pounds. 'A thousand poods is a great deal,' justly observed the prince. A second time the fox borrowed the scales, and sent them back with a string broken and a coin inserted, thereby producing a high opinion of the orphan's wealth. For the fox declared that it was the weight of the young man's money which had broken the string, he having weighed in the scales seventy poods of bank-notes and a hundred of copper coins. On the strength of this the fox induced the prince to accept the orphan as a suitor for his daughter's hand. The youth set out with a train of seven sledges laden with empty barrels. These the fox contrived to push off a bridge into the water below, before the eyes of the prince, who was deluded into believing that a rich wedding present had been lost by the fall. The youth married the prince's daughter and went away with her, wondering what he should do for a house and fine raiment when his father-in-law visited him. Coming to a desert he found a stone house out of which crept innumerable snakes. These he induced to hide under hay, saying, 'The bird will catch you and carry you away'—an evident allusion to an Indian Nāga-destroying Garuda—and then he set the hay on fire, consumed the snakes, and took possession of their dwelling. When the prince came he was entertained in great style by his son-in-law. 'Seven days they drank brandy, seven days they drank tea.' And so all went well. In the other Tartar story, which is in prose, an orphan named Salamyä is brought up by a fox, which, when he is grown up goes forth to seek him a wife. First it has recourse to the money-measuring trick, which proves highly successful. Then it avails itself of a remarkable artifice. It makes out of straw a ship, and equips it with soldiers who are literally men of straw. This ship it sends by water to the city where dwells the prince whose son-in-law the fox wishes the orphan to become. While the whole city is admiring the approaching vessel, in which the fox declares the suitor is bringing rich wedding presents, the fox, 'which was a storm-maker,' calls up storm and tempest. Down goes the ship of straw, away drift the straw soldiers, and the orphan is cast naked on the shore. The prince hastens to supply the shipwrecked impostor with all that he desires, including the princess his daughter. Salamyä goes away with his wife, and the fox running on in front obliges all the people it meets to say that the surrounding lands and flocks are the property of that youth. And finally it induces the real owner, a seven-headed Yilbigän, a demoniacal dragon, to creep into a well, the mouth of which it closes with a stone. Having done all these kind things for the youth, the fox goes tranquilly away. The moral of the story has been missed by its wild narrators in Central Asia.

By far the best variant of the story, that in which the reason for the animal's kindness to the man is recorded in the opening, and the

ingratitude of the man to the animal is depicted in the close, while the various incidents of the central part are invested with as great an air of probability as befits a 'fairy-tale,' has been preserved among the rapidly dwindling Avars or Lesghians of the Caucasus, from whose but little studied language it has been translated by the late Professor Anton Schiefner.³ It runs as follows. There once was a miller who was known by a name which may be translated as the Loathsome Hadji. From his house things used to be stolen. Angered thereat, he lay in wait for the thief, and caught a fox in the act of stealing. He was about to put it to death when it besought him to be calm, observing that 'Hasty water reaches no sea,' and promising in case of pardon to make the miller a great man, and to gain for him the hand of a khan's daughter. The miller accepted the offer of the fox, and promised, if it made good its words, to feed it as long as it lived on fat and to bury it after its death enveloped in a mass of fat sheep's tails. The fox ran off and searched among rubbish till it found a silver coin. Then it went to the khan and asked for the loan of a measure in which to mete the silver wealth of its master Bukutchi Khan. The khan wondered who this unknown potentate could be, but lent the measure, which the fox presently returned with the coin sticking in it. Next the fox searched about till it found a morsel of gold. Then it went again to the khan and borrowed the measure once more, this time for the purpose of measuring the golden stores of its master Bukutchi Khan; taking care that the measure, when returned, had in it the morsel of gold it had found. The khan formed a high opinion of Bukutchi Khan's pecuniary resources, and 'died of joy,' that is to say, was glad, when the fox asked for the hand of the khan's daughter on behalf of its master Bukutchi Khan. Next day the fox made a garment for the miller 'out of the most beautiful flowers of the hills,' and sent him down with a gun made of lime-wood on his shoulder, to a river on the further side of which the khan's retainers were to meet him. In accordance with the instructions of the fox, the miller stumbled and fell while fording the river, and the stream rapidly carried away all he had on and with him. The khan's servants dashed into the water, rescued the miller, and provided him with raiment so sumptuous that he could not keep his eyes off it. The fox explained that Bukutchi Khan was mourning for the loss of his own garments, which were composed of nothing but diamonds and rubies. 'They did look like a rainbow,' replied the khan's attendants, who were likewise induced to believe that the lime-wood gun was a priceless heirloom of Stamboul manufacture. 'We remarked,' they observed, 'that it shone like silver.'

The so-called Bukutchi Khan received the khan's daughter in marriage, and, at the end of a festive week, set out to take her to his

³ *Anvarische Texte*. St. Petersburg, 1873, pp. 53-59.

home. The fox ran on in front, and when it came to a prairie on which much cattle was grazing, asked to whom the herds belonged. 'To the dragon,' was the reply. 'Take care,' exclaimed the fox, 'utter the dragon's name no more, his cause is lost; the host of the seven-princes is going up against him with cannon, artillery, mortars, and guns. If you say the cattle is his, you will be killed, and every head of cattle carried off. There is a khan, feared by kings, called Bukutchi Khan. If anyone asks you, say the cattle is his; then no man will have anything to say against you.' The herdsmen followed the advice of the fox, as did the shepherds, mowers, and other labourers whom it accosted. Whenever the attendants of the young married couple asked to whom belonged the cattle, or sheep, or meadows they saw, the answer was always, 'To Bukutchi Khan.'

Meanwhile the fox entered the castle of the dragon, who was the real proprietor, and informed him that the host of the seven princes was coming against him. 'What shall I do?' exclaimed the terrified dragon. 'Creep underneath that hay,' replied the fox, pointing to a huge stack in the middle of the courtyard. The dragon did so, and the fox set it on fire. The dragon was fried 'like a sausage,' and his castle, together with all his property, passed into the hands of the newly wedded pair.

All went well for a time. At last the fox determined to test the ex-miller's gratitude. So it lay down one day und pretended to be dead. 'Just look!' cried the khan's daughter, 'our fox seems to be dead.' 'It would be a piece of luck if it were to die seven times more, one after the other,' replied her husband. 'This good-for-nothing has become a bore.' Up jumped the fox and cried, 'Shall I tell, shall I tell of the Loathsome Hadji? Tell about the lime-wood gun? All about the miller tell?' Down on his knees went Bukutchi, wept and prayed, and smote himself on the head. So the fox forgave him. But soon afterwards the fox died in reality. Bukutchi Khan was afraid that this also might be a pretence, so he slit open a fat sheep's tail, and carefully placed the fox inside.

There can be little doubt that the Avars borrowed this well preserved specimen of the Puss-in-Boots story from the same source to which the Tartars were indebted for their versions of the narrative. Some day, perhaps, probably in some Buddhistic land, the story may be found in its original form. It seems to have established itself in the South of Europe under its cat form at an early period, for it figures in the Italian story-books of both Straparola, about the middle of the sixteenth century, and Basile, in the first half of the seventeenth. In the *Piacevoli Notti* of the former, the youth Constantino is assisted by his cat, 'which was a fairy,' and which performs all the ordinary tricks. Nothing is said at the end about its master's ingratitude. In Basile's *Pentamerone* a cat behaves in precisely the same manner, and

its enriched master declares that after its death he will cause it to be embalmed and will keep its remains, encased in a golden vessel, in his own room. Three days later the cat, 'displeased by this exaggeration,' lies down in the garden and pretends to be dead. 'Take it by its tail and fling it out of window,' exclaims its ungrateful master. Whereupon the cat arises, and reprimands him in a long and rather tedious oration. After which it retires from the scene.

As the story is evidently of a moral nature, mythological ideas entering into it only so far as the supernatural being is concerned whom the cat contrives to kill in its master's behalf, it has undergone less alteration in the course of its travels than legends which, like *Cinderella*, or *Beauty and the Beast*, appear to have originally involved some mythological conception. Its comparatively commonplace character in this respect has prevented its being turned to account by the extreme section of the solar myth school. Other cats of popular fiction have been found by such commentators to be sublimely mythical.

There are two Indian fables the meaning of which seems at first sight to be perfectly plain and simple. In one of them (*Panchatantra*, iii. 2), a hare and a sparrow agree to refer a dispute to the arbitration of a wild cat named *Dadhikarna* or *Milk Ear*, that is, having ears as white as milk. This cat pretends to be leading an ascetic life, and the two litigants find it standing on one foot, with its face turned towards the sun and its forepaws lifted on high, uttering the most edifying sentiments, to the effect that 'life is the illusion of an instant' and so forth. Entreated to act as judge, the cat asks the suitors to draw near, on the ground that it is old and hard of hearing. When they have come within reach, it seizes one of them with its claws and the other with its teeth, and so puts a complete end to their dispute. A similarly hypocritical cat, mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, lives on the shore of the Ganges and feeds upon the mice in which its feigned austerities have inspired confidence. After referring to these two stories, an accomplished scholar goes on to say: 'Thus far we have seen the cat with white ears, who hunts the hare (or moon), the morning twilight, and the penitent cat, who eats mice at the river's side, and which is mythically the same. . . . The thieving cat . . . is now the morning twilight, now the moon who gives chase to the mice of the night.' But the *Booted Puss* seems never to have been likened even to the smallest luminary of the night, not to speak of a morning or evening twilight. One of the greatest changes which have come over it, or its prototype the fox, is to be found in a South African variant of the story. Benfey has remarked that future investigations will some day show clearly that there are very few peoples to whom Indian tales have not made their way; and among the savage races which thus became acquainted with the wisdom of India were some of the

⁴ *Zoological Mythology*, ii. 58.

African tribes, to whom Mussulman narrators probably conveyed Indian traditions obtained by Arabs from Persian sources. At all events some such migration as this is much more easily to be believed in than any kind of 'independent evolution,' in the case of the variant of the 'Puss-in-Boots' story which is contained in Mr. Steere's 'Swahili Tales' (No. 2). In it a miserable wretch finds a coin in a heap of rubbish, and expends it upon the purchase of a gazelle which he thus saves from death. The gazelle proves grateful, and renders its master the services which the Booted Cat rendered to the Marquis de Carabas, gaining for him the hand of a king's daughter and the property of a seven-headed snake. At last the gazelle falls ill, and its master shows it no sympathy. It dies, and instead of giving it an honourable burial, he flings it into a well. That night he dreams that he is back in his original position, grovelling on the heap of rubbish. He wakes, and finds his dream realised. He is back again there, all his state and prosperity as Sultan Darai having disappeared. This termination seems to have been borrowed from some other tale, of the class to which belongs the German tale of 'The Fisherman and his Wife,' wherein the enriched fisher-folk who ask for too much suddenly find themselves reduced to their former misery in their original novel.

The group of stories to which 'Puss in Boots' belongs is one of the largest and most widely ramified of the divisions of folk-tales. The themes those stories handle, the sentiments they express, are within the comprehension of all hearers, and appeal to feelings which influence every heart. The leading part allotted in them to animals endears them to youth, their slightly cynical flavour is grateful to old age. Even in Europe they still indirectly support the cause of kindness towards the brute creation. The dullest peasant cannot mistake the sense of such a story as the 'Well Done and Ill Paid' of the Norse Tales (No. 38), in which the man behaves so ungratefully to the fox which has saved him from a bear, or the Russian story which tells how 'old kindness is forgotten' (Afanasief, iii. No. 24). The latter tale is almost identical with that of 'The Brahman, the Tiger, and the Six Judges' in Miss Frere's *Old Deccan Days*, which is the same in all but a few details as the old Indian story (Benfey's *Panchatantra*, i. 113) of the crocodile which induced a Brahman to carry it in a sack to Benares, in order that it might live in the holy Ganges. At the end of the journey it was about to devour its benefactor, when he appealed for sympathy to a mango-tree and an old cow. The mango replied that men were accustomed to destroy trees after having derived benefit from their shade and fruit. The cow said that now it could be no longer of use to men, they had abandoned it to the beasts of prey. Fortunately for the Brahman, a fox came up which persuaded the crocodile to go back into the bag, whereupon it was killed by the

man and eaten by the fox. In the Russian variant, the man who has been rescued from death by the fox finally hit it over the head and beat it to death, saying the while, 'old kindness is forgotten.' In many of the Indian stories of this kind, a warning against man's ingratitude is given in a very straightforward manner. A hunter, says one of them, took refuge from the wrath of a tiger in a tree, and was hospitably entertained by a monkey which had its home there. In the course of the night, while the man was asleep, the tiger came and asked the monkey to throw him down. The monkey refused, in spite of the tiger's warning that his guest, being a man, would be sure to do him an injury. Later on the tiger came back and found the man awake, and easily persuaded him to throw down the sleeping monkey. But the monkey escaped, and next morning went forth to seek a breakfast for his guest. The man availed himself of its absence to kill its entire family. On its return the monkey was grieved but not angered, and proceeded to show its guest the way out of the forest. When they reached the open country, the man killed the monkey and set out homewards. Before he got there, however, he fell into a hole, and so right through into hell. Meantime the monkey was carried up into heaven, where it found its family restored to life. In one of the sacred books of Tibet (*Kahgyur*, vol. iv. f. 212), the hunter who rescues from a hole into which they have fallen a lion, a snake, a mouse, and a hawk, is expressly warned by the lion not to have anything to do with a woodcutter who is also in the same place of captivity. 'I shall be grateful to you,' it says, 'but do not draw up that black-haired forgetter of kindness received.' In spite of that warning the hunter rescues the woodcutter, and suffers accordingly. The story occurs also in the *Panchatantra*, and from the work of which the *Panchatantra* is the Indian representative it passed towards the middle of the eighth century into the Syriac and Arabic *Kalilah and Dimnah*, and thence in the eleventh century through Symeon Seth's Greek translation, and in the thirteenth century through the Latin translation (from a Hebrew version) of Joannes of Capua, it made its way into the literature of Europe.

Among ourselves the best known story of the kind is that of Whittington's cat, which offers an interesting illustration of the manner in which fictitious events are connected with the career of a real person. According to the chap-book legend, young Whittington purchased a cat with the only penny he possessed in the world, not out of pity, but with the sensible view of keeping down the rats and mice by which he was annoyed in his garret. The cat, being sent out as a venture in one of his master's ships, fetched a high price in Barbary, where rats and mice were rife but cats were unknown, and so laid the foundation of his fortunes. Sir Richard Whittington's

biographers have made a touching stand in defence of the authenticity of this highly improbable story. Dr. Lysons refused to yield a jot to the argument that, as the tale had been told over and over again in many lands, and had been known in Persia before Whittington was born, therefore the author of the legendary life of his hero probably borrowed the incident. He even held that 'the very fact of the story being so widely spread goes to prove that it has some foundation of reality.' Mr. Besant, in the bright and graphic memoir of Whittington which he contributed to the *New Plutarch*, after justly dismissing Mr. Riley's 'ingenious' suggestions as to 'cat' being a corruption of *achat*, a purchase, or a term meaning a collier, goes on to argue in favour of the credibility of the story on the following grounds. There used to exist in the Mercers' Hall a portrait of Whittington, dated 1536, in which a black and white cat figured at his left hand. A still existing portrait by Reginald Elstrack, who flourished about 1590, represents him with his hand resting on a cat. The story is told that the hand originally rested on a skull, but that in deference to public opinion a cat was substituted, which proves that the legend or the history had been by that time completely spread. That is also proved by a reference to the cat legend in Heywood's *If You know not Me*, and by another in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Knight of the Burning Pestle*. Newgate gaol was rebuilt by Whittington's executors, and his statue, with a cat at his feet, is said to have been set up on the gate, and to have remained there till the fire of 1666. Moreover a piece of plate, on which figured 'heraldic cats,' was presented to the Mercers' Company in 1572; and in the house at Gloucester which the Whittingtons occupied till 1460, there was dug up a stone, when repairs were being made in 1862, 'on which, in *basso rilievo*, is represented the figure of a boy carrying in his arms a cat. The workmanship appears to be of the fifteenth century.'

This is all that can be said in favour of the legend. Against it, besides its inherent improbability, may be called as witnesses various folk-tales, which at least suggest that the story is one of the common-places of popular fiction, capable of being associated with any historical or fictitious personage. In the German 'Three Luck Children' (Grimm, No. 70), the story becomes farcical. The cat, after being bartered for a mule laden with gold, frightens its new proprietors so greatly by its mewing that they attempt to rid themselves of it by means of artillery, whereby they destroy the royal palace. The Whittington's Cat story is told of a citizen of Venice by Albertus of Stade, who wrote his chronicle about a hundred years before Whittington was born.⁵ A poor man, he says, who possessed

⁵ He is supposed to have been made abbot of the monastery at Stade in 1240. His *Chronicon Universale* was not published till 1687, and the cat story may be an interpolation.

nothing but two cats, entrusted them to a rich merchant, who happened to visit a mouse-plagued land. There he sold the cats at a high price (*vendidit catos pro magna pecunia*), and brought home much wealth to his poor fellow-citizen. The Norse story of 'The Honest Penny' (*Tales from the Fjeld*, p. 22), is told at much greater length, approaching very closely in form to the variants current in Eastern Europe. From Sicily come two highly religious specimens of the tale. In one (Pitré, No. 116), St. Michael the Archangel protects a youth in many ways. Among other things, the Saint tells him to procure a ship-load of cats from a king. The king issues an order that 'all persons who possess cats shall bring them to the king's palace.' Having obtained his feline cargo, the youth sells it in a catless land for its weight in gold. In the other Sicilian variant St. Joseph is the supernatural protector, and a ship-load of gold is the price realised by the cats, but in other respects the two legends entirely agree. The Servian version (Vuk, No. 7) begins, like the Norwegian, with the account of a righteously earned coin, which the earner entrusts to a merchant, who with it ransoms a cat which boys are about to drown. After a time the merchant comes to a land where rats and mice sadly vex the inhabitants, who are obliged to shut themselves up at night in chests, for fear of their ears being gnawed off, and where a ship-load of gold and silver is gladly given in exchange for the cat. In Afanasief's collection of Russian folk-tales the story occurs twice. The 'Three Kopeks' (v. No. 32), opens in the same way as the Norwegian and Servian variants. A workman at the end of a year accepts from his master only one small coin. This he tests by throwing it into a river, saying, 'If I have served truly and faithfully, then my kopek will not sink.' It does sink, and he recommences his labours. At the end of the second year the coin which represents his wages sinks also. But when the third year has gone by, and he has a third time thrown a kopek into the river, all three coins rise to the surface of the water. With one of them he purchases a cat, which is eventually bartered for three ships. The other story, that of 'The Wise Wife' (vii. 22), is one of the most remarkable of all the variants of the tale. A youngest son of feeble intellect purchased a dog and a cat with the money his father had left him, and set out to seek his fortune. Meeting some merchants, he entrusted to them his cat, which they carried to a land where no one had ever seen a cat, but rats and mice were as plentiful as grass in a field. The chief merchant was invited one day to the house of a commercial man, who made him drunk and left him to spend the night in a barn, saying to himself, 'Let the rats eat him up, and we shall get his wealth for nothing.' Fortunately the cat had followed the merchant, from whom it could not bear to be absent. So when the rats arrived they suffered greatly. The host

looked in next morning, and found to his great surprise that 'the merchant was not a bit the worse, and the cat was finishing the last rat.' He straightway purchased it for six barrels of gold. The merchant returned home and handed over to the youth his share of the money. 'What shall I do with it?' thought the young man. At length an idea occurred to him. Wandering through towns and villages, he distributed two-thirds of his money among the poor. With the remainder 'he bought incense, piled it up afield, and set it alight. As it burnt, the odour thereof went up to God in heaven. Suddenly an angel appeared, saying, 'The Lord has ordered me to ask you what you would like to have.' 'I don't know,' answered the fool. 'Unable to decide for himself, the youth was at length instructed by an old man as to what he should ask for. 'If riches are given to you, you will probably forget God,' said the greybeard. 'Better ask for a wise wife.' The youth did so, and was made happy for ever.

In this story we are carried far away from Sir Richard Whittington and the thrice-gained mayoralty of London town. The 'natural' who spends a fortune on alms-giving and incense-burning is a very different being from the practical mercer of our own land; so impulsive and altogether untradesmanlike a speculator was much more likely to be indebted for the foundation of his fortune to a bartered cat than the practical Englishman whose real success has been associated by tradition with a probably fictitious feline friendship. We can scarcely hope that any new evidence will be found in support of the Whittington legend. But it is very probable that fresh variants of the story of his cat will be discovered in Eastern lands, all tending to preach the same doctrine—that it is right to show kindness to animals, and that he who saves the life of even a cat shall not go unrewarded. The same lesson is taught also by the Puss-in-Boots tale, when it appears in its complete form, with the warning appended thereunto that of all animals man is the most ungrateful. And thus Whittington's Cat and the Booted Cat may fairly claim the right of standing side by side amid the ranks of the great moral instructors of the world.

There remains to be told but one more cat story of importance. It claims to be of recent date, and it conveys the useful moral that they who attempt to benefit their fellow-men must be prepared for frequent disappointments. A few years ago, if newspaper reports may be believed, a ship was sent to the colony of Tristan d'Acunha with a score of cats on board. These animals were a present from the Lords of the Admiralty, to whom it had been reported that the island was mouse-ridden. When the vessel arrived the Governor of the colony begged that the cats might be kept on board. It was quite true, he explained, that the island was infested by mice, but it

was also overrun by cats. And in Tristan d'Acunha cats, in consequence of some strange climatic influence, always abandoned mousing, a fact which accounted for the abnormal development of the mouse population. So that a gift of cats to Tristan d'Acunha was even less likely to be welcome than a present of 'owls to Athens.'

W. R. S. RALSTON.

THE PROCEDURE OF THE HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE.

THAT the present procedure in the High Court of Justice is very far from attaining the great object of protecting the rights of all parties with as little delay, cost, and risk of failure of justice as possible, is proved by the general and loudly declared discontent which we hear on all sides; indeed, not long ago a letter appeared in the *Times* newspaper, from a member of the Judicature Commission itself, strongly expressing this feeling, since which communications to the same effect—reported to emanate from a very high authority—have appeared in that journal.

And yet there is much good in the new procedure. The clauses about the recovery of debts are very well intended. Law and Equity are to a great extent fused together, and the useless old technical rules are abolished. Still, on the whole, the new system does not work nearly so well as the one it superseded—which had, indeed, been very greatly improved by the reforms made in 1852 and subsequently.

This sad result is to be attributed mainly to the sweeping clauses about *appeals*, allowing them on any question, whether of substance or procedure, almost without stint. And every lawyer knows that it is through appeals that the poorer party is worn out and the long purse wins right or wrong.¹ *Summum jus, summa injuria*. But often it is not even *jus*; for not only do the courts frequently play a sort of game at chequers, each reversing the decision of its immediate predecessor, but in the opinion of the legal profession, the judgment of the ultimate court of appeal is not always sound. Surely when such doctors so differ the questions cannot have much bearing on substantial justice; and accuracy of decision of such nice points is dearly purchased with a practical denial of justice to a large portion of the community.

As to the attainment of uniformity of decision and conformity with

¹ In bankruptcy, appeals are notoriously a chief means of devouring estates by law. The late Mr. Commissioner Balguy, who took practical views of things, used to remark on receiving notice of appeal, 'A good estate, I perceive.' And yet the Bankruptcy Act of 1869 actually instituted an additional appeal!

utility, which is the alleged justification of the appeal system, that would be far more cheaply and certainly effected by a minister of justice, who might be a subordinate of the Lord Chancellor, and whose business it should be to watch the proceedings of the courts and to bring into Parliament an annual bill amending the law where decisions had shown it to be in an undesirable state:—for all our courts, including even the House of Lords, are bound to decide upon the law as it is, not as it ought to be.

Our old common law procedure, with all its faults, had one great merit—that, as compared with other systems, appeals were few, and those upon questions of fact were kept within very narrow bounds. The wearisome appeals engendered by the practice of written evidence, in foreign countries and Scotland,² and in our own courts of Equity, did not arise under our common law practice of *vivâ voce* evidence and trial by jury.

Save writs of error, which could only be had upon grounds appearing on the face of the record³ (therefore not including matters arising at the trial, unless put upon the record by bill of exceptions—a course rarely taken), appeals were formerly not as of right, but only on leave granted by the courts appealed to. The course was for a party dissatisfied with the verdict (whether on the ground that the judge had improperly admitted or refused evidence, or had misdirected the jury on the law, or that the verdict was against the weight of the evidence), to move the court *in banco* for a rule calling upon his opponent to show cause why the verdict should not be set aside, and a new trial had; and this rule was not granted unless the mover made out a *primâ facie* case.⁴ Thus the party who had gained the verdict could not be harassed at the mere will or caprice of his defeated opponent.⁵ And there was no appeal from the court *in banco* on the ground that the verdict was against the evidence. Thus, subject to reasonable security against perverse or corrupt verdicts, the ancient principle *ad quæstionem legis respondent non iudices*—i.e. that questions of fact should be decided by those who heard the witnesses examined—was maintained. Indeed, if twelve men have come to a unanimous verdict, which is approved by the full court, after hearing the explanation of the judge who presided at the trial, the questions of fact may be fairly considered to be settled.

² It is well known that Lord Eldon promoted the Bill whereby trial by jury in civil cases was introduced into Scotland, in order to get rid of the fearful piles of papers which used to come up to the House of Lords in Scotch appeals.

³ The written proceedings in an action are collectively called the *record*.

⁴ This practice still exists as regards proceedings in the Divisional Courts.

⁵ Under the old practice the verdict was never set aside, on the ground that it was against the evidence, unless the judge who tried the cause was dissatisfied with it. With some judges and some juries, however, the finding of the jury is really the verdict of the judge. In this respect, therefore, the old practice was open to improvement.

But now a party, even though he has not the ghost of a case, may of his own mere will enter an appeal against any decision whether on law or fact, and may drag his unhappy opponent from court to court up to the House of Lords. And in these appeals judges seem sometimes to take a pleasure in showing their acuteness by starting hypotheses which, had they heard the evidence, they would see to be groundless.* And instead of, as formerly, never setting aside a verdict as against evidence, unless satisfied that the jury had come to a wrong conclusion, the courts now proceed to re-try the cause, as it were, on the notes, and often order a new trial because—with their very imperfect means of judging of the evidence, as compared with the jury who heard the witnesses examined—they are not quite satisfied that the verdict was correct.

Moreover, appeals are now by way of re-hearing, so that new matter may be introduced, and thus the cause be gone over afresh.

Under the old Scotch system, when the House of Lords had delivered its judgment, the matter was at last at an end. But now, in England, the decision may be that there shall be a new trial, and so the matter with all its appeals may be repeated; and this may happen again and again *ad infinitum*. Thus our present procedure ingeniously contrives to combine the evils of both the old systems. Indeed, in an action now pending (*Smitherman v. The South-Eastern Railway Company*—by the widow of a labourer who was killed on the railway), a verdict having been found for the plaintiff, an order for a new trial was made by the Divisional Court,⁶ which order was reversed by the Court of Appeal, but re-established by the House of Lords; and the cause was tried a second time with the result of a second verdict for the plaintiff. The defendants again moved the Divisional Court for a new trial, which was refused, as it was, on appeal, by the Court of Appeal. And, although the plaintiff's counsel was stopped by the court, which must have considered that the defendants had not a leg to stand on, it was understood that they would go again to the House of Lords, notwithstanding that the plaintiff had already undergone *two* trials and *five* hearings before courts at Westminster, including the enormously costly proceeding in the House of Lords! And in another pending case, also an action against a company, a question of *venue*—i.e. in what county the trial should take place—was appealed by the defendants from the Master to the Judge in Chambers, from him to the Divisional Court, and thence to the Court of Appeal, whence it may be carried into the House of Lords, although every decision has been in favour of the plaintiff! Obviously, therefore, any party who is rich and unscrupulous enough may weary out or ruin his opponent, however good the case of the latter may be.

* The Divisional Courts now do the duties formerly performed by the Courts in *banc*.

Appeals are no doubt greatly stimulated by the abrogation of the old rule, that, as a party was not answerable for a mistake made by a court of justice, he was not required to pay his opponent's costs of a trial or hearing in which he was victorious, even though the verdict had been set aside or the decision reversed on appeal. Now, such costs, although in the discretion of the court, are usually made 'costs in the cause' (*i.e.* to be paid by the party ultimately losing the action), and thus litigants are impelled to go on, like gamblers playing double or quits, until one or both are ruined. Of a verity the maxim, *interest reipublicæ ut sit finis litium*, must have been forgotten by our law-givers, and a man who enters a court of justice ought to be gifted with Job's patience and Fortunatus's purse.

The remedies for this state of things seem to be pretty obvious :

First, there should be *no appeal as of right, but only by leave*, as is now the case on questions of costs ; and this leave should be granted, either by the court appealed from, or by that appealed to. On the delivery of judgment either party might ask the court for leave, and on permission being granted, he could at once enter his appeal ;⁷ while, upon refusal, it should be competent to him to move the court of appeal for leave, which that court would grant if the applicant succeeded in establishing a real doubt of the soundness of the judgment. Thus, a successful party could not be further harassed unless, in the opinion of a court of justice, there was some reasonable doubt whether the decision ought not to be reversed. As to matters of procedure, it might be further provided that there should be no appeal beyond the Divisional Court—even with leave—unless another such court had decided the point differently.

As to the discretion of granting new trials because the verdict is against the evidence, it might be provided that a dissatisfied party should have the right to apply for a new trial, either to the Divisional Court having possession of the cause, or to the Court of Appeal ; so that, if the judge who tried the cause was a member of that Divisional Court, the party might avoid any supposed influence of that judge against him. Before deciding, however, the court should consult the judge who tried the cause. The decision of the court thus selected should be final upon the question of new trial on the ground of the verdict being against the weight of the evidence.

Besides the abuse of appeals, much evil seems to arise from the too common practice of allowing the costs of interlocutory proceedings to be 'costs in the cause' even when those proceedings are quite unnecessary. If the parties so needlessly moving were sternly visited with costs to be paid immediately, much vexatious practice would be

⁷ I believe courts appealed against would not se'dom grant this leave. In my own experience I have sometimes had to give judgment when in great doubt upon the matter, and have expressed a hope that my decision would be appealed against.

prevented. Needless and vexatious proceedings for discovery, which are so much complained of, would be obviated by the adoption of the plan proposed in the second part of this article.

I venture to submit that the introduction of these provisions, together with some minor improvements—particularly in the rules drawn by the judges in pursuance of the Judicature Act—would restore the advantages of the old system without impairing those of the new.

Having considered those particulars in which, as I conceive, the new procedure errs in departing from what went before it, I will now endeavour to show that it has retained two very serious evils of the system which it superseded.

First, the present procedure involves too many *steps*; and every one, who, like myself, has acted as a taxing-master, knows that each step, even though unopposed, adds a number of items to the bill of costs, while, if contested, it involves serious expense, and may even lead to a course of appeals.

And, secondly, the existing system preserves the endeavour to evolve the matters in dispute by means of written pleadings—a practice which all experience proves to effect its object very imperfectly, and to involve great expense and delay, often occasioning courses of appeals on questions quite foreign to the merits. A leading object of a good system of procedure should be to *avoid* raising questions, whereas one would suppose that special pleading was devised in order to raise as many as possible—as if the business of courts was, not to do substantial and speedy justice, but to entertain and decide controversies worthy of the Schoolmen.

Could not some simple procedure be devised more resembling the modes of transacting ordinary business, which have gradually established themselves, and are found to work with such convenience and efficiency that no one ever thinks of altering them?

If a father, schoolmaster, or employer has to decide a dispute between two members of his establishment, he does not call upon them to put in a parcel of written statements, and take exception to each other's documents, &c., raising all sorts of collateral issues; but the parties appear before him and state their cases, and then by means of questions, what they differ about is soon elicited, and if possible they are induced to come to an arrangement; and, failing this, they are called on to prove their allegations, and a decision is made.

Now the plan which I propose for settling the preliminaries of an action (and which would in a large proportion of instances settle the action itself), is founded on this basis. And in this idea I have been confirmed by an experience of nearly twenty years in courts where the procedure is simple, containing very little that is analogous to special pleading. As a Registrar and acting Commissioner of Bankrupts,

and as an active Justice of the Peace in a very populous district, I have been struck with the ease wherewith preliminaries, which, had they been dealt with by special pleading, might have consumed many months of time and occasioned a great expense, have been arranged by a few minutes' conversation, or perhaps wrangling.

No doubt the vast majority of causes determined by magistrates are of a very simple character; though now and then questions of much complexity arise—while a bankruptcy involves what are tantamount to many separate suits, raising difficult questions of fact, of law, and of equity. When holding what are called First Meetings in bankruptcy I have often in a morning determined a number of claims, each of which might have formed the subject of a separate action at law with all its pleading and procedure.

This facility is greatly aided by the power of *adjournment* possessed by the courts in question, so that, in case of surprise or unexpected difficulty, the hearing may be postponed to enable the parties to find further evidence. But where, as in the High Court, causes are mostly tried by jury, adjournment is almost impossible. Further, many of the causes there are of so large and complicated a character that to attempt to try them without previous preparation would necessitate the calling of many needless witnesses,^{*} the incurring of great expense, and sometimes even occasion a failure of justice.

If special pleading is to be abolished, therefore, some other mode of preparing causes must be adopted, and I venture to submit the following plan as likely to effect the object in a simple and business-like manner with as few steps as possible, and to obviate as far as may be the costly and troublesome proceedings called trials.

I would propose that, at any time after appearance has been entered in an action, either party should be entitled to take out a summons to settle the record, before a Master of the Court. The litigants should attend on the day named, accompanied or not, as they please, by solicitor or counsel, subject of course to the regulations of the chambers, and bringing the documents on which they rely, and any that they may have received notice to produce. The plaintiff's case and the defence should be shortly stated, the Master asking such questions as he thinks proper.

^{*} The hardships inflicted on witnesses are, perhaps, not sufficiently considered in our jurisprudence. A witness may be summoned from the farther end of the kingdom, being compelled to leave business of extreme importance, the death-bed of a near relative, &c., and kept kicking his heels in Westminster Hall day after day—and sometimes week after week—waiting for a trial to come on, in order that he may give evidence in a cause in which he has not the slightest interest. It will be answered that this is necessary for the administration of justice; but certainly such a practice should be strictly confined within the limits of the necessity. Compared with this hardship, any inconvenience to the parties which may arise out of their being summoned as proposed below in their own cause and at a time fixed to suit their convenience, is small.

Either party should be entitled to examine the other on oath, asking him any questions which he might put to him at the trial of the action, and each making his own statement or being re-examined by his advocate. The Master should decide objections to questions or answers, a dissatisfied party appealing, if he thought proper, to a judge on leave from the Master or judge. Such appeals would not, however, often occur.⁹ The examination should be taken down and should be admissible at the trial as evidence against the party examined. The admission of documents, &c., might also be obtained at this stage.

After hearing the case it should be the duty of the Master to endeavour to induce the litigants to come to terms and consent to a judgment. In a great proportion of causes, it would be clear, after such an investigation, that one or other of the parties had no chance of success, and on this being explained to him by an impartial and influential person, he would, in most instances, give way; and even in cases where there was something to be said on both sides, compromises would frequently be effected:—indeed I have often been surprised by the readiness wherewith my suggestions have been adopted by litigants before me. And thus suits would be satisfactorily settled at a small cost, and before the suitors had become irrecoverably hostile, and their private differences been exposed to the public gaze.

Where a party obviously had no case the Master would urge him to yield, and on his refusal, if a defendant, application might be made to a judge to direct judgment to be entered against him; and if a plaintiff, a judge might be empowered to stay the action, or at any rate to order him to find security for costs. Indeed, it would save expense and delay if these powers were conferred on the Master, subject, however, owing to the importance of such decisions, to an appeal as of right to a judge in chambers.

In cases which could not be thus settled, it should be the duty of the Master¹⁰ to draw up the record. Where the disagreement is upon questions of *law* only, this might be done in the manner of a special case, and where the issues are of *fact*, or of *mixed law and fact*, the case should be similarly stated so far as the parties agree, and then the allegations of each party should be set out, the different matters in contest appearing under distinct articles. Par-

⁹ At present parties may propound to each other written interrogatories; but the inefficiency, dilatoriness, and costliness of these, as compared to *vide voce* examination, is well known. The pleadings, too, are not verified by oath or affirmation, though the parties must admit what they cannot fairly dispute on pain of incurring costs. This is, however, an insufficient substitute for verification on oath, as it may be worth while to pay the costs of proving a fact in order to compel the opponent to call a witness to be cross-examined, &c. Indeed, if every step in the cause, including the issuing of the writ and the putting in appearance, were accompanied by an affidavit of truth or merits, many vexatious proceedings would be prevented.

¹⁰ That is, legally speaking. Practically the records would be usually drawn and settled by the counsel and solicitors on both sides, though signed by the Master.

ticulars should be gone into, so far as is necessary, to raise all questions of law upon the record.

The record, when drawn up, should be printed, a revise being sent to each party, in order to afford him an opportunity of taking out a summons to correct any error into which he might suppose the Master to have fallen. If any suitor objected to the record when finally settled by the Master, on the ground that any fact was stated as admitted, which the party did not admit, or that anything was left out, which he contended for, he should be empowered to appeal to a judge by leave.

The record being completed, the cause should, when no facts are in issue, be set down for argument before the Divisional Court, as is now done with a special case; otherwise, the articles should be dealt with pretty much as traverses and demurrers are treated at present—viz. the legal questions, if any, first determined by the Divisional Court, and then, if necessary, the facts tried by a jury or other mode provided by law. A cause suitable for arbitration would, upon completion of the record, be referred.

To prevent the necessity of bringing up litigants from remote parts of the country, it might be provided that, when they reside at more than a certain distance from London, the summons should be returnable before the County Court Judge of the district, who should for this purpose be invested with the powers of a Master.

Any inconvenience which the parties might suffer from having to appear personally, would be far more than counterbalanced by the saving of expense and delay to them and the diminution of the hardships inflicted upon witnesses.

It is obvious that, by this plan, both the cost and delay of litigation, and the waste of the time of the courts, would be greatly diminished, since a very large portion of the causes which now go to trial would be settled in the preliminary stage; and as regards the remainder, the matters in issue would be reduced to the narrowest compass. Indeed, the economy of expenditure on judicial establishments would be great, since owing to the settlement of actions in this preliminary stage, a large part of the business now done in a court consisting of a judge receiving 5,000*l.* a year with an associate or master and other officers, and a jury, would be transacted before a master getting from 1,200*l.* to 1,500*l.* a year, who would need no aid but that of a clerk and an errand-boy. Indeed, any necessity for increasing the judiciary—a course to which there are other and greater objections than its expense—would probably be obviated by the adoption of the proposed scheme.

Another advantage of the suggested plan is, that its adoption would, in great measure, obviate the delay of justice, which is so much complained of in the provinces, as caused by the infrequent holding of assizes for the trial of civil causes. As the settling of the

record would be going on continuously, that process would, so far as regards cases where the parties consented to a judgment, or to a reference to arbitration, &c., be equivalent to a court constantly open; and as respects other cases, turning upon questions of law only (except, indeed, those arising in the long vacation) the effect would be nearly the same, since, as soon as the record was settled, the cause might be set down for argument.

It does not follow that, because many suits would be nipped in the bud, and others put an end to at an early stage, the business of the legal profession would be diminished, since many actions would, doubtless, be brought and prosecuted to judgment, which are now suppressed by the cost and uncertainty of litigation.

With some modification the proposed procedure would be suitable for proceedings in the Equity Division and in the Matrimonial, Testamentary and Admiralty Courts.

Observe the difference between the present system and that proposed. Now the pleadings are drawn by two subtle gentlemen sitting in their chambers, each having *ex parte* instructions before him, supplied by a solicitor, who, in his turn, derives his knowledge of the cause of action from his client, who, from forgetfulness, ignorance of their relevancy, or unwillingness, often fails to inform his solicitor of all the circumstances of the case. These gentlemen, as might be expected, make their statements as one-sidedly as possible, each giving to his opponent and the court no more information than can be avoided. Compare this with the meeting of the litigants face to face before an able and practised Master, who, having no object but to do justice, and having the statements of all the parties, with a few shrewd and searching questions draws out the very heart of the case, and presents it in clear, simple, and precise language for the consideration of the appointed tribunal.

The proposed procedure would compel parties and their legal advisers to thoroughly consider their positions *at the beginning of the suit*, instead of putting a defence on the record to stave off the matter for a while, and so drifting into a costly contest.

The two following suggestions would, I conceive, be useful under either the present or the proposed procedure:—

(1) Parties should be empowered to serve on their opponents notice to admit facts specified in the notice; and, upon refusal, if the facts were proved at the trial, the party refusing should bear the costs of the proof, whatever might be the result of the trial or of the cause.

(2) A party should at any stage of a suit before trial (unless the record had been settled under the proposed practice) be entitled to serve on his opponent a statement of facts—such as is termed a *special case*—calling upon him to admit them; and on refusal, if the judge who tried the cause certified that the facts proved did not materially

differ from the statement served, the refusing party should bear all the costs (except any which might have been caused by the default or misconduct of his opponent) incurred between the serving of the statement and the trial, including those of the trial, whatever might be the verdict or the result of the action. The knowledge that a refusal might entail a heavy burden of costs upon the recusant could not fail to have a powerful effect in inducing a party to accept the special case. And, further, that case would inform him and his legal adviser of the real facts—of which they are now sometimes, particularly the legal advisers,¹¹ ignorant. Such information would, in many cases, put an end to the suit.

Each of these proposed courses would, I submit, tend greatly to the desideratum of causing litigants to act fairly by admitting all that they could not honestly controvert; but the most important of them is *the bringing of the parties face to face and examining them vivâ voce before the trial and at a very early stage of the proceedings*.¹² Indeed, I believe that the major part of the benefits which I expect from my plan would be realised by this provision alone, since, after taking the parties' evidence, it would be abundantly clear, in a large proportion of suits, what the judgment must be, while in most others the questions would be much narrowed. Indeed, the mere threat of such an examination, or even the knowledge that it might be had, would often induce litigants to make admissions, and not unfrequently to settle the suit. For a party often stands out until the time comes when he must enter the witness-box, and then yields. Persons familiar with our civil-jury courts must often have observed a barrister when opening his case beat about the bush, uttering truisms and evidently avoiding the gist of the matter, while the other counsel and the solicitors are engaged in earnest discussion. Suddenly the leader's manner changes, and he informs the jury that he need trouble them no further, as the parties have come to a settlement. Now, the proposed preliminary *vivâ voce* examination would bring about this desirable result in the *beginning of the suit*, instead of postponing it until all the costs of special pleading (with its attendant summonses, hearings, and perhaps appeals) and of trial had been incurred.

¹¹ Solicitors often find great difficulty in getting the truth out of their clients. A very able and respectable attorney informed me that he once conducted an action for debt, when, at the trial, the defendant produced a receipt for the debt duly stamped and signed by the plaintiff, which of course put an end to the action. On my informant's asking his client why he had not mentioned that he had received payment, the latter answered, 'Because, if I had, you would not have taken up my case.'

¹² A friend of mine, who had been engaged in a costly suit, recently informed me that he had discovered his opponent to be an honourable and reasonable man, and that he had no doubt that, if he had personally met him at first, the matter would have been settled in ten minutes.

In bankruptcy there is a power to summon for examination persons believed to be in possession of property belonging to the estate—a proceeding found to be most efficient; for in many cases, the mere service of the summons causes restitution to be made, and in others, the party frequently appears and settles the matter either without examination or immediately after it. Further, an important advantage (analogous to that derived from the depositions in criminal cases) would be obtained by fixing the parties to their facts early in the suit. In the Tichborne case, had the claimant been subjected to such an examination before he had been enabled to shape his evidence so as to suit it to what was deposed to by his witnesses—even if he had not been so broken down by cross-examination that his solicitor and money-lenders would have thrown him up—he would no doubt have committed himself to statements inconsistent with the evidence of the honest portion of his witnesses, or with facts which could have been easily proved; and, thus, the trial would have occupied much less time and caused much less expense.

In conclusion; I would submit that the proposed plan is the necessary complement to that great improvement in our procedure, which has now stood the test of thirty years' experience, the admission of the evidence of the parties, and, further, that it is not really novel in principle, since it greatly resembles the ancient English form of pleading, which, according to Mr. Serjeant Stephen, was in vogue down to the time of Henry III., whereby the parties or their advocates appeared in court, and made short verbal statements, the judge 'moderating' between them, so as to cause their alternate allegations to 'at length arrive at some specific point or matter affirmed on the one side, and denied on the other. When the matter was obtained, if it proved to be a point of law, it fell, of course, to the decision of the judges themselves; but if a point of fact, the parties then, by mutual agreement, referred it to one of the various methods of trial then practised, or to such trial as the court should think proper.'¹⁸ That this system did not work into something like what I have proposed is probably owing to the ancient superstition that the parties to an action ought not to give evidence—a figment which was finally demolished by that noble measure, the Evidence Act of 1852.

The proposed scheme may be considered, indeed, as a re-introduction (with modifications suiting it to modern requirements) of

¹⁸ *Stephen on Pleading*, 23, 24. 5th edition. In ancient Rome, under the *Lex Æbutia*, the *prætor*, in drawing up the record, decided the question of law hypothetically, directing the *judices* to give such and such judgments accordingly as they found the facts proved. *Vide* Long's edition of *Cicero's Orations*, vol. i. p. 160, *et seq.* Title, *Edicta Magistratum*.

the most ancient and natural form of procedure—viz., of the parties appearing in the first instance before the judge, and stating their cases to him.¹⁴

POSTSCRIPT.

The proposals of the Report of the Committee appointed by the Lord Chancellor, an account of which some time ago appeared in the newspapers, seem to be of considerable importance.

The proposed notice to admit facts coincides with that suggested above; and the proposal that each cause should be from the first placed under one Master would probably produce some, though not most, of the benefits of my proposal to begin the work of the suit, after appearance, by bringing the parties face to face before that officer, and then and there settling the record. The restrictions on the present almost unlimited power of appeal, suggested by the Committee, can, so far as they go, hardly fail to be beneficial; and the same may be said of the proposed regulation of the proceedings for discovery. As to official shorthand writers, it would be very desirable that one should be attached to every court in the kingdom, and should take down every word said by parties, counsel, witnesses, jurors, or judges, so that a record of all that took place might be preserved. It would not be necessary, however, that these notes should be copied out unless when specially ordered; for the expense of copying very greatly exceeds that of taking the notes. So general has the art become, that competent shorthand writers may now be obtained at very moderate salaries.

The only proposal of the Committee which seems open to exception is that on motions for new trials the successful party should receive notice of the motion and be *obliged* to attend and contest the matter. That he should receive notice and have the *option* to appear and take the contest then, would in many cases diminish expense and delay; but to *compel* him to do so, unless when leave to move had been given at the trial, is inconsistent with the principle that the successful litigant should not be further harassed unless a court considers that there is a reasonable doubt of the soundness of the decision in his favour.

Useful, however, as are most of the suggestions of the Committee, they do little more than scratch the surface. To bring our procedure into a really satisfactory state we must dig far deeper.

ALFRED HILL.

¹⁴ *Domat on the Civil Law*. Strahan's Translation, 665.

ORIGIN OF THE NATIONAL PARTY IN EGYPT.

WHEN I first went to reside in Egypt in 1839, Mehemet Ali, though an old man, was still in his full intellectual vigour. He was a man of short stature, well proportioned, and with a striking countenance. His face was of the Albanian type, with something of the Tartar. He had a large thick nose, high cheek-bones, small mouth, eyes small but bright as a hawk's and as keen, with a long white beard and shaggy white eyebrows. He dressed in turban and gombaz and always wore his curved Mameluke sword, having received permission from Stamboul to retain his ancient habiliment, in consequence of his old age. He was a man of restless vigour, inquisitive, shrewd, and talkative. In disposition he was cruel, subject to caprice, and violent, but with occasional generous instincts. He had the vices in fact and the virtues of the ancient Osmanlis, and had nothing in common with his Circassian descendants of our day.

His Court was purely Turkish—that is to say, Turkish-speaking. He himself had learned Arabic late in life in order better to manage the fellahin. The Europeans in his pay were all men of high professional merit, engaged for what they could do; but with few exceptions they never came into his presence, nor were allowed political influence. He communicated with them through Boghoz Bey, an Armenian and uncle of the present Nubar Pasha, who was his only minister. Many of these Europeans were Saint-Simonians and distinguished men. With their help he founded his Polytechnic School at Cairo, his school of medicine under Clot Bey, his military schools at Tourah and Ghizeh, and the educational institution at Paris under M. Jomart. These establishments, at which young Arabs received their education, were the foundation of the political revival of Egypt. The Azhar University, too, was subsidised by him and supplied with books and professors, and took a new lease of intellectual life.

Outside in the villages of the Delta and Upper Egypt the fellahin laboured without thinking, as they had done since the days of the Pharaohs. Mehemet Ali was the only sun of their political vision. His will was law. They feared him for his wars to which he dragged

them, but they did not dream of questioning his decrees. He took what he wanted of them by no regular system of taxation, but according to his will and not excessively. He was not avaricious, but when he needed gold he took it where he found it. He never borrowed money, and there was no public debt.

Mehemet Ali gave me two interviews on my arrival—a special favour—questioned me as to my *spécialité* (cotton cultivation), and sent me to Mansourah to superintend his dépôt there, and to plant 2,000 acres for him with Sea-Island cotton. There I first came into communication with the true Egyptians, the fellahin of the Delta, who were obliged to come to me from all parts of Egypt with their produce, of which the Viceroy held the monopoly. I also travelled constantly in the interior on business connected with this industry. My interpreter and assistant, Mohammed Effendi, a young fellah who had been educated at the Ecole Normale at Paris, and a man of extensive knowledge, gave me my earliest political ideas about Egypt. His history is typical of the causes which have produced the national movement. Mohammed was a native of Shibrekit in Baheya, son of a Sheykh el Belled. At the age of sixteen he had been sent to Paris by the Viceroy with many others to receive a European education at the French mission, and afterwards, being a youth of promise, to the Ecole Normale, where he took his degree in letters and sciences and qualified to be a professor when he should return to Egypt. He returned with the character of being the best pupil of the mission, and expected to receive a correspondingly high appointment at Cairo. Instead, however, of being thus employed, he was, by the jealousy of the Circassian and Turkish influence at Court, and *because he was a fellah* and one whose talents they feared, left as clerk in a low office at the salary of 3*l.* a month, doing no more than the work of a common interpreter for several years, and it was considered a high advancement for him when he was transferred to work under me in a like mean capacity. I have no hesitation in saying that this young man was qualified by his knowledge and his talents for almost any intellectual charge that could have been found for him in Egypt. But the unlearned Turks stood between him and success, and but for me he might never have pierced the lowest stratum of official life. This was not Mehemet Ali's fault. He did not and could not know all that happened, and when he learned about Mohammed from me he appointed him Mohawin of the Agricultural Department, and he rose eventually to the rank of Caimakan. As a Turk he could hardly have failed to become a pasha.

Through him I learned the misery of his fellow-countrymen, the uneducated fellahin, and the injustice with which many like himself, fellahin born, but educated men, were denied the employment due to their talents, simply because they were not of the Turkish caste. He taught me to commiserate the Arabs, and indulge in dreams of

their political deliverance. Already in those days the germs of nationalism were sprouting. These young men, educated abroad, had returned with the idea of their own intellectual superiority over their ignorant masters, and the very neglect which was employed to crush them spread their influence. Exiled from the capital, they settled down in the provinces as clerks and interpreters, discontented men : such as the apostles of liberty have always been. Having knowledge to impart they found listeners ; having wrongs to relate they found sympathisers ; and thus the apathy of generations was gradually infused with life.

At the end of five years, desiring more independence, I left the service of Mehemet Ali and started as a cotton-planter myself at Sula-manieh in the province of Shergawieh, where I had received a concession of land, and remained there for seven years, having also business at Alexandria, where I was acting Vice-Consul for Belgium. The change gave me more experience of Egypt and affairs ; and in my leisure moments I practised medicine among the fellahin of my district, as an amateur, on the homœopathic system. This extended greatly my knowledge of their wrongs, and hopes, and aspirations. In 1855 I brought the first Macarty's cotton gin from America, a system now universally used in Egypt, and received a decoration from the Sultan in consequence.

In the meanwhile Mehemet Ali had died in 1849, his son Ibrahim, the victor of Nezib, having predeceased him by twelve months. I have frequently seen and conversed with Ibrahim. He was a larger likeness of his father, but with more of the Circassian type, his mother being of that race. He, too, was highly intelligent, but coarser in mind than his father, and addicted to those grossest Turkish vices which caused his end. He came to power in his father's lifetime, and had just time to show his qualities as ruler. The few months of his authority left an impression of ineffaceable hatred on the fellahin, whom he cruelly despoiled and ill-treated, for he was, unlike his father, extremely avaricious, and but for his early death his would have been a notable reign of terror.

Abbas, Ibrahim's nephew and Mehemet's successor, was the son of a fellah woman, and an *Arabomane*. He loved agriculture, was kind to the peasantry, was frugal (except on certain points, such as the construction of buildings and the collection of horses), and was a good administrator. He was the first to open effective free trade in Egypt. On the other hand, he had all the domestic vices of his paternal stock, and died tragically at the hands of his servants a few years later, in consequence of a harem intrigue. I knew Abbas sufficiently to be able to appreciate his talents for business, having had dealings with him in connection with the supply of cotton-seed for his estate in the Wady, near Tel-el-Kebir. The fellahin liked him, as he was just with them ; and the Bedouins

were much attached to him. He sent many young fellahin to France and England for their education, but like his grandfather was prevented from protecting their later interests by his Circassian *entourage*. But for his private vices, he would have been a good ruler. He left no debts, but, on the contrary, a large inheritance to his son El Hami Pasha. He once made a loan of 380,000*l.*, but repaid it in a few years.

In 1854 Abbas died, and was succeeded by Saïd his uncle, son of Mehemet Ali by a Circassian woman. Saïd had been educated as a sailor under French tutors, and was a highly accomplished man. I knew him far more intimately than any of his predecessors. He was the first who took Europeans into his full confidence, which confidence was in consequence fully abused by them. Though inheriting the private vices of his race, he was not a lover of money, being on the contrary a generous man, and even a spendthrift. Neither was he cruel in his dealings with the fellahin, who preserve a good memory of his reign. The only class he persecuted was the Bedouins, who had been favoured by Abbas, and whom he endeavoured to force from their wandering life into habits of cultivation. He was adored by the army, on which he spent his *largesse*, increasing its numbers and reforming its discipline, for this had fallen into disorder. He first raised fellah soldiers from the ranks, giving some of them the grade of bey or lieutenant-colonel. Among these, Arabi and Toulba will be remembered, and the National party owes to him in consequence a considerable debt of gratitude. He diminished the taxes of the peasantry, and abolished altogether the capitation tax (*ferdeh*). The result of this generosity was a general prosperity among the fellahin, such as has not since been witnessed.

A less fortunate result of his easy dealing was the exploitation in his reign of Egypt by European capitalists. Saïd was an encourager of foreign trade, and gave concessions largely. He extended the railway system, hardly commenced by Abbas. He allowed European companies to be formed—among others by the Bank of Egypt—and above all he gave M. de Lesseps his concession for the Suez Canal. The leading idea, however, of this great enterprise, was not with him financial. He had a personal dislike for the Sultan, Abdul Aziz, and it was to annoy him, at least as much as to profit Egypt, that the Canal was begun. The Sultan, supported by the English, opposed the Canal. Saïd gave it to the French out of opposition. In connection with this scheme he was persuaded by M. de Lesseps to create *bons du trésor*, the origin of Egyptian debt. It was to redeem them that in the last year of his reign he borrowed some millions from a syndicate of Banking houses in Paris and in Germany, but left a large portion of it still in cash in his house at his death. But for the unnatural vices which disgraced his private life, he would have left more than this—an honour-

able name. His reign was the last the Egyptians knew of prosperity, of quiet, and of submission to fate.

Ismail Pasha was the true instrument and scourge of God, sent to rouse the fellahin from their indifference, and make them, through suffering, a nation. Ismail was the son of Ibrahim. His mother was, like Saïd's, a Circassian, and he inherited to the full the vices of a double strain of that evil blood. He had, to a special degree, that polished manner which is theirs, and which so readily ensnares the European eye. I knew him also well, but our relations were not cordial, for I was a friend of his brother Mustapha, and of his uncle Halim, who stood before him in legitimate succession to the viceregal throne. When Ismail was proclaimed Viceroy he was believed by those who did not know him—that is to say the Europeans—to be a man of superior parts, and even of superior virtue; but at heart he was from the first absolutely worthless. His absorbing vice was avarice, and from first to last his reign had no other object than, after pleasure, to gather into his purse all the wealth of Egypt. He had special talents for this purpose, and he had men about him who seconded him well and imparted to him the secret of financial operations on the large scale before his day unknown in the East. His three servants in this matter were Ragheb, Ismail Sadyk (the Muffetish), and Nubar. I will say a few words on each of them, for I knew them all three.

Ragheb Bey, as I knew him first, was a Candiote, a Mussulman of Greek origin, and gifted with the financial cunning of his race. He began political life in Egypt under Saïd Pasha, as an employé in the financial department, where he was speedily promoted to a high position, and gained considerable reputation, especially among the Greek community, with whom he has always remained on excellent terms. It is due to him that these developed their commercial influence so rapidly during the latter years of Saïd's reign. When Ismail came into power he made him his finance minister, and took his first lessons in the absorption of wealth from him. Ragheb, however, was essentially a Levantine. His ideas were limited to the smaller operations of trade as then understood in Alexandria and Cairo; and at the end of four years he was discarded by his master, who had learned all he could teach him, and aspired to greater things.

He was succeeded by Ismail Sadyk, a subaltern of Ragheb's, and a man of more original genius and less scruple. The character of this minister is a strange mixture of the worst with a few good qualities. I knew him intimately, I am still friends with his son, and I can speak with knowledge of his history. He was an Arab of Mogrebbin origin, and he began his connection with the Egyptian Court as director of Abbas Pasha's famous stud of horses at Shubra and Matarieh. He always had a passion for these animals, and for that display of hospitality which Arabs love, and he was personally

generous with his money, and open-handed in all his dealings. He had, too, a certain kind of patriotism, if such a thing can be said of a man who did more to ruin Egypt than, with two exceptions, any other. He did not love the Turks, and he hated while he used the Europeans. On the other hand he was absolutely unscrupulous, in his master's service, in the means by which he raised him money; and to the fellahin he was the cause of their most bitter sufferings. To his connivance were due the terrible exactions of the last twelve years of Ismail's reign. In Saïd Pasha's time the land tax had been as low as 8s. per acre; he raised it step by step to an average of 30s. He re-established the *ferdeh* or capitation tax. He invented the stamp tax on all commercial operations, the tobacco tax, the camel tax, the tax on oxen used in husbandry, and a certain tax more grievous than all to the peasantry, called the 'watn' or 'national,' a forced contribution for the supposed requirements of the nation. In his later years he imposed taxes which had not even a name, arbitrary demands of money; and to his inventive genius we must ascribe the transaction of the Moukâbalah. By his untiring energy the land was thus stripped year by year of all its produce, till even the best lands of the Delta had hardly any longer a market price. The vast sums raised by Ismail Sadyk have never been accounted for by any financial reckoning. The debt itself is nothing to them. They must have amounted to several hundred millions sterling, and they have left Egypt permanently poor. Sadyk's tragical end, however, saves his name from complete infamy, for it was due to a remnant of patriotic scruple. Ismail his master, pressed by Mr. Goschen to make certain arrangements which Sadyk considered tantamount to a surrender of Egypt to the foreigners, failed in obtaining the sanction of his hitherto ready tool, and a quarrel was the result. Sadyk was arrested, and died miserably at the hands of one of the highest personages of the country.

Nubar Pasha is an Armenian of good family from Smyrna, and nephew of that Boghoz Bey whom I have alluded to as Mehemet Ali's secretary and confidential minister. Sent to Europe as a boy, he received a thorough education at the hands of the Jesuits of Fribourg and in France, and was called to Egypt by his uncle on the conclusion of his studies, and placed in the Viceregal dragomanate where I first knew him. Later, he was sent as interpreter with Ibrahim Pasha on his European tour, and thus Nubar made his first acquaintance with the political world of Paris and London. Under Saïd he was promoted to be director of the new railways. His knowledge of languages, however, and his great general ability recommended him to higher posts. At the accession of Ismail he was named Minister of Foreign Affairs, and his political fortune was made. Ismail at once discovered in him the man most capable of

carrying out his schemes in all their immensity of financial daring. From him he learned the secret of European finance, and with a few intervals of temporary estrangement he retained him throughout his reign as confidential agent with the courts and capitalists of Europe. I have not space here to detail his various operations; they are besides sufficiently well known. It is enough to say that from his first act—the recognition by Ismail of the Suez Canal Convention—to his final act of the Egyptian liquidation, all the important fiscal operations of his reign were conducted through and by his Armenian minister. To him is due the rush of capital to the Nile, the founding of banks and houses of credit, the multiplication of concessions, the loans, the mortgaging of State domains, the introduction of European officials into every department of the administration, and, finally, the Anglo-French Control. To him, and to him only after the Viceroy, the national debt of 100 millions is owing; to him the loss to Egypt entailed by the Suez Canal; and to him the establishment of the International Courts, which are rapidly transferring the land, the only inheritance of the fellahin, into the hands of Greek and Syrian and European money-lenders. He is the cause of all this; but because his methods have been European, not Oriental, his work has not been criticised on its true merits by any but the Egyptian sufferers. To the present day Nubar Pasha is looked upon by many Europeans as in some sense a benefactor, a statesman of wide views, almost a patriot. In truth he has been a worse friend to Egypt than Ragheb or Sadyk—I was nearly saying than Ismail himself.

And now I will go back to consider the effect of all these various *régimes*, this coincidence of growing education with intermittent but ever-growing oppression upon the Egyptian people. Under Mehemet Ali I saw them as the beasts of the field, dull oxen, neither disputing the will of their owner, nor knowing all they suffered, only here and there an exiled *employé* with a European education telling a knot of listeners the secret of other lands where liberty was known. In the towns a little more light, but very little, and overshadowed by the despotic force of character of a single man. Under Abbas an easier *régime* for the fellah, a little spoiling for the Bedouin—enough to give hope to both; and under Saïd lighter taxation still, and more encouragement to material improvement.

In Saïd's reign, however, I observed a new condition of things making its appearance in the fellah's life. Egypt was for the first time opened to free trade with foreigners, and Europeans began to penetrate even to the remotest corners of the Delta. Their influence at first seemed all for good, and they were welcomed by the inhabitants, who saw in them something superior to themselves in education and the qualities which make success. They brought wealth with them and a sort of protection, and they taught the fellahin new arts of industry,

for which they were grateful. With the Europeans, however, came also, encouraged by the opening of a new field for them of enterprise, an invading host of Syrian Christians and Maltese, who from their knowledge of Arabic easily made themselves at home in the country. This was especially the case during the last four years of Saïd's reign, when the price of cotton, raised suddenly by the American war, gave employment to all the hands which could be found. These foreign Levantines, with the Greeks encouraged by Ragheb, formed at once a new and very dangerous element in the resident population. Until their arrival the native Christians represented by the Copts had lived in complete harmony with their Moslem fellow-countrymen, but the new-comers brought with them the fierce fanatical prejudices of their respective races. The discord, nevertheless, was not at first apparent; as long as the material prosperity of the cotton trade and of Saïd's light taxation lasted, men were too busy cultivating their land and making money by legitimate trade to quarrel much, and the full difficulty was reserved for the succeeding years of exaction and distress. The fellahin, besides, under Saïd were specially protected, and, as I have already said, some care was taken in promoting Egyptians to responsible offices under Government, and even in the army, while the Copts still retained their old employments in the public service as accountants and clerks.

With Ismail, however, all the evils of the foreign immigration made themselves immediately felt. In 1864 the price of cotton suddenly fell, and innumerable hands were thrown out of employment; and taxes being simultaneously raised, the working population became distressed and uneasy. I was myself affected in my business by the change, and remember its phases well. From 1866 to 1869 the capital thrown into the country in connection with the Suez Canal afforded some relief, and so delayed the crisis; but with the completion of that great work the crisis began. Then, for the first time, the fellahin became unable to pay their taxes, and were obliged to borrow money—a thing most repugnant to their prejudices and traditional practice; and, unfortunately for them, money was but too close at hand and too easily obtained, though at enormous percentages. The Greeks and Syrians are money-lenders born; and in every large village they opened credits with the distressed peasantry, going, moreover, round the districts for the special enlargement of their trade. The fellah, called upon to pay more than he had and threatened with the kurbash, fell in spite of himself a victim at 30, and 40, and 100 per cent. I have myself known instances of as much as 200 per cent. having thus been taken per annum; and it is in great measure on the gains of usury during this period that the modern cities of Alexandria and Cairo, representing so many millions sterling, have been built. Till the year 1876, however, though usury was rampant in the country, it was still in a certain measure checked

by the difficulties thrown by Moslem law in the way of recovery of debts made on mortgage. The fellah was practically unable to mortgage his land; and his liabilities were, therefore, limited to the personal property he might possess. But in 1876 Nubar Pasha introduced his famous 'Réforme Judiciaire,' for which he has gained in Europe the name of a great statesman. It was the *coup de grâce* of the peasant. Loans upon mortgage were by its operations made easy and secure, and the international courts made recovery of debts, real or pretended, against the Arab fellahin a matter of certainty for the foreign money-lender. It is impossible for me here to detail the action of this double arrangement more than to notice that the new system seemed designed to secure the rapid transfer of every acre of land from the tax-paying Egyptian to the untax-paying foreigner. The new law of mortgage was the easiest and least restricted in the world; the new law of recovery the most summary. *It will hardly be credited in Europe that an Arab debtor sued in the International Courts of Egypt can be foreclosed upon within three days of the falling due of his debt in a court presided over by foreign judges, on evidence given in a foreign language, and according to a foreign procedure, and that his only method of defence is to employ a foreign lawyer to argue for him in a tongue he does not understand.*¹ This it was that determined the fellahin of Egypt finally to revolt, and which more than all else transformed the brotherly good feeling which had existed between Christian and Mahometan into a feeling of bitter hatred.

Another pregnant cause of discontent and ill-feeling was the substitution under Ismail of Syrian and Maltese *employés* in the public offices for the native Christian Copts. The excuse of this was that the presence of so many Europeans in the country and the increased use of French as the official language, and the substitution of a European system of finance for the old native system, rendered this imperative. The Copts are not, as a rule, good linguists, and they were wedded to their old methods of reckoning, while the Syrians are facile talkers and used to Western arithmetic. The Copts were accordingly ousted from the places they and their fathers had from time immemorial held, and they joined in a body the ranks of discontent.

Lastly, Europeans began to be inducted into all the chief offices of State, including even the highest. The statistics on this head have in part been laid before the English Parliament—but only in part. What is known, however, is amply sufficient to account for the anti-European bitterness which in the later years of Ismail's reign began for the first time to show itself in high and low places

¹ If any doubt these facts, let them read *L'Egypte et l'Europe, par un Ancien Juge Minto*, the work of that distinguished Dutchman, Van Bemmeln, now Judge of the High Court of Arnhem.

alike. It accounts for the Turks and Circassians, ruthless enemies as these have been to the Egyptians, joining at last in such large numbers the national and anti-foreign movement.

So much for the wrongs which roused the people. Now I will speak of the men of the Revolution.

Ever since I have known Egypt I have known of secret societies there. Their origin may, I believe, be traced to the visits of Indian Mahometans to the Azhar University, where they were always cordially received, and where they developed those ideas of freemasonry so common throughout Asia. As early as Saïd Pasha's reign I was invited to join a lodge of Oriental Freemasons at Alexandria, and the movement has since become very general. This lodge had nothing to do with the European lodge of Egypt called the 'Pyramids,' nor did its members recognise any European Orient in their organisation. Their ideas nevertheless were very similar to those of European Freemasonry, only with a certain religious tinge of thought absent from ours. The Freemasons of Egypt were, when I first knew them, wholly Moslems, but the union of the Copts with the Moslems in the national movement later caused many of the leading Coptic Christians to join the lodges, so that a humanitarian principle may be distinctly recognised now in their as in our ideas.

In connection with these was the earliest preacher of freedom in North Africa, Mohammed es Senusi, who twenty years ago was a student at the Azhar University at Cairo. He was a Mogrebbin—I believe of Tunisian origin; and though he left Egypt at the early age of twenty-three, he had already sown there the seeds of that society which has since made his name famous among Moslems. His system was a development of freemasonry, but distinctly religious; a religious socialism, in fact, based on those earliest principles of Mahometan teaching which inculcated a universal brotherhood in Islam, a complete religious tolerance. This may have been modified by Senusi later, since his retirement to Tripoli, and in view of the Panislamic movement of modern times with which they had originally no connection; but they have always remained in their early form in Egypt, and account for the language of brotherhood and toleration so constantly held by Arabi and his companions, and which have been thought an affectation by too-learned Europeans. The ideas of Senusi found a peculiarly congenial soil in those *employés déclassés* and their half-enlightened neighbours in the country districts whom I have already spoken of, and were adopted by the mass of the religious professors of the Azhar and by many of the notables and chief merchants of the towns. Es Senusi, however, left Egypt before the modern movement of a distinct Egyptian nationalism began, and so can hardly count as one of its high priests. He was a forerunner rather than an apostle. I saw him once only, and have unfortunately no distinct recollection of his individuality.

Another humanitarian preacher, who had a vast influence with the educated classes both of Cairo and in the provinces, was the Sheykh Gemahl-ed-din, commonly called El Afghâni. This remarkable man was educated at Bokhara and at Delhi, and came to Cairo after having made the pilgrimage. I met him at Mansourah once—where he was giving lectures, and where he had the largest following of any in Egypt—and found him a most distinguished personage. He was at that time still a young man, handsome and vivacious, and gifted with that gift of gifts with the Arabs, a pure vein of eloquence. He taught his pupils distinctly the reason of their wretched condition (for this was in Ismail's reign), the tyranny of caste which made of the Turk a lord, of the Arab a labourer without hire, and exhorted them to educate themselves and so get the strength which knowledge brings to gain their liberty. These lectures or preachings were strictly private, for all through Ismail's reign men known to hold advanced ideas were liable to seizure and imprisonment, to the White Nile or even the Nile at Cairo, under whose waves many aspirations after liberty have been prematurely stifled. He went on thus, however, without mishap until the very end of the chapter, when at last he betrayed himself by too loud a cheer at the fall of Ismail, and was consequently banished from Egypt by the Government. He went away to America, and lived there as a teacher of Arabic, until later he returned to India, where he is now said to be.

So far the new ideas had not penetrated the lower stratum of Egyptian society. It was reserved for yet a third teacher to popularise the ideas of liberty, and to give them a distinctly national and Egyptian character. This teacher was James Sanua. By birth a Jew of Cairo, with a strain of European blood, and a *protégé* of the Italian Government, he received his education partly in Italy, partly in his native town. His native language was Arabic, in which he is a good scholar, although for popular purposes he has adopted in his writings the patois of the fellahin, but he talks also Italian, French, and English. He began life as a teacher in the military school of Cairo, about the year 1872, where many of the younger officers, who have since taken part in the 'rebellion,' passed through his hands. It is therefore in a great measure due to him that the army later became imbued with those principles of freedom which have puzzled Europe by appearing in so unexpected a quarter. He instilled his ideas with great caution, for politics at that time were dangerous ground, but he became widely known among the better educated classes of the city, and in spite of his origin was soon a great favourite with the younger students of the Azhar, a most important section of the Cairene community. His first public venture was an anonymous newspaper, or rather a lithographic sheet, in which, under the guise of poetic conceits such as are congenial to Arab thought, he ventured allegorically to criticise the powers that were. These, dis-

tributed secretly from hand to hand, soon gained an immense circulation, and were the foundation of what afterwards developed itself into a true native press. Some of these sheets were especially addressed to the fellahin, and were written in their own patois, an idea absolutely new to the Oriental mind, and one which had an extraordinary effect upon the popular imagination. During the last five years of Ismail's reign, there was hardly a donkey boy of Cairo, or of any of the provincial towns, who had not heard them read, if he could not read them himself; and in the villages I can testify to their influence, for I was myself a diligent colporteur of Sanua's lucubrations wherever I went. From these beginnings, the *Young Egypt* developed itself, the earliest national newspaper. A more original conception was the opening of a little theatre in the old town, in which, disguised under the coarsest burlesque, he ridiculed all the contemporary extravagances of the Viceregal family. This, too, had an immense success, and Sanua's plays became the rage, and found not a few imitators among the Azhar students. At last, he started his most popular venture of all, the *Abu Naddara* newspaper, which combined his two previous styles. This was a burlesque sheet, with pictures, openly ridiculing the Viceroy and his ministers, and it simultaneously achieved its author's popularity and his ruin. When Riaz Pasha came into power, shortly before the fall of his master, he presented too fair a mark to ridicule, not to fall an easy prey to Sanua's scurrilous wit. For this, and for his plays, he was arrested, and but for his Italian protection would doubtless have gone the way of other premature patriots. As it was, he was exiled from Egypt, and sent to carry on his newspaper campaign with fresh vigour at Paris.

In the meanwhile, more serious men had risen into notice, more distinctly Egyptian, and who were destined to play a larger part in history: Sultan, the Abazas, Sherei, Fakri, Wasef, the Coptic and Orthodox patriarchs, and lastly Arabi, who long before the fall of Ismail had made himself a name, and was known in the army and in his own province, the Sherkieh, as a man of character, patriotism, and courage. These were in close, though clandestine, communication with each other during the later years of Ismail's reign, and had already formed themselves into a 'national party' before ever Europe had dreamed of national life in Egypt.

The National party declared itself at last in this wise: Ismail Pasha, as long ago as 1866, having been pressed by the Porte to send an army into Candia for the suppression of the Greek insurrection there, and wishing to charge the Porte with its expenses, had called together a Chamber of Notables to clothe with the sanction of a national vote his design of deducting these expenses from the annual tribute. The Notables had come to Cairo and had voted as they had been required on this point and others, until the era of the great loans began,

when, finding them no longer willing to act with him, Ismaïl had sent them back to their provinces. But though too timid to assert themselves by any other act of will, the Notables did not forget the fact of their having been summoned and having had a certain power for a certain number of years; and the unrepealed law creating them a body in the State was the base on which the National party later built its programme. As long as Ismaïl was in power this never was put down in writing, but to my knowledge it was distinctly understood as the leading feature of the movement already then designed. The immense extravagance of Ismaïl had suggested to every patriot the thought of the nation itself assuming control of its finances as the only legitimate remedy for ruin, and the establishment of the first European Control under Nubar, Wilson and Blignières only increased this determination. It is a matter for speculation whether, if Europe had not interfered diplomatically with Egypt, the National party would, or would not, have succeeded in forcing their programme upon Ismaïl, but in my own mind I do not doubt they would. In any case they were already a power in the State sufficiently strong to need recognition by Ismaïl, if not by his ministers, for at least a year before his fall. The fact of their being so, led to what I will now relate.

In the autumn of 1878 Ismaïl was at his last financial shifts. He contemplated bankruptcy. The European ministers he had called in to re-establish his credit had failed in securing him further loans, and were now only a burden to him and an inconvenience, and he resolved to get rid of them. To do this he needed a new excuse and new alliances, and he bethought himself again of his old expedient, the Chamber of Notables, and of the National party which now represented a power in the State as well as an excuse. He consequently entered secretly into negotiations, through certain high personages of his Court with the National leaders. He proposed to them conditions something as follows: he would recognise them as a party, the party of Nationality, the *Watani*, and put himself at their head; the movement should be directed against all foreign interference and foreign functionaries; he and the nation should liquidate by a common accord the debt, on the basis of a unification of all liabilities at 7 per cent., and as soon as this was settled he would summon again their Notables and give them a constitution. I do not believe that Ismaïl was sincere in this last offer (he never was sincere); but Sherif Pasha, who had already drafted an organic law on the former occasion, was put forward as a person with liberal ideas likely to satisfy the nation's new demands. It was left to be inferred that the liquidation should be the prelude only of something more—of something, in fact, not very different from repudiation—for Ismaïl did not doubt that his subjects would willingly rid themselves altogether with him of the burden he had so unjustly laid upon them. On the other hand, he

put himself into communication with the chiefs of the army, who at that time were nearly all Circassians, to sound the sub-officers as to a farther scheme. His idea was to frighten away his European ministers, and he wished to clothe the intended assault upon them with the appearance of a military *émeute*. There was too much reason for discontent in the army, and the *émeute* was but too natural. The officers had many of them been disbanded without pay, and the rest felt their position to be most precarious; moreover, national ideas had deeply penetrated the lower ranks, and the objects of the intended insults were foreigners. Ismail's wishes then, all but the extreme measure of death, were carried out successfully. Wilson was hustled in the streets of Cairo, Blignières was frightened into shutting himself up in his house; and the obnoxious ministry, on the plea of their proved unpopularity, was immediately dissolved. The *coup d'état* was eminently successful. But Ismail had been playing with tools edged more finely than he imagined. He had gained his purpose for the time with Europe, but thenceforth the National party had become a fact in Egypt—a fact stronger than the Viceregal throne.

The last phase of arbitrary rule which I witnessed before the revolution was the reign of Tewfik Pasha. In the summer of 1879 the bondholders and others, made aware of Ismail's design, and scenting the coming bankruptcy, put such pressure on the Powers that they intervened on their behalf. Ismail was deposed, and his son succeeded him—the nominee of European finance. The character of this young prince I will describe. The son of a Circassian slave, who even before his birth had lost the good graces of her master, he was brought up in seclusion by his mother, and wholly under her influence. Ismail hated his son, and his son was taught from his cradle the arts of dissimulation which accompany fear. He remained longer in the harem than other boys, and learned no manly exercise either of mind or body. He has never learned the courage to speak the truth to men. Throughout his career he had shown himself a woman rather than a man. His mother was superstitious, and brought her son up religiously as such persons understand religion; and when he grew up and left her care it was to associate with the bigoted Sheykh of the old school at the Azhar, the Hanfi ulema, with whom he gained a certain reputation of piety. Later, European masters taught him French and English, and, in common with nearly all Turks who speak these languages, he has a deep hatred of Europe he has not always been able to conceal.

Tewfik, however, was not placed on the throne to rule. Riaz, the minister given him by the Powers, exercised all power in his name; but he himself was a cypher in the State. Riaz took up the reins again where Ismail had dropped them when he summoned the help of the National party, and that party has known no bitterer enemy than him. He ruled by the police, by imprisonment, and the White

Nile. In the two years of his office more than a thousand persons² were exiled beyond Khartum, and every show of independence met with prompt repression.

The National party, nevertheless, was not cowed. It had learned its strength, and the press in spite of Riaz continued, though with caution, to speak out. On the 9th of November its first printed manifesto appeared, in which the financial situation of Egypt was treated. The committee which drew up this document, besides such Egyptians as Sultan Pasha, Sami Pasha, Ali Bey Yemeni, comprised Ismail Pasha Yusri, Osman Pasha Lutfi, and Sherif Pasha—Turks who supported the movement as a means of power. I myself was its author in its French form, which differed slightly from the original Arabic. The following is a *précis* of its chief paragraphs.

NATIONAL MANIFESTO OF 1879.

At a stormy moment of his fate Ismail Pasha invoked to his aid the National party of Egypt, whose existence he knew and which he feared. The appeal came too late. No one answered. Now the National party asserts itself to save Egypt from financial ruin. It claims the right of every nation to be a nation. It would instruct the people themselves to know this right.

The National party regrets the diplomatic interference which has caused the fall of Egypt's ruler, merited though this be. While bowing to the fact, it cannot accept a government imposed by foreign influence, as expressing the wants and wishes of the country, for the country was not consulted. It repudiates such a *régime*.

Egypt feels herself young and strong. She will regenerate herself through herself.

Egypt declares that she will free herself of debt. She is solvent, but she must pay in her own way. She must be self-administered.

The National party admits the value of foreign help under restrictions, but it repudiates the *political* interference of foreigners. The motto of Egypt should be 'Work without politics.' The party embraces all who submit themselves to the common law of the land whatever their origin.

The National party proposes to attain its object by peaceable means, resorting only to force in the last instance. It therefore appeals to Europe for justice, believing that Europe wishes Egypt's welfare, and especially to Prince Bismarck,³ the defender of the principle of Nationalities. The present manifesto cannot yet be signed by the leaders of the party, because exile and death is still the reward of patriotism; but under guarantee all will sign it.

Egypt, as before said, accepts the debts of her Viceroys. But she objects to the pawning of her revenues to special creditors, such as those advantaged by the Goschen-Joubert Convention, and the Rothschild Convention.

The National programme of finance is therefore as follows:

- a. The return of the Domain Lands to the State.
- b. Withdrawal of all privileges to special creditors.
- c. Unification of all debts at 4 per cent.
- d. Establishment of an international control, special and *temporary*, for the sole purpose of overseeing the payment of the debt.

This manifesto, of which six thousand copies were circulated, caused some commotion; the suspected authors went into a sort of

² The exact number I have ascertained to be 1,527 persons.

³ This paragraph was inserted at the special instance of Ismail Pasha Yusri.

self-retirement at Helwan, where they remained for a while under strict surveillance.

In the spring of 1880 Mr. Rivers Wilson returned to Cairo, and the settlement of liquidation was made between him and Riaz. Though it has been much extolled by European writers, it was in fact the straw which broke the fellah's back; and it certainly had the effect of turning the national feeling, which had hitherto been mainly directed against the Turks, now mainly against the Europeans. The clause of the arrangement which gave most terrible offence was the repeal of the Moukabalah settlement, which constituted a direct breach of faith with the peasantry, and involved them in the loss of some twenty millions sterling.⁴ It was an injustice the poorest fellah could feel and understand, and which affected men in every village. For protesting against this astonishing injustice Hassan Moussa el Akkad, a young man of property in the Sherghieh, was exiled summarily to the White Nile, although Mr. Wilson had publicly invited criticism of his arrangements in the official paper. Now Hassan was a friend of Arabi's, and this act of tyranny, brought home so near to his doors, served as the theme of the rising tribune's most eloquent appeals. In his indignation he called upon his comrades in arms to resist the tyranny which was threatening the life of every man in Egypt, and for the first time force was talked of as a remedy for wrong.

An occasion soon showed itself for action, which the army was not slow to seize; and in this Arabi and his friends acted by the accident of a common hatred in concert with the Khedive, with whom they were intimate through Ali Fehmi, colonel of the first regiment of Guards, who had married into the Palace. The position of the Khedive in this matter was as follows. Jealous of his arrogant minister Riaz, and hating the European Control which supported him, he thought to strengthen himself by leaning on the army. Ali Fehmi was his friend, and Arabi, too, spent much of his time at the Palace, where over games of draughts of which the prince was fond he sought to gain him over to the National cause. Arabi's powers of persuasion are great, and he at that time had undoubted influence which, if pursued, might have made of the Khedive a popular constitutional king. But unfortunately he was of too poor stuff even to be led to a definite end.

Having, therefore, taken counsel of Tewfik, the colonels drew up a protest which they handed in to Riaz, as Hassan el Akkad had done to Mr. Rivers Wilson, but resolved that it should not be similarly treated in their own case. It asked for a reform of the army, for the employment of Egyptian not Circassian officers, and for the dismissal of the obnoxious Osman Rifki. Riaz made no reply, but laid his

⁴ The largest portion of that loan was borrowed from usurers at immense sacrifices, which are still hanging upon the victims of it.

plans in view of their destruction. It was necessary, however, first to secure the Khedive's nominal assent, and the minister—a violent man—had little difficulty in frightening his timid sovereign into ordering their arrest, and making himself an accomplice of the treachery. An invitation was sent to his friends Ali Fehmi and Arabi, and to Abd el Aal, colonel of the Black Regiment, to attend a *Meglis*. The story has been often told. Before going to the rendezvous the colonels left word with their subordinates to watch what happened. A cordon of soldiers was stationed from the Palace to the barracks, and orders given to march to the rescue should the leaders be too long detained. It has been told how this succeeded; how the officers, deprived of their swords, gave the signal, and how their regiments arrived at the double; how Osman Rifki escaped through a window, and how colonels and men together marched in triumph to the Abdin, where they received the forgiveness and the promises of their faithless confederate. This first demonstration, purely military though it was, proved a signal to the nation. It spread the fame of Arabi, hitherto confined to the army and to his native Shergieh, far and wide through Egypt, and it pointed him out as the man endowed with the will and the courage to be the redresser of wrong. From that day petitions from all parts—a sure sign of power—poured in upon him on all sides from the peasantry; and from a leader of soldiers he became endowed with the title of leader of the nation. The man in fact had appeared in Egypt with the hour.

This military revolt of February 1881 was the first act of the revolution. The second was of a more purely national character; it was matured through the following spring and summer, and reached its result in September. In this not only the army, but the recognised civilian chiefs of the party were concerned, and once more the Khedive. Its object was no longer merely the overthrow of a war minister and the reform of the simple military service, but the overthrow of the whole Riaz Cabinet, and of the system of despotic rule he represented. The prime movers in this matter were Sultan and Abaza Pashas—Egyptians both, and respectively the largest land-owners in Upper and Lower Egypt. These secretly issued circulars to the Sheykhs of the various villages with whom they were connected, and with the Notables of the towns, apprising them that the moment was arrived when the long-hoped-for dream of a parliament and constitutional government was to be realised. A constitution had been publicly promised by Tewfik in the first days of his reign, and he had reiterated this solemnly on the Koran since in private; and the chief obstacle in the way of the nation's hopes was Riaz. They were, accordingly, recommended to draw up a petition praying for the fulfilment of the Khedive's promises, for representative government, for ministerial responsibility, and for the immediate summoning of the Notables for the purpose of framing an organic law. Sherif,

as the nominal head of the party, and the author of a former constitutional scheme, was to be put forward as a successor to Riaz, whose fall was to be demanded; and a promise was exacted from him that on his succeeding to power he would at once carry out the programme of the party. Finally, Arabi and the officers were chosen as the exponents of the popular will. It was arranged that on the 9th of September the three regiments should march to the Palace, that the petition should be presented by them, and the Khedive's assent obtained for the fall of his minister. All was arranged with perfect secrecy and with perfect order. The troops before leaving the barracks received absolute orders under no circumstances to fire a shot. Messengers were sent to the Consulate to avert alarm, and the Khedive was instructed how to act his part in dismissing his minister without arousing a suspicion that it was at his own desire. All, in fact, at that moment were in concert—the Khedive, the army, and the people—and on the day following the demonstration of Abdin all Egypt learned with delight that the reign of absolutism and ignorance was at an end, that the nation had entered into its rights, and that it was thenceforth to hold its own with other enfranchised nations of the world.

Alas! it could not foresee the forces which that world was to bring to crush it, nor the treachery and the tears and the blood in which those rights were to be finally overthrown.

JOHN NINET.

MODERN MIRACLES.

A REJOINDER.

THE advocates of the pretensions of the Roman Catholic Church are skilful in adapting the tone of their arguments to the prevailing fashion of the day. Just now we are nothing if not scientific. Accordingly, Mr. Clarke, in putting his case for the Lourdes miracles, appeals confidently not to our faith or our imagination, but to our sense of the value of evidence, and to our powers of weighing it and drawing conclusions from it. The evidence which 'women and priests' would give is left out of the question, and only trained experts who know what the '*derma* and *epidermis*' are, and can talk about an '*anchylosis* of the knee,' are called into court.

Mr. Clarke addresses two classes of readers in his paper. Catholics are informed to what extent their credulity or faith is required; and non-Catholics are confronted with such proofs of one particular set of miracles as in Mr. Clarke's eyes can only be rejected by almost incredible folly or perversity.

With the directions contained in the former half of his treatise I have nothing to do. I must remark, however, as an entire outsider, that the case of the rational Catholic seems a hard one. He is not, to be sure, to be cast out as a heretic unless he rejects those miracles 'which have been examined by ecclesiastical authority and solemnly approved by the Ho'y See.' But there are many other miracles besides these which commend themselves to a pious Catholic; and if he rejects them, he is 'with difficulty' acquitted of 'intolerable insolence.' He lays himself open 'to the very gravest suspicion of disloyalty. The most charitable view to take of his conduct would be to regard him as having acted with a very imperfect knowledge of his duty as a Catholic, or as excusable *propter magnam stultitiam*, on account of some extraordinary perversity or prejudice amounting almost to monomania.' After which, one does not see why Mr. Clarke should feel injured by the 'smile of superior intelligence' from his Protestant friend. But these are not all the abusive epithets he applies to sceptical Catholics. A miracle recognised by episcopal authority must be accepted *primâ facie* by 'every sensible Christian.' Those who assail it are 'most rash, presumptuous, and

profane.' If the attack fails, the man is 'most culpable, and a fool for his pains.' He is in any case, in which a large number of people believe, neither 'a wise man nor a loyal Catholic' to run counter to this consensus.

These expressions are at any rate not wanting in vigour. They remind us of the racy language of ecclesiastical controversy of three centuries ago. It seems that if the ingenuous arts at Oxford softened Mr. Clarke's manners, the Society of Jesus has allowed them to grow fiercer again. However, Mr. Clarke may be safely left to settle these matters with his co-religionists.

I am now speaking as one of those who, to use his own words, 'have neither the virtue to love nor the intelligence to appreciate the Divine beauty' of his Church. To me, and others like me, he only addresses the last of his arguments. This argument he then applies to the case of the Lourdes miracles, and insinuates that none can 'refuse to accept evidence so clear, so well-established, so multiplied, so various, so conclusive of the point at issue' without 'writing himself down a fool if he declares the witnesses to be either dupes or impostors, and the facts they narrate either a lie or a delusion.'

Here, at any rate, is a clear and definite issue, expressed perhaps in somewhat peremptory and forcible language, but still presenting no ambiguity and no appeal to any authority to which a man who uses his reason at all can demur. The existence of a miraculous power 'still energising in the Church' need not come into the question. Mr. Clarke's opponent may grant it both for the sake of argument, and because to deny it would be at once a *petitio principii*, and a claim to prove a negative, which it would be rash and presumptuous to attempt.

The question, then, between us is simply this: 'Is there evidence for the Lourdes miracles such as any reasonable man should accept?' But even this question is a wider one than I care to undertake. I propose to confine myself rather to a smaller question. 'Has Mr. Clarke in his paper given us sufficient evidence, or evidence of a sort, to convince an ordinarily rational man?'

He gives us three cases out of the many which he professes to be able to adduce. It is, therefore, of these three, and these three alone, that I shall speak.

I. Mdlle. Philippe is said to have been cured of paralysis, and of a ghastly wound in the throat, resulting from an operation or operations for cancerous swellings. This cure was instantaneous and complete, took place while she was on her knees before the grotto, and has proved lasting.

The evidence of this extraordinary cure is given in detail. It consists first of the statement of Mdlle. Philippe herself, and secondly of a statement by a doctor—M. Vergez—of Montpellier. To this I answer from the standpoint of the ignorant public: (1) I have no

evidence before me as to the character or trustworthiness of either Mdlle. Philippe or M. Vergez. I do not impeach either. But I only say that I find nothing in this statement to show that they are to be believed in a matter so unusual. In a matter that was of little consequence this would not perhaps occur to the mind. But that merely means that the case in point would not be worth sifting. Here, I submit, the case is of sufficient importance to justify the inquiry. (2) I submit that the evidence of M. Vergez is deficient in conclusiveness in an important point. He was not present at the miracle, he only testifies to the curing of the wound (not a cancer); he does not say how long the interval was between the time at which he had seen the throat in its wounded state and the time at which he examined it in its cured state. What he calls, therefore, 'instantaneous cicatrization' may have taken place gradually and naturally; and for anything that appears from his words, he only knew of its instantaneousness from Mdlle. Philippe herself. In which case his evidence adds nothing to hers. He appears not to mention the paralysis—the cure of which, therefore, as far as this statement goes, rests wholly on Mdlle. Philippe's statement.

II. Mdme. André was cured of paralysis, affecting an arm and leg, making one eye blind, and one ear deaf. This woman also is cured instantaneously, without entering the water, and while engaged in prayer.

Again what evidence have we given us? First, that she is examined before the Commission appointed to examine alleged miracles. In their presence and that of two physicians she shows that she can use the paralysed limbs.

On this I remark: no names are given to the physicians, I am therefore unable even to make an inquiry about them, as I might in the case of M. Vergez. The time of her stay at Lourdes is not stated, or any ordinary means she may have employed for her recovery. The evidence of her previous state depends wholly on a statement of her husband's said to have been inserted in a local paper, which does not, to say the least of it, read like the independent composition of a peasant. Again, one would be glad to know, before accepting so important a statement, who are the Commissioners appointed to investigate alleged miracles? By whom are they appointed? Have they interest, direct or indirect, in the miraculous reputation of Lourdes? I must guard against being supposed in saying this to be casting any doubt on the integrity of any one. I am trying to point out the weak points in a piece of evidence of which I know nothing beyond what I read in Mr. Clarke's paper.

III. M. René de Bil is cured of a white swelling and wounds (presumably surgical wounds). 'He bathed in the sacred spring; the result was that the wounds and swelling completely disappeared.'

This cure is attested by M. Leys, who attended the patient for five

years, and was convinced that he was incurable. He examined him on the 13th of August (the day before he went to Lourdes), and found his condition as serious as ever. He examined him again on the 3rd of September, and 'found that the white tumour, ulcers, and fistulous passage have disappeared, that the leg has become straight, and that the young man walks without the help of his crutches, which before were indispensable to him.'

This is perhaps the strongest of the three cases, as it presents the medical examination as definitely taking place immediately before and after the visit to Lourdes. But I cannot admit that even this case, as it is stated by Mr. Clarke, is, or ought to be, satisfactory to an ordinary observer. The old question arises, Who is M. Leys? What reason have we to be sure that he had not mistaken his patient's case, and that the medicinal spring did not do for him what M. Leys declared to be impossible? Such cases of mistake are not entirely without parallel. No evidence is offered of persons who saw M. René de Bil at Lourdes; no statement is made as to whether the cure was sudden or gradual, whether the disappearance of the ulcers did not account for the apparent straightening of the leg.

Mr. Clarke concludes his evidence for Lourdes by a document contributed by Dr. Constantine James, 'a well-known Paris physician.' It is of course my insular ignorance that makes the name a mere name to me. But I accept the description. I remark, however, that his statement only amounts to this, that he has seen patients whom he and others thought incurable return cured from Lourdes. I submit that the element of human fallibility is again sufficient to prevent such testimony from being final. Dr. James does not allege that he has seen cures at Lourdes, though he visited the place. He gives no names, and no cases which in themselves are incapable of cure. I submit, therefore, that before we receive his statement as final, he must tell us of definite cases, of which he has direct and personal observation near to the time, and of such a nature that they were absolutely incapable of cure from any known medical treatment, or of any that was procurable by the patient; and even then a careful inquirer would be glad to have such opinions strengthened by other 'well-known physicians.'

I have in these few sentences endeavoured to show, not that the miracles did not take place, for I am not concerned to prove so much even if I could, but that the evidence adduced by Mr. Clarke is wanting in many elements of certainty, which any man would ask for in a matter of first-rate importance, even though it were admitted that it is such as we should receive in ordinary and comparatively unimportant affairs.

I must conclude with a few words on Mr. Clarke's general position of astonishment and indignation that reasonable men can be found to doubt the truth of facts tested and pronounced sound by the

Sacred College, by bishops, and by a general consensus of believers. Let me put a case. Take any daily paper that admits the advertisements of quack medicines. There you will find certificates of cures almost as miraculous, of every disease nearly under the sun, attributed to some ointment or pill, which on being analysed is found to contain, in some small quantity, some quite harmless and wholly ineffectual drug. To the virtues of this medicine you will find innumerable testimonials from peers and members of Parliament, from clergymen and lawyers, and, more surprising still, from physicians, with their full names and addresses, and many letters after their names. That the public believe and buy is proved by the enormous fortune realised by more than one of the patentees of these wonderful medicines.

How do I account for this? I cannot account for it at all. The prevalence and vitality of a lie is the most astonishing and disheartening thing in the world's history. How does Mr. Clarke account for the millions who believe in the divine mission and miraculous revelations of Mahomet or Joe Smith? For the millions who live by the miraculous life of Buddha? For the millions who reject the authority of the Pope? What is called 'priestcraft' in religion is 'party spirit' in politics, and may be defined as that devotion to one's own sect or party which blinds us to general truths, duties, or interests. This may perhaps go a little way towards an explanation; but I admit that it goes a very little way. I may indeed give up the problem in despair; but one thing I do learn from it, and that is to care very little for numbers or a consensus of believers in estimating the truth of a particular alleged fact or tenet. The old proverb '*Magna est veritas et prævalebit*' should be, if we regard the history of the world at large, '*Magnum est mendacium et prævaluit*.' Nor am I the first to feel this. 'A wonderful and a horrible thing is committed in the land,' says Jeremiah; 'the prophets prophesy falsely and the priests bear rule by their means; and my people love to have it so.' That is the puzzling but the universal fact—'my people love to have it so.' One feels tempted to cap Mr. Clarke's cardinal and his *caro mio* (p. 769) by a reference to that other cardinal and his almost as historical saying. At any rate, the truth remains, '*Vulgus vult decipi et decipitur*.'

E. S. SHUCKBURGH.

THE FUNCTIONS OF AN OPPOSITION.

MUCH has been said and written during the last few weeks, not only as to the general question concerning the conduct of a Parliamentary Opposition, but also with particular reference to the condition and prospects of the Party at present out of office. It is difficult, as indeed recent experience has abundantly shown, to dilate upon the more personal branch of the subject without appearing to know either too much or too little. And a controversy which has for its main object to determine the prudence of individual politicians, or the merits of a course of action perhaps not yet fully developed, is more likely to stimulate rancour than to restore confidence. The ancient adage which recommends the washing of dirty linen at home, and the equally venerable saw which describes the nature of the bird that fouls its own nest, are not even yet entirely out of date. But while it may be well to dwell as little as possible on the incriminatory features of such narratives, there may yet be perhaps material found in them which may be useful in constructing a theory regarding the position and duties of an Opposition.

When we remember that the existence of a more or less regular Opposition is coeval with that of the two great parties which have so long divided public confidence in this country; and that for at least two hundred years our successive sovereigns have found in its ranks the materials of an alternative Ministry, it seems strange that there should at the present time be room for doubt, and even for argument, as to its precise functions; or that half the newspapers and all the quidnuncs of our own day should be busying themselves with an almost frantic earnestness of speculation in the endeavour to analyse so bald a truism as 'The business of an Opposition is to oppose.' It is not necessary for our purpose to adopt the view either of the Conservative pessimist or of his brother optimist. While the one inveighs without stint or scruple against such organisation as his leaders can boast, and the other complacently assures us that all is for the best in the best possible of parties, it may not be impossible to extract even from these apparently contradictory assertions something

which even their authors may recognise as a common basis of political ethics.

It is, I hope, almost superfluous to point out that the duty of an Opposition, no less than of a Ministerial majority, is twofold. Everybody will admit that while it owes allegiance to its Sovereign and country, it has also a duty to perform for itself. The man who wishes to serve the State must not forget his own health or reputation. As the apostle advised his favourite disciple to mingle sufficient stimulant with his daily *regimen*, so was he also careful to inculcate such a line of conduct as should 'let no man despise thee.' And as a man, so also a party will find itself best adapted for the performance of public duty by keeping itself in good fighting trim, while it avoids at once the extremes of ridiculous extravagance and despicable weakness. It will follow from this that a party in Opposition will be always ready to do battle with the Ministry of the day, not merely upon those great issues which are fraught with momentous consequence to the State, but also whenever it may find a fair and legitimate opportunity of exhibiting to the country such powers as it may possess, and of training in the practice of Parliamentary dialectic those who are to be its champions in the competition for the service of the State.

An exuberant verbosity has been dedicated, ever since the death of Lord Beaconsfield, to the celebration of his career. And as Mr. Disraeli spent the greater and the more vigorous part of his public life in Opposition, his shade is constantly invoked to support any dogma which finds favour with each writer on this interesting subject. Instances may, of course, be multiplied in which Mr. Disraeli's action at some particular moment may be cited in favour of either an aggressive or a defensive policy. While it is, I believe, considered impious by a great number of people to suggest that Mr. Gladstone ever made a mistake as a Minister, it is almost equally an article of faith with at least as many others that Mr. Disraeli was equally infallible as a leader of Opposition. Indeed, these two beliefs, so far from being antagonistic to each other, are largely held in common—for the worshipper of Mr. Gladstone is in many cases acute enough to perceive that it enhances the glory of his hero to have triumphed over an adversary whose courage, craft, and ambition he believes to have been scarcely surpassed by the Prince of Darkness himself. Yet if you could have asked Lord Beaconsfield, he would probably have been the first person to admit that Mr. Disraeli committed many blunders in that particular field of statesmanship in which it is the fashion to regard him as pre-eminent. Publicists continually do declare that the late Prime Minister is entitled to almost unapproachable renown because he conducted his party through the many phases of an ever-varying conflict until the hopeless minority with which he

set out became the triumphant majority of 1874. It is certainly with no wish to disparage the strategy of that brilliant and sagacious leader that I venture to dwell for a moment upon one or two of the incidents of his leadership which make it possible to conceive that this result was not necessarily or altogether due to his tactical skill. To begin with, the circumstances which created the Conservative minority in the Parliament of 1847, at which time Mr. Disraeli first began to exercise a commanding influence in its councils, are scarcely to be considered auspicious, so far as his share in them is concerned. That Sir Robert Peel had, by his change of policy regarding the Corn Laws, alienated the great majority of his party in the House of Commons is, of course, not to be denied; and that a reconciliation between him and his followers was possible was certainly extremely doubtful. That Mr. Disraeli should not have been proof against the temptation to precipitate a rupture and to widen the breach between Sir Robert and the Protectionists was perhaps natural enough, though the particular act by which the Peel Ministry was upset—the division on the Arms Bill—was an exhibition of factious animosity rare in our recent annals, and such as we may suppose any politician who aspired to become a party leader would be slow to imitate. The unexpected and conspicuous ability shown by the member for Bucks when the party which he had helped to separate from its former leaders was suddenly deprived in the following year of the services of Lord George Bentinck, is perhaps the most remarkable parliamentary phenomenon in the records of our century. He well won the Chancellorship of the Exchequer which, in 1852, rewarded his services and consolidated his authority. But it is at least open to question, especially when we consider the combination which was formed to resist his first Budget, whether Lord Derby's first administration would not have possessed a much greater chance of longevity had it been represented in the House of Commons by any other minister. In those days, and indeed for a long time afterwards, the Tory party might well have addressed Mr. Disraeli in the language of the Roman lover: '*Nec tecum possum vivere, nec sine te.*' Just as his brilliant gifts and unflinching audacity rendered him indispensable, so also did the aversion which he had inspired—an aversion not wholly confined to the benches opposite—render him, at least for the greater part of his Parliamentary life, almost impossible, at least in the character of a leader of a majority.

This peculiar combination of talents and circumstances alike unusual, destined Lord Derby's great lieutenant to be perpetually repeating the labours of Sisyphus. Quick to see an opportunity, and sometimes prudent enough to forego it, he was ever in the tantalising position of one who, possessing the qualities by which victory can be attained, still carries with him, as part of himself, that which must

preclude him and his followers from any enjoyment of that victory. That such a man in such circumstances should come to be regarded by his countrymen as an almost ideal leader of Opposition is natural enough. But, as I have endeavoured to show, his performance of that rôle is hardly so much due to a great conception of the part thus to be played, as it was the resultant of those two powerful contending forces, Mr. Disraeli's genius and the public sentiment regarding Mr. Disraeli. Again and again, at times when the bias of national opinion was indubitably Conservative, he found himself in Opposition; ever and anon when the star of his opponents seemed most in the ascendant, some deft manœuvre or some happy inspiration enabled him to snatch a brilliant and unexpected victory. Nor were there wanting occasions, it must be confessed, when some egregious, and, as it seemed, wanton blunder, intercepted the progress of his party and himself on their way to the promised land of official responsibility. Had it been possible to heal the feud between Peel and his adherents on the one hand, and the party led by Lord Derby on the other, it is scarcely too much to say, as we look back upon the ten or twelve years which followed the formal acceptance of the Free Trade dogma in 1852, that the Conservative party might have held office throughout the whole of that time. The one great obstacle to this was Mr. Disraeli himself, and bitter must have been the mortification of the statesman, who, while the strength of his party enabled him to arrest almost whenever he chose the policy of the Liberal Minister, whenever it assumed a Liberal complexion, had yet to sit by throughout years unruffled by a single breeze of Radicalism, and in Parliaments infinitely more Conservative than we shall ever see again, and see Lord Palmerston with a majority which could scarcely be reckoned at half a score, and frequently ceased to become a majority at all, still safe in office and in a popularity which the Conservative leader was reduced to assail by vain denunciations of 'bloated armaments.'

Yet none will deny that to Mr. Disraeli, above and beyond all his contemporaries, belonged what Mr. Pitt considered the cardinal quality of statesmanship—patience. He knew how to keep the game alive by daring reconnaissances and lively demonstrations; he could stimulate the courage of his own party, or infuriate antagonists less irascible than Mr. Gladstone by the exhibition of Parliamentary swordsmanship, seldom rivalled, and never perhaps surpassed; but while this sort of thing was necessary to rally his forces and to maintain his own reputation, few will doubt that he did much more to pave the way for their, and his, ultimate triumph, by his wise neglect of more than one tempting chance of joining issue with his adversaries when many thought the opportunity especially favourable. Take, for instance, the often quoted case of the

American War; without attempting to dogmatise on what must I suppose always be a subject of controversy, I may be permitted perhaps to say that the cause of the Southern States was, in the opinion of a great many persons well qualified to judge, extremely popular, not only with what are called the governing classes (as to that there could be no doubt), but with a great majority of this nation at large. The Northern States, the Yankees of common parlance, were generally disliked. The lingering resentment attendant upon the great revolt which established American Independence, though happily much abated by time, and destined as we hope never to be revived, was doubtless gratified by the spectacle of a political Nemesis which threatened the Transatlantic Republic with retributive schism. That those whose Constitution had originated in rebellion should be vexed in their turn by rebellion appeared not incompatible with the eternal fitness of things. The Southerners, so far as we knew anything about them, were esteemed a chivalrous and a hospitable race; they were fighting as they contended for their own liberties: the disruption of the colossal Power which was overspreading the continent of North America might not improbably increase the security of our own dominions on that side of the Atlantic, while it could hardly fail to extend and develop our trade with the new confederacy of the Planter States. The Government of the day—Lord Palmerston's—was more than suspected of a disposition to give practical effect to the sympathy for the Southern cause which had been avowed by more than one of its members. On this, as on many other questions, the Tory party in the House of Commons believed Lord Palmerston himself to be in accord with them; and the pressure which might have been used to make him declare himself, if it separated him from some of his colleagues and any considerable section of his party, might have been fraught with the double advantage of bringing about results which seemed desirable in themselves, and, at the same time, of breaking up the Liberal Ministry. There are not, and I think have not been, very many statesmen who in a crisis so arduous could have preserved the equal mind as did Mr. Disraeli. There are not wanting, of course, those who lament the loss of an opportunity for striking such a stroke of state. And though this is not the place to enlarge upon the possible consequences of such a policy if successful, it must be owned that the conception of a powerful Southern Confederacy, linked to England by ties of political amity and commercial interest, has its fascinating side. It was thought at the time that the Yankees might not improbably be glad of such an excuse for terminating the war as would have been supplied by the expressed sympathy of Great Britain with the Confederate cause. Mr. Disraeli, as far as we can judge, thought otherwise. He foresaw a sanguinary, protracted, and almost fratricidal

war between ourselves and the Northern Republic. He felt that, sooner or later, the people of this country would condemn a conflict which could not be justified by an appeal either to the national conscience, or to the immediate interests of the nation. He probably regarded as doubtful the establishment, even with our assistance, of the Southern Confederacy; while he recognised as certain the legacy of eternal hatred which such conduct on our part would leave behind it in the breasts of the Northern States, whether defeated or victorious. Painfully conscious as he must also have been of the scarcely concealed preference of many members of his party for Lord Palmerston, he nevertheless found courage, even at the risk of diminishing his hold upon his own followers, to steer clear of the dangerous attractions offered at once by party enthusiasm and personal ambition. How fortunate, both for the country and for his party, and not least, it may be added, for his own fame, has been the result of his self-denial and self-control, experience has abundantly demonstrated.

Other pregnant examples of his prudence in abstaining from that provocative style of defence which encourages attack may be found in the strategic skill with which he withstood Lord John Russell's and Mr. Gladstone's Reform Bills. The first of these was certainly not desired by the country, and was equally unpopular with both sides of the House. It is in the face of such a combination of circumstances that a Leader of the Opposition usually seeks and finds an opening for asserting his pretensions to a more important post. But Mr. Disraeli was astute enough to know that while many Liberals were anxious to get rid of the Bill, they would almost certainly choose to accept it if the alternative to that course was to be his assumption of office. So while he took up with great force and dignity the position befitting the leader of the constitutional party upon such a question, he preferred seeing the unhappy measure stifled by the amendments of Liberal members, and finally despatched by an important Whig official, to adopting any course which might have seemed to promise a party triumph. In the case of Mr. Gladstone's more celebrated *fiasco*, while the same state of circumstances more or less prevailed, Mr. Disraeli's position was one of considerably greater difficulty. There was no lack of eminent Liberal members at least as ready as on the former occasion to do the Bill to death, but their patriotism did not stop at that point. It has always been understood that there existed in the Cave of Adullam the nucleus of a Cabinet, which, while not disdaining the support of Tory votes to upset Mr. Gladstone, and condescending enough to be willing, by using the same means, to reign in his stead, was, even in this embryonic stage, so exclusive in its nature as to afford no room for Mr. Disraeli. The statesman whom it was thus sought to displace, had to fight his battle with the aid of allies, to whom his person was as odious as were

the principles propounded by Mr. Gladstone. How that battle was fought and won is in the recollection of nearly every public man. While the Adullamites believed they were using the Tory party, Mr. Disraeli was using them. They had the glory of the oratorical triumphs, they procured the overthrow of Lord John Russell's ministry, but when the spoils of victory came to be distributed, Mr. Disraeli resumed the leadership of the House of Commons, and they were still below the gangway. Yet, adroit as was the manipulation of parties and individuals then exercised by him, and valuable as such dexterity must always be to a party leader, it may fairly be doubted whether in this transaction it was not rather as a master-at-arms who guards his own head than as the leader of a party, that he may be said to have shone. He would never himself have admitted that in taking office to pass the Reform Bill of 1867, he did injury to the following whom he had undertaken to educate, and it is not just to hold him responsible for all the consequences which have flowed and may hereafter flow from that measure; but it will not be until this generation has passed away, that an impartial judgment can be formed respecting a step so momentous as that new departure.

It will be seen that it is possible to combine a sincere belief in Mr. Disraeli's greatness as a party leader with the conviction that the greatest services which he rendered to his party were performed rather by way of abstention than by way of action. That the exceptional bitterness which he infused into the political vocabulary had an injurious effect upon his own career in consequence of the rancour with which it inspired his enemies, can hardly be denied. And so far as his career was identified with the position of the party which he led, the same detrimental effects may be attributed to the same cause. But there can be even less doubt that the terrible prestige which he acquired so long ago as the Corn Law discussions, gave him an enormous advantage in debate, an advantage which was largely shared by a party which throughout his leadership was never very prolific of oratorical power. Balancing then the advantages and disadvantages accruing to the Opposition from their leader's peculiar gifts and from his exercise of those gifts as an orator, it may not unfairly be concluded that although both, and more especially the leader, frequently sustained injury from the sharpness of the weapons which he handled, they both, and especially the party, were gainers in an even greater degree by the consternation inspired by his prowess.

This estimate of his achievements would, however, be more imperfect even than it is, if it did not contain the admission that where he assumed the offensive in action, and not only in speech, he was continually liable to grave errors of judgment. It has been sought to show how invaluable at times was his coolness, and what has been called the 'detachment' of his mind from the passions and predilections of

party warfare. But it would almost seem that his very incapacity to share the warmth of colleagues and adherents rendered him a particularly bad judge of those occasions when it might be expedient to attack in force. No greater blunder in political strategy has probably been ever perpetrated than the China Vote in 1857, and it would be sadly easy to multiply instances of similar aberrations. Having regard then to the qualities displayed by him in the long period which lasts from 1848 to 1874, it is surely open to us to conclude that he was one of those who become, rather than are born to be, leaders of Opposition, and that there is nearly as much to learn from his mistakes as from his successes in that character.

It has not perhaps occurred to every politician of the present day that whatever may have been the special fitness of any contemporary statesman for conducting Opposition in the House of Commons, Mr. Disraeli's almost uninterrupted tenure of the post actually precluded his best known competitors from exhibiting their aptitude for a part which he is considered to have made his own. As a matter of fact Lord Palmerston was only for about a year and a half the titular chief of an Opposition which throughout that time commanded a numerical majority, and therefore was, and continued to be, an Opposition, simply because it could not agree to form a Ministry. Important qualities must doubtless have been brought into play by such an abnormal state of affairs, and qualities such as Lord Palmerston may reasonably be credited with possessing, but they were not those which are essential to an ordinary leader of Opposition, Mr. Gladstone, again, although against his will he submitted to be styled for a brief space the leader of the Liberal Party, after his fall in 1874 was never contented to bowl while his opponent was batting, and speedily gave up the game so far as the House of Commons was concerned. It follows then that since the days when Lord John Russell contended with Sir Robert Peel, no Liberal statesman has ever addressed himself seriously to the task of leading an Opposition, with the single exception of Lord Hartington. The times and the parliaments in which Lord John Russell held his own are already so remote that it would be difficult to deduce from his course of action any lessons bearing directly upon present events. And the comparative disappearance of Lord Hartington from the front rank of his party already makes the gossips of to-day recall his leadership as an event of a bygone epoch. But there can be no question that it was a very remarkable performance, and one which taken alone would entitle the 'late leader of the Liberal Party' to a distinguished position among the Parliamentary worthies of the nineteenth century. Upon other men the mantle of leadership has devolved either by the selection of some illustrious predecessor or by the force of irresistible circumstances. To Lord Hartington, necessarily a representative of

the more aristocratic section of his party, the Fates decreed a succession to a leadership just vacated by a vanquished and despondent predecessor, after a tolerably close contest with a more democratic competitor. The party, discomfited by the unexpected calamities of the general election of 1874, was further disheartened by the withdrawal of its chief in the hour of its adversity. It had been, as it is believed, almost evenly divided between its new leader and a rival who to longer experience and greater parliamentary prestige added the advantage of *bourgeois* sympathies and North-country connection. The Government of Mr. Disraeli was not only strong in the House of Commons, but free from any particular embarrassments either at home or abroad. Their first acts were such as were calculated to attract popular support without provoking constitutional difficulties. The new leader of the Opposition was by common consent a very indifferent orator, and it was generally supposed that although possessed of good sense and fair abilities, he had never cared to make himself particularly conversant with affairs of state. And above and beyond all these deficiencies and difficulties the part which after all he had to play was that of Patroclus, or at best of Diomede, while Achilles sat apart in his tent. Nor does this adumbration of the facts do full justice to the awkwardness of the situation. It was not always easy, as we know, to find a champion to do battle with Hector under circumstances thus discouraging, but any champion might fairly have been excused for declining the combat if Achilles had been wont from time to time to appear as a free lance upon the flank of his army, or had been suspected of prompting independent action on the part of Thersites and his friends. But Lord Hartington cared for none of these things. He looked neither to the right nor to the left; he knew little of finesse, and less of oratory; he had no hope of snatching party triumphs, and, so far as the public could see, no great desire to distinguish himself; he was overmatched not only by the battalions but also by the experience, the ability, and the skill of the Minister; but he had accepted, perhaps reluctantly, a position the importance of which he appreciated; he determined not to fall short of the adequate performance of its duties; and he succeeded in discharging them to the astonishment not only of his opponents, but also of his friends.

What were the qualifications which Lord Hartington brought to the effectual fulfilment of his new functions? He had great moderation in his own political views, coupled, however, with an absolute devotion to the interests of a party, not always as moderate as himself; slow to act, and not vividly sympathetic, he was yet free from that curious inability to share the predilections of his followers which distinguished Mr. Disraeli; not only had he nothing to seek by way of personal advancement, but all the world knew that he was making, and

not always with the best grace, a sacrifice of his personal convenience in undertaking the uphill game to which he was committed; but above all, he was rich in that saving common sense—perhaps the rarest of all advantages which a parliamentary leader can enjoy—which enables its possessor to divine without effort the result of a debate upon the House of Commons at large, and to speak, as it would appear instinctively, after however halting fashion, the sentiments which the interchange of conflicting opinions has commended to the secret judgment, if not to the actual votes, of the majority of members present. Lord Hartington sought no rhetorical triumphs, and yet, possibly as much to his own surprise as to that of others, he actually achieved more than one; he attempted no surprises, he never sought to profit by any symptom of disaffection in the Ministerial ranks—never, save on one occasion, throughout that period during which his leadership was undisputed did he lend himself to factious opposition. Whether from a lack of sympathy, or in accordance with the suggestions of a calculating foresight, he never offered to the Government of the day any cordial aid in contending with the difficulties which presently environed them; distasteful as the duty evidently was, he did not shrink from the attendance in the House and the assertion of his own views, which was necessary to keep himself and his party before the world; and yet it may be doubted whether our Parliamentary records show an example of more successful management of an Opposition than is to be found in the history of the years from 1875 to 1878, in which Lord Hartington devoted himself to that uncongenial task. He can hardly be considered responsible in the fullest sense for the manœuvres which signalled the latter years of the late Parliament, after Mr. Chamberlain had repudiated his authority and Mr. Gladstone had made manifest his intention of again directing the action of the Liberal party. It is probable that in face of either of these embarrassments taken singly, Lord Hartington might have vindicated his title to guide the Opposition, had he chosen to do so. Why he did not choose to do so need not concern us in considering our present subject.

Such a survey, necessarily incomplete, as has been attempted of the methods adopted in our own times by those who have led the Opposition in the House of Commons may serve to establish some general conclusions, though perhaps hardly of the positive order, as to the course which should be followed by a party which aspires to official responsibility. Even if it is not possible to lay down any rule as to what should be done, it may be easier in the light of such examples to realise what it is better to leave undone. The country, exacting as it may be in the case of those whom it has raised to power, is still wise enough not to require from the Parliamentary Minority any such declaration of a policy as is implied by what we may call a

demonstrative attitude. Wherever an Opposition has left the safe limits of criticism and resistance, it has failed to diminish the confidence on which the Ministry must be supposed to rest. It is not the superior claim that an Opposition may seek to enforce on the ground of its juster appreciation of the public interest which is likely to wean the House of Commons or the constituencies from a preference that has been recently expressed. Still less is it probable that the favour of the English people will be gained by factious obstruction to proposals which it may be persuaded to regard as a part of the mandate it has entrusted to its favourites. But such independent judgment as is even yet to be found in England, apart from the clamour of party newspapers and partisan organisations, looks for information upon public questions to a bold and unsparing examination of Ministerial measures by those whose *raison d'être* is their disapprobation of the Ministerial policy. If the representatives of the Opposition are mute or feeble in utterance when momentous questions are at issue, the rank and file of their party will always be prone to find in obstructive action a vent for the sentiments which would have been more legitimately expressed by the oratory of their leaders. It may be, and has often been, the more judicious course for those leaders to refrain from attack when the opportunity seemed most provocative; but a passive attitude if permanently maintained must tend to disorganise forces, which can only be kept in heart by such successes as the blunders of any minister must frequently put within the reach of his opponents.

The history of a Parliamentary Minority, whether under the guidance of Mr. Disraeli or of Lord Hartington, need only be studied to show the impossibility of laying down any 'hard and fast' theory of the tactics of an Opposition. What is prudent at one time is imprudent at another. What may be acceptable to Oppositionists of one party may be exceedingly distasteful to the other party when it has to occupy a similar position. The nearest approach to a general maxim upon the question is perhaps that embodied in Lord Beaconsfield's advice to his followers at Bridgewater House, to be found, as often as their principles would permit, in the majority. In every Ministry there must always be a section which is nearer to the Opposition than the rest of the party to which it belongs. Every occasion which offers for supporting or encouraging this wing of the Ministerial phalanx should be utilised, not only for the immediate enforcement of the principles which are dear to the Opposition, but also with a view to a future disruption in the Ministerial ranks. An Opposition which holds its principles dearer than office may well be content to strengthen the hands of such allies as it may discover in the opposite camp when they pluck up the courage to differ from their usual associates. And it is by forming part from time to time of a majority thus

created, that the party usually in a minority comes to be regarded as the representative of the more deliberate opinion of the nation. An instance which will at once occur to everybody of the advantages of such conduct, is to be found in the successful resistance offered to Mr. Bradlaugh's demand to take the Parliamentary Oath. Another, if it were necessary, might be cited in the defeat of the Government on the amendment which they had accepted, restricting the search for arms in Ireland to the hours of daylight. An Opposition must be singularly clumsy or exceptionally unfortunate which does not find means for multiplying such opportunities of commending itself to public favour. And leaders of Opposition must be something more than clumsy or unfortunate if, abandoning the opportunities which are certain to occur to those who know how to wait, they seek by unnatural alliances or snap-votes to snatch a Pyrrhic victory or provoke a premature expression of public opinion.

If we grant, then, that the general attitude of those who sit on the left of the Speaker should rather be one of expectancy than of aggression, we must not be supposed to admit that where the policy of the Government gives an opening for such an exposure as may excite indignation out of doors, the occasion should be lost. Such an occasion, in the opinion of many on both sides of the House, was afforded by a celebrated incident in the history of last year. And it was allowed to pass with a mere desultory discussion, which showed that the professed critics of the Ministry were really more frightened than elated by the unusual chance of displaying their fighting qualities. It may be thought a rash assertion, but I believe many a political observer will echo it, that if Mr. Gathorne Hardy had still been a member of the House of Commons, the Ministry would not have survived by a week the promulgation of the Kilmainham correspondence. The opportunity was wasted and may not recur. Nor, as things are at present ordered, can the Opposition hope to gain much by its recurrence, however much the country may have lost by the impunity accorded to Mr. Forster's colleagues.

But if it is not easy to pronounce as to what an Opposition should recognise as its necessary functions, so far as its action is concerned it is not difficult to observe what any Opposition should seek to avoid. A system of regarding the events of to-day merely as pegs on which to hang vindications of the policy which, however unreasonable, was yet unmistakably condemned by the verdict of yesterday; a theory of public life which regards the House of Commons as a theatre for the endless repetition by meritorious but undistinguished actors of the parts in which they have egregiously failed to retain popular approval; a disposition to regard individual action as mutiny, and independent thought as flat blasphemy—these, indeed, are good indications of the *régime* which has brought a party

into Opposition, but they are not the evidences of the spirit which should restore it to power.

When a party is ejected from office, the first duty of its leader is to confront with unabated courage the legions of his successful adversaries. The first duty of the colleagues to whose ill-luck or mismanagement the catastrophe has been due, is to efface themselves until their country, or at least their party, recalls them to their former prominence. 'Sweet are the uses of adversity,' and sweet they may be found alike by the ex-minister who is relegated to obscurity, and by the new aspirants to Parliamentary honours, who should enjoy in Opposition a freer scope for abilities hitherto unrecognised. A Ministry goes out of office sometimes because its policy is unacceptable; more frequently because its *personnel* is discredited. Happy is the party whose former functionaries appreciate in time the significance of this truth. The fact that a man has been useful to a Prime Minister at a particular juncture may have been a very good reason for introducing him at that moment into the Administration. But the reflection, that having been thus brought forward he has not been able to sustain the Government against the shock of attack, is at any rate as sufficient a warrant for his standing aside at least for a time to see whether others may not establish a better claim upon the confidence of their associates.

If it may be permitted again to revert to the practice of Mr. Disraeli, it will be seen that he was always ready to bring forward the rising men of his party or to discard those colleagues whom he considered to be suited for retirement. It was in Opposition that the merits of Mr. Hardy, of Sir S. Northcote, and of Lord Robert Cecil were developed. It is in Opposition that those who held secondary rank in a late Administration, as also those who held no such rank at all, must make good their claim if they can to future authority and influence. Even the Leader of the Opposition, though he must in any case speak often, and if a great orator hardly too often, may do well to recall how frequently the greatest orator we have ever seen conducting an Opposition was content to leave not merely a share, but the principal share in a great debate to one of those younger allies who thus attracted public interest while they learned to bear the weight of personal responsibility. It is not necessary to have sat in a Cabinet to be able to represent an Opposition in dealing with a particular subject; and the Cabinet of the future will be all the stronger if the way into it is to be made good rather by proved excellence in debate than by supposed obsequiousness to the Cabinet of the past.

Some of those who have recently written on this subject have dealt not only with the general question, but also with the particular

organisation, or lack of organisation, to be found in the ranks of the present Opposition, as well as with what is called the Dual Leadership. It can scarcely be decent, and certainly can in no sense be profitable, to discuss in public any causes of domestic difference which are peculiar to a particular household. Suffice it to say, that if exclusive tendencies prevail in the counsels of any party, or if a disposition should at any time exist to prefer the views of county members to those of borough members, or *vice versâ*, to exalt the interests of the boroughs over those of the counties, a grievous mistake will have been committed of which at present no trustworthy indication can be seen. If a party chooses to entrust its management not to experienced and practical men who are content to work outside the House of Commons, but to Parliamentary busybodies who must chatter within its walls, it must, of course, take the consequences. But even these need not entail permanent disaster if the error is rectified before it is too late. A party, like an army, requires in its servants not only skill but secrecy, not only secrecy but loyalty. It cannot afford to dispense with any of these qualities, still less with all of them. But a party which has opened its eyes to the value of these *desiderata* need not find any very serious difficulty in supplying them.

As regards the Dual Leadership, it may be as well to remember that so long as we have two Houses of Parliament, a dual leadership, in a certain sense, there must always be. When the Leader of the whole party sits in the House of Commons, the responsibilities of his colleague and lieutenant in the House of Lords are doubtless materially diminished. And yet even in such a case it will be impossible for the representative of the party to avoid occasionally taking action without having been able to consult his Chief in the other House. But when the Leader of the party sits in the Lords it is obvious that his vicegerent in the Commons must accept a responsibility for independent action of daily and indeed hourly occurrence. When the absolute Leadership is in abeyance, no doubt the position is one of exceptional difficulty so far as the two Chiefs are concerned. But so long as an *entente cordiale* is maintained between them, the members of their party need not be appreciably effected by it. It may be said that the embarrassing position in which Lord Salisbury found himself at the last stage of the Arrears Bill was due to this cause. No doubt he suffered from imperfect information as to the fighting disposition of the rank and file in the Commons; but this might as easily have been the case if he had been the actual Chief of the Party, but still dependent upon others for his knowledge of the feelings of his followers beyond the Chamber in which he sat. And the very fact that the Dual Leadership has not been in the least disturbed by what then happened is the best proof that its

difficulties can easily be surmounted by those who face them with mutual confidence and untarnished honour. No party can trust its leaders unless it sees that they trust each other. And this, whatever may be their other embarrassments, is now, as for many years it has been, a distinguishing characteristic of the two able and honourable men who conduct Her Majesty's Opposition.

HENRY CECIL RAIKES.

THE FUNCTIONS OF CONSERVATIVE OPPOSITION.

DURING the last few months a strange panic has seized a certain portion of the public, which bids fair, unless checked in time, to shake the faith of many who have hitherto believed in the Conservative party. The despondent croakings of a few Conservatives who have no experience of office have induced a belief that the party is so conducting its opposition to the Government as to nullify a possible return of public confidence. The idea has consequently gained ground that a line divides the Conservative 'party of action' from the main body almost as sharply as that which separates Mr. Parnell and his followers from Mr. Shaw. Colour has been lent to this view by the recent attempt of a very limited number of Conservatives to prolong the contest on Procedure, although the equally limited attendance of members deprived the struggle of the smallest interest. In fact, as Mr. Gladstone pointed out, after the main division on the clôtüre had been taken, the numbers of the Opposition varied from five to twenty-five during the speeches of their own party. But these skirmishes have not been without their weight in the country. The efforts of the few 'faithful and true' who combated the Ministry throughout shone out conspicuously in such a session. Those who look upon Opposition as a constant system of 'pegging away' were greatly exhilarated, and not a few went so far as to assert that genuine Conservatism was more truly represented in the House of Commons by Lord Randolph Churchill than by Sir Stafford Northcote.

Naturally people are not wanting to take up this cry. Journals like the *Daily News*, which are dependent on Conservative splits to equalise the balance of Liberal secessions, are forced to trade on anything which can be possibly twisted into disagreement between the Conservative chiefs and their subordinates. The most is thus made of any divergence of tactics, and public attention is constantly directed to points of strategy rather than of public policy, much less of principle. Leading articles are gravely written on the failure of the Opposition to seize this or that point of attack, as if the whole object of parliamentary warfare were to trip up the Ministry or to

secure a satisfactory number of contradictory assertions from the Prime Minister. The more general such an idea becomes, the more danger is there that a statesmanlike course will be abandoned for an imperfect imitation of the worst qualities of Irish obstruction. Guerilla attacks are very well in their way, and they have been marvellously efficacious in the present Parliament—a fact for which we have to thank the constant concessions by the Government to importunity rather than to argument. The public is becoming more and more diverted by such attacks and interested in those who make them. Hence the cheers recently evoked from a deputation representing a great body of Manchester Conservatives at the very shallow epigram in which Lord Randolph Churchill declared his conviction that ‘the duty of an Opposition was to oppose and not to support the Government.’

It would be interesting to know what would have been the feelings of the great Conservative leaders who have passed away—of Peel, or of Disraeli—had they found themselves adjured to conduct Opposition in this fashion. We may imagine the sarcastic comments with which the late Prime Minister would have greeted each fresh departure in the Ministerial Irish programme, or the remorseless criticisms which Peel would have applied to the economy which has produced an increased income-tax. But to have invited either of these leaders, the test of whose merit in Opposition was success, to weary out their supporters by constant countermarches and false starts would have even surpassed the courage of Lord Randolph Churchill. The party must indeed be weak which needs to fortify itself against the enervating effects of impartiality by actions in which public spirit must be left behind.

Those, however, who have watched the proceedings of the present Parliament will note the very undue importance which may be attached to such speeches. The worst implication which can be conveyed by them is that Lord Randolph Churchill sees opportunities of turning Government blunders to advantage of which Sir Stafford Northcote has not availed himself. It would be an insult to the merest tyro in politics to credit him with the belief that a system of constant and nagging criticism will re-establish the confidence of constituencies in the Conservative leaders. Predicating this, it would puzzle any man of whatever politics to name instances in which the Opposition have failed to challenge the unusually frequent invasions of principle which have characterised the present Parliament, though they may not have done so to the best advantage. On the other hand, it would not be difficult to point out occasions when the effect of a specific protest has been marred by the appearance of factious opposition below the gangway. The weak point in the policy of the Opposition leaders is that from circumstances they

have been forced to attack too often; that, except in respect of the Coercion Bills, they have not been able to make their support of the Ministry sufficiently clear where they have agreed with them, and that in consequence the influence of decided and uncompromising criticism has been frittered away. The Opposition is undeniably weak at present in the House of Commons, but it would be infinitely weaker if it were to alienate all moderate men by a succession of carping and querulous attacks, the sincerity and public spirit of which might be severely questioned by the constituencies. The time, therefore, has come to ask, In what respect has the Conservative party failed, and where has it succeeded, in discharging the functions of an Opposition?

When the Parliament of 1880 assembled, Mr. Gladstone found himself supported by a majority of 120 Liberals, and on most questions of party policy he has commanded the votes of some fifty Home Rulers as well. It is obvious that, in the face of such support, very little could be done by the Conservatives *per se*. Nevertheless, the Bradlaugh question has been fought by Sir Stafford Northcote from beginning to end with complete success, despite the strongest pressure which the Liberal whips could bring to bear. No one will dispute the unanimity, whether rightly or wrongly, displayed by the Conservatives in this contest; and the succession of defeats experienced by the Prime Minister, considering the present inequality of parties, is probably unparalleled in Parliamentary annals. It is doubtful, however, whether this success would have been achieved had the general feeling of the House in respect of Mr. Bradlaugh been obscured by a loud trumpet-call to Conservatives to 'oppose the Government.' Yet this, we may be told, is the solitary instance of successful Conservative strategy during the present Parliament.

Some ground has certainly been given for this accusation by the ill-sustained, and therefore futile, attacks which have been recently made on the Ministry. But the fault of this lies not with the leaders, but with the rank and file of the party. The last three sessions have been unusually trying ones. Truly, the fact that Parliament has sat during nearly the whole of two out of the last three years may furnish some excuse for the bad attendance of members who are in a hopeless minority. But this want of self-sacrifice has most incontestably operated to the detriment of the party. On many occasions the leaders have been left to fight their battle almost alone, and, but for the aid of the 'irregulars,' would have cut a worse figure than they have done. And yet, in other cases besides that of Mr. Bradlaugh, a hearty effort on the part of the whole party has been plenteously rewarded. In the Opposition to the Compensation for Disturbance Bill, the two Houses acted together, the Committee discussions were

well sustained, the Bill was rejected, and the Ministry had to accept the defeat. What might have been the result had the same course been taken on the Irish Land Bill of 1881 cannot be estimated, for it was never attempted. From first to last the Opposition, although thoroughly at one in principle, pursued a hopeless strategy. The object of every one was to emasculate the Bill. But some preferred to give a general support to the measure and to concentrate attack on a few vital points, while others tried to tear the Bill to pieces in detail, and thereby force the Government to reconstruct it. These varying counsels naturally handicapped the Conservative chiefs, and by far too great moment was attached to the opinions of the few Ulster members whose seats were believed to depend on the Bill, and who at critical moments hung on the backs of those who desired to fight it throughout. Hence the opposition to the Bill was conducted most unfavourably; one amendment was substituted for another on the second reading, and ultimately a division was taken, from which fifty Conservatives were absent, while members on both sides who denounced the measure at every turn in private could not be induced to attend the Committee regularly. For two months the Bill dragged out its weary length, although it was sufficiently obvious that, without a heartier support from the minority in the Commons, the Lords could not give full effect to their views. At each stage it was hoped that the Whigs would rally to strike a blow in support of their principles; but nothing was done throughout which could justify the Government in receding from the position they had originally taken up. Therefore when we consider the gigantic leverage possessed by the Opposition in respect of the principles assailed, it is to be regretted that they mixed their Conservatism too weak to gain substantial concessions or to influence the country.

This is a typical instance of the manner in which defective strategy may detract from the apparent cohesion of a great party. The moral has since been pointed even more plainly by the Arrears Bill. The dangers which beset a party are indefinitely multiplied when the over-activity of a few is brought into sharp contrast with the apathy of the many. With both of these the Conservative leaders have lately had to deal. While a portion of the field are rushing at their fences, the great majority never appear to see the fence till they are right on it. The Arrears Bill was before Parliament three months. A score of members had made up their minds to oppose it through thick and thin. Their fellows egged them on, and yet, when suddenly brought face to face with a possible dissolution, the main body decided that the question was not sufficiently important, or the time was not ripe for an appeal to the constituencies. In the Upper House the same farce was enacted. And yet those who objugate the dual leadership and anonymously deprecate the clôtüre which surrounds the front

bench, must be aware that in the decision which Lord Salisbury took he was not only thoroughly in accord with Sir Stafford Northcote, but was actually carrying out the mandate given to him at three successive meetings of the party. This episode, indeed, suggests a doubt whether those who follow have not even more influence on the strategy of a party than those who lead.

But while Conservatism has thus suffered in the House of Commons from misdirection of force and want of self-sacrifice, similar failings have been visible outside Parliament. The House of Commons has lost much of its old attractiveness. The duties of a member become yearly more engrossing. It is not only that the hours of work are longer than they were and attendance more trying, but constituencies are much more exacting. The recess is far from being a holiday. A borough likes to see its member at local functions; a county calls its representative to half-a-dozen agricultural meetings, each of which is more important than the others, and quite distinct. Beyond this, political associations have been largely formed on either side and need stimulant in the shape of 'extra-Parliamentary utterances.' The strain of these has in fact gone far to account for the temporary breakdown of Sir Stafford Northcote, who had not enjoyed a complete month's holiday since his emancipation from office. All this makes Parliamentary life something else than the goal of social ambition, or the reward of hereditary connection. It has lately been whispered that the general disposition to pass the Corrupt Practices Bill is not unconnected with the inability of party managers to find candidates ready to spend enormous sums to enter Parliament under such conditions. Certainly the supply of available young men is not so large as it was, and whether this be due to landed depression, or to whatever cause, it is a force which touches the Conservatives first. A party which has from time immemorial included a large section of men in whose lives politics are only an incident must feel the loss when a Parliamentary career becomes too irksome for any but a devotee. Such is the tendency of the day. Men are wanted who will work up constituencies so rigorously as to ensure success, and they are not to be found. The number of eldest sons who lost their seats at the last general election was absolutely appalling, for county elections are not to be won now by a dash at the finish, though Parliamentary crises are too often determined by men who have run up from the country to vote. But unless those who by connection and influence are calculated to keep the country firm to Conservatism set themselves to the task, and make themselves the mouth-piece of grievances which it will otherwise fall to an agitator to express, the backbone of the party in opposition will be gone. No body of men ever appeared so hopelessly beaten as the Tories after the Reform Bill of 1831, and the Protectionists after 1846, but the

energy of Peel and afterwards of Disraeli re-established the Parliamentary balance through that very self-sacrifice which is now called for and found lacking.

These circumstances have led to the gap in the Conservative polity which Lord Randolph Churchill and his friends have risen to fill. They have found constant openings where the Conservative chiefs have been paralysed by the absence of their supporters. It was chiefly due to the 'Fourth Party' that throughout the session of 1880 there was any continued resistance to the Government at all. They initiated the struggle about Mr. Bradlaugh, and pulled the labouring oar in every measure which the Government pressed from May to September. But their province was attack, and their mission could therefore only be a temporary one. Mere destructiveness can add nothing to the position and hopes of Conservatism. What is needed beyond the self-reliance which may be shown by a small minority in attacking a powerful Ministry is the faith in Conservative principles, as such, which will carry conviction to the doubtful. It may be expedient to discredit the Government, but Ministries cannot long trade on the discredit of their predecessors. Those, therefore, who, without an alternative policy to propose, show by speech and letter a determination simply to enfeeble the Ministry, may not even serve their present turn. Mr. Disraeli, after an almost unique experience of conducting opposition without a previous career in office, shrank from the repetition of it. The influence of a private member who is only held responsible for the present, cannot equal that of a leader who has to rally his party for a future. Conservatives in the House must therefore bestir themselves, lest the country learn to regard them as a sort of dull background to the picture in which Lord Randolph Churchill and his friends are the only prominent figures.

'Wanted, a policy!' is a terrible drawback to Conservatives at the present time. Perhaps the greatest legacies which Lord Beaconsfield left to his party at his death were his international successes and the defence of the land. The fruits of the one seem to have been filched by Mr. Gladstone, while the old fable of the bundle of sticks is being more and more exemplified in the case of the other. When a Radical of Sir Wilfrid Lawson's stamp gravely recommends that 'beneath the inscription on Lord Beaconsfield's statue detailing his virtues and public services should be added one line commemorating the faithful imitation of his policy by Her Majesty's Government, his political opponents,' we see the turn of the tide. Mr. Gladstone has at last grasped at the great secret of Lord Palmerston's hold on the nation, of which he had allowed Lord Beaconsfield to become the residuary legatee. Side by side with this, the present Government has entered on the crusade against landed proprietors, recently adopted as a Liberal watchword by Mr. Chamberlain in a gratuitous letter of

advice to the electors of Wigan. These two lines of policy are well calculated to secure the votes of the commercial classes, whose interests must be maintained abroad, and of that great body of electors whose politics are summed up in the fact that others have what they desire to obtain. The substantial advantages thus offered to certain sections of electors cannot be outweighed by indiscriminate abuse of Mr. Gladstone, or by laudation of his predecessors. The last general election was admittedly fought too much on these lines by the Conservatives at a time when Liberal promises were being showered on all classes. The complaint of some of the reporters who attended a candidate for a metropolitan constituency throughout his contest that they never heard a word from him on Conservative policy, to vary the glorification of Lord Beaconsfield and of himself as a fit candidate, points its own moral.

The time has come for those who believe in the vitality of Conservative principles to lay out a clear programme for themselves in and out of Parliament. Waiting to see how the cat jumps will not restore Conservatives to power. The late Government, in their anxiety to pass social reforms which would influence the towns, somewhat shook the loyalty of the agricultural classes. Nor was this owing to any special fault of Sir Stafford Northcote, but to the fatality which linked together Parliamentary obstruction and foreign war. The domestic inactivity of 1878 and 1879, which Liberals delight to refer to a 'spirited foreign policy,' was an episode on which Sir Charles Dilke and Mr. Chamberlain could throw much light. But it none the less affected the temper of the constituencies. Substantial measures of social reform like the Artisans' Dwellings and Friendly Societies Bills may have influenced the boroughs. But it is doubtful whether they gained the Conservatives half as many votes as were lost under the influence of the placard, largely circulated from the Liberal headquarters, of a British soldier being flogged by a Zulu. The boroughs were not pacified and the counties were aggrieved. Landlords both in England and Scotland saw little cause for satisfaction in the Agricultural Holdings Act, the voluntary character of which had not made it even a stopgap to Liberal demands, yet English and Scotch farmers grumbled that so little was done to define tenant-right. Moreover, in the prostration caused by bad seasons, the large subsidies from the exchequer to the local rates were almost wholly forgotten; and farmers, with bankruptcy staring them in the face, talked calmly of the total remission of the malt-tax. Certain sections of the clergy were influenced by the same feeling, while the Ritualists bitterly resented the support given by Conservatives to the Public Worship Regulation Act. These causes, in addition to the want of energy on the Conservative side previously alluded to, go far to account for the loss of so many agricultural

seats in the counties which had suffered most from the depression. It remains to consider how they may be won back again at the next election.

There is, without doubt, a great opening for Conservative policy in this direction. The promises of successive statesmen, based on the expressed opinions of Sir Robert Peel and those who were responsible with him for the introduction of Free Trade, are still unfulfilled. The land is overburdened with rates wholly unconnected with the districts in which they are levied. The maintenance of pauper lunatics by a rate on real property alone can be no more justified in argument than the old law, by which a man who lived all his life in one parish and became a pauper was saddled in his old age on the union in which he happened to have been born. Yet anomalies of this character are perpetuated, while social progress is increasing the rates in one direction as fast as they decrease in another. It is, however, obvious that these questions cannot be touched by a Government largely dependent for its majority on the boroughs, whose wealthier inhabitants would be the losers by the change. Hence we see a Ministry developing a popularity-hunting and tenant-farmers-toadying propensity at the expense of the landlords, while this substantial piece of justice remains untouched. And yet, if the county householders, whether enfranchised or not, were polled throughout England, the importance which they attach to this grievance would probably outweigh that of a possible extension of the franchise. If Conservatives could only put forward the reorganisation of local finance as an indispensable item in their programme, it would accentuate the attempt of the last Government to give the county ratepayers some relief.

Not far remote from this, and of kindred effect, is the question of general finance. The country at large knows very little of the figures which make up the annual budget, and is only too ready to give the credit of economy to whichever party claims it the loudest. The burden of taxation in Great Britain is easily borne compared with that in Germany, Russia, or most continental countries. What the British taxpayer, therefore, cares most about is not a fitful relief from taxation, but security from unexpected demands. The financial bait of the remission of income-tax held out by Mr. Gladstone in 1874 may be said to have completely failed in securing support to his party. But this was due to the knowledge that the justice of the tax—often admitted by Mr. Gladstone himself—would cause its reimposition if other sources of revenue should become slack. On the other hand, taxpayers naturally resented the creation of a fictitious surplus at the expense of the efficiency of the navy, as proved by Mr. Ward Hunt a few months afterwards. But for the large demands on the exchequer during the Afghan war, Sir Stafford so

manipulated the revenue in the succeeding years, despite very bad seasons, as to redeem Tory finance from the suspicion of profuseness. Undoubtedly a minister who has hounded down his opponents for 'aggravating existing distress by the burden of unnecessary wars' should have a system ready to hand for avoiding such inconvenient episodes. But hitherto Mr. Gladstone's financial readjustments and foreign diplomacy have been so far from reducing taxation that they have produced a yearly addition to the income-tax. This is a point which Conservatives might with advantage lay to heart and profit by.

Beyond these practical questions lie a variety of sentimental and social grievances of which Liberals have been allowed too much to claim the monopoly. Conservatives in opposition, without committing themselves to a definite scheme, may well indicate the point to which they are prepared to go in carrying out desired reforms. And this, where compromise is possible, will be a far more efficacious and public-spirited method of action than mere opposition. No better instance of judicious and timely interposition can be cited than the Settled Land Bill of Lord Cairns, which has closed the mouths of Mr. Arthur Arnold and others who care more to mulct the landlords than to free the land. A similar policy would go far to conciliate classes which are otherwise rendered irremediably hostile to Conservatism. This consideration would notably apply to such questions as the liquor traffic, as to which it is not made sufficiently evident that Conservatives differ from Liberals not in their desire for temperance, but in their love of freedom, and in the fear of inflicting hardship on the labouring classes. It is not necessary, and it is certainly not consonant with electioneering strategy, to mix up such measures as these with the great party differences on the franchise and on confiscatory land bills, which are legitimate subjects of bitter and determined combat.

It would be impossible, without undue prolixity, to attempt anything like a complete review of the Conservative creed. The main object will be attained if the members of the party can be induced to see that they must define the nature of their principles, and be ready to make sacrifices for them. Unless a *point d'appui* be found, Conservatives will soon be doing nothing more than following at a convenient distance in the wake of Radicalism. If this be taken to heart by those who think that in yielding points of principle in detail they are emulating the diplomatic conduct of Opposition by Lord Beaconsfield, they will see how grievously they are mistaken. Therefore it is that leaders and followers should act together, and that above all the policy and position of the Conservative party should be fairly intelligible to the country. The prospect of a coalition with the Whigs or any other section of the Liberal party appears to grow yearly more remote. Those who shrink from connection with the Conservative party while Lord

Heaconsfield lived appear now to be equally timorous of the influences of Lord Salisbury. The present Conservative policy is something very like what Liberal policy was under Lord Palmerston. But the rapid march of Liberal ideas in the last few years has completely outstripped the advance of Conservative feeling; and the presence of Radicals of the stamp of Mr. Labouchere in the House of Commons is calculated to widen the gap. Hence it is that Conservatives have little to hope unless from the genuine convictions of those Liberals who feel that they cannot keep pace with their party. The constituencies have never quite recovered the shock of Mr. Disraeli's Reform Bill in 1867. The 'leap in the dark' obliterated the greatest of the old party distinctions. There seemed no reason why any Liberal nostrum should in future find a solid wall of Tory feeling to break against. In fact, there are many who from this precedent have learned to regard politics as a sort of interminable game in which the only study of the one party is to displace the other. This is just the sort of notion which is most injurious to genuine Conservatism.

It is therefore very necessary that the main body of the party should not become committed to what may be termed political freaks. Great stands upon principle can do nothing but good; but this is different from the adoption of certain cries merely as a set-off against Liberal proposals. It may be that Sir Robert Peel's dictum, 'A physician should not prescribe till he is called in,' cannot be literally interpreted with advantage in this age of gladiatorial exhibitions by party leaders. But if the prescription is given, the patient should be forced to swallow the dose. The attempts at an alternative policy in the present Parliament have not been fortunate. Mr. W. H. Smith's intended motion on the purchase of Irish estates fell to the ground; Mr. Bourke's censure on the Government in respect of Arabi Pasha perished of inanition. Such notices, if they do not advance, may detract from the vigour of a party. Yet it is well to recollect that these reverses are common in Opposition, and that Lord Hartington's leadership was repudiated by large sections of his followers on several important occasions in the last Parliament. But there is no Achilles on the Conservative side to reappear in arms and to efface the memory of past vagaries by his personal valour.

Whoever may be selected as leader of the Conservative party must keep pace with the forces below. It is well to face realities and to acknowledge that the new cycle of Radicalism through which England is now moving is one in which the working classes are displaying the aptitudes for political domination which have been too boldly accorded to them. But the nation, while it delights in the possession of motive power, will feel more and more the want of a stable regulator. It is for the Conservative party to show that they are calculated to stand in the breach. Even at the present time their mission is not in abeyance. They cannot afford to wait for a sudden revival of

Conservative enthusiasm, or for the full development of the vacillation of purpose which is ridding the present Ministry one by one of its most ardent supporters. But until the party inside the House of Commons can meet Liberal innovations with something more than mere destructiveness, and until the clearly defined aims of Conservatism have replaced the national desire for organic change, it will be impossible, not to say prejudicial, for the country to enter on a new era of Conservative government.

W. ST. JOHN BRODRICK.

A SWEET-WATER SHIP-CANAL THROUGH EGYPT.

If the opinion of the country could be taken on the question, there is little doubt that the vast majority of Englishmen would be found to insist that the Government ought not to lose the present opportunity of obtaining some substantial concession in connection with the Suez Canal, and our maritime rights in Egypt generally. If, on the other hand, the opinion of France were taken, it would probably be found to be no less unanimous in favour of leaving things alone. The reason for this difference is not far to seek—it is a practical one on the part of England, and a sentimental one on the part of France. Englishmen object to the delays and high charges characteristic of the present Canal, and also fear a repetition on some future occasion by the directors of the French Company of the manifestation of ill-will exhibited not long since by M. de Lesseps. Frenchmen, remembering that the Suez Canal is essentially a French undertaking, not unnaturally take a patriotic pride in maintaining its national character. Shipowners and commercial men in this country are accustomed to look for increased traffic facilities and reduced tolls where high dividends are realised, and their anticipations are well founded, since opposition companies quickly intervene if the original company prove refractory. The system is otherwise in France, where exclusive concessions for a certain number of years are the rule. Habits of thought differ in the two countries, and although the proposal to construct another Suez Canal may to Frenchmen savour of ingratitude, to Englishmen it appears to be the most natural thing in the world.

Nothing could be more ungenerous than to endeavour to depreciate at this moment the eminent services rendered by M. de Lesseps in connection with the long-deferred project of a Suez Canal. The professional services of M. Voisin, the distinguished engineer-in-chief of the work, and of his able staff of assistants, are also entitled to the cordial recognition of English engineers; for there is a right way and a wrong way even of cutting a 'ditch,' as it has been contemptuously termed, across an isthmus. Nevertheless, in justice to Lord Palmerston, it is right to remember that the original conditions of the

Canal Company's concession contained many objectionable clauses, which would have been fatal to Lord Wolsley's recent operations, had not the foresight of the Government led to their enforced withdrawal. These clauses included, amongst other things, the vesting in the French Company of a belt of land along the entire length of the Canal from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea; and, further, the sole rights in the Sweet Water Canal from Cairo to Ismailieh and Suez, which formed the line of advance in the recent campaign. Owing to the intervention of the English Government, Egypt bought back the above concessions, for which the Suez Canal Company had given nothing, for the sum of 3,686,000*l*.

M. de Lesseps has always been very anxious to satisfy the world that he holds an exclusive concession for the construction of a maritime canal across the Isthmus of Suez. This claim is not assented to either in England or Egypt; but it is unnecessary to discuss the question here, as the alternative canal, briefly described in the present article, and illustrated by the accompanying plan, is not proposed to traverse the Isthmus.

The canal referred to was projected by the late Khedive in 1874, with a view to mitigate as far as possible the evils which had resulted to Egypt from the construction of the Suez Canal. No arguments or statistics are required to show that the diversion of traffic from the important port of Alexandria, and the carriage of passengers past Egypt, instead of through it, must have arrested to a disastrous extent the growth of prosperity in the land of the Khedive. Whatever faults may have been found with the late Khedive, a want of intelligent appreciation of the requirements of his country, as regards means of communication, agriculture, and commerce, has not been one of them; and it must be admitted that any project by so high an authority, of the character of the proposed Alexandria to Suez Canal, is entitled to most careful consideration. To any one acquainted with the late Khedive's intimate knowledge of the details of public works in Egypt, it would be idle to speak of engineering difficulties or impracticability in respect to a canal or similar undertaking projected by him, or which had received his sanction.

As the ruler of Egypt, the Khedive, in laying out an alternative Suez Canal, had in his mind the attainment of three great objects: (1) to make Alexandria one of the important ports of the world, and to establish docks for sea-going vessels at Cairo; (2) to provide an alternative ship canal, by which the traffic would be taken through the heart of the country, instead of across an outlying desert; (3) to provide high-level irrigation for the cultivated land of Lower Egypt, and means for reclaiming a large area of desert and marsh land, at present of no value to the country. It cannot be denied that the Khedive's project is well adapted to fulfil these desiderata.

Referring to the map, it will be seen that the proposed canal runs

from Alexandria to Suez, *viâ* Cairo, a total distance of two hundred and forty miles. The Nile divides the canal into two portions, which may be best described separately. At Cairo the level of low water is about thirty-nine feet above sea-level, so there will be a current down the two portions of the canal, towards the Mediterranean and Red Sea respectively. The rate of this current will depend upon the quantity of irrigation water abstracted from the canal, but will always be very moderate. Locks are provided where the canals join the Nile at Cairo, and basins and docks for the accommodation of shipping. From the basin on the left bank of the river the canal wends its way by straight reaches and easy bends to Alexandria, a total distance of 118 miles. At the 56th, the 66th, and the 85th mile, locks are provided, as the fall from the Nile to the sea would otherwise lead to a current of destructive rapidity. An additional lock at the 31st mile will be worked during high Nile. It will be seen from the map that for the last 28 miles of its length the canal runs through Lake Mareotis, and that the interference with cultivated lands is minimised.

On the right bank of the river, the canal, leaving the Cairo dock basin, follows approximately the general course of the Ismailieh and Sweet Water Canal to Suez, a distance of 122 miles. Locks are provided at the 40th mile and at Suez for use during low Nile, and in flood-time two locks, at Cairo and at the 22nd mile respectively, would be brought into operation. The works on the canal call for no observation, as they are similar in character to those on the thousands of miles of canal already constructed in Egypt.

There is, however, one undertaking of importance incidental to the working of the canal which may be referred to in greater detail—namely, the Nile crossing. It will be necessary to warp vessels across the Nile from lock to lock, and to ensure this being effected with safety and despatch, regulation works of some magnitude are requisite. The spot selected for the crossing is a little distance below Cairo, where the two flood channels unite and form a single stream of fairly regular and equal flow. Training walls and banks are designed to confine the river to a permanent course for a certain distance above and below the point of crossing, and direct the scour so as to maintain the required depth for the passage of vessels. A railway bridge is provided to connect the lines on opposite sides of the river, and to serve as a carrier for the traversing mooring to which ships would be attached when crossing the Nile. The mode of procedure would be as follows:—A vessel, say from Suez, on arriving in the Cairo basin, would be slewed round, and passed through the lock into the Nile, stern foremost, with her bows pointing straight upstream. A wire hawser would be attached to the traversing mooring, and the latter would be hauled across the railway bridge by fixed hydraulic engines at the Cairo docks, taking with it the attached vessel. On arriving at the opposite bank,

the vessel would be in position to enter the lock to the Alexandria Canal bow first. There is no cross current tending to embarrass the operations, since the locks point sharply down stream, and the ships leave the locks stern foremost, and enter them bow foremost. This explanation is necessary, as some misapprehension has arisen on the point. From the experience gained in the working of the great railway ferry, near the same spot, it is estimated that ten minutes will amply suffice for the warping of a vessel across the river, from one canal to the other. The operations are of the simplest character, and the vessels will at all times be under the perfect control of the steersmen.

Works of a comparatively inexpensive character will suffice to adapt the existing ports of Alexandria and Suez to the requirements of the maritime canal. The provision of an alternative ship canal was, however, but one of the objects sought to be obtained by the late Khedive. Irrigation facilities had to be no less carefully considered, and it is necessary therefore to see what the proposed canal will effect in that direction.

Assuming the barrage of the Nile to remain in its present incomplete condition, the level of water in the ship canal will rise to the level of that of the adjoining land, at a point near El Teirieh, on the left bank of the river, and near Belbeis, on the right bank. All lands north of these points will be thus irrigated without pumping, and lands south of the same will be similarly favoured after the Nile has risen a few feet. Generally it may be stated that the canal from Cairo to Alexandria will convey an ample supply of water at the requisite level to irrigate, without pumping, the half-million feddans of cultivated and cultivable land in the province of Behera, and that the canal from Cairo to Suez, in like manner, will satisfactorily meet the requirements of about a million feddans of land in the provinces of Charkieh and Dakalieh, and considerably increase the facilities for irrigating a further area of about a quarter of a million feddans in Gallioub. Irrigation water might be conveyed from the Alexandria Canal across the Nile in syphons to the cultivated lands between the two branches of the river; but the irrigation of these lands would be more perfectly effected by the completion of the barrage.

As frequent reference is made in discussing Egyptian affairs to the Barrage of the Nile, it may be well to give a brief description of that very important structure. It is claimed that Napoleon the First, when in Egypt, suggested the construction of such a work; but the honour of attempting to realise it is due to Mehemet Ali, who instructed one of his engineers, M. Mougel, to commence operations in the year 1846. The barrage crosses the Nile about twelve miles below Cairo, where the river divides into two branches terminating in the Rosetta and Damietta mouths respectively. From end to end, the total length of the structure is one mile and a quarter. At the time of commencing the works the depth

of water at high Nile ranged from five feet to eighty feet ; so the first operation was to excavate the shallow portions, and to fill in the deep bed with a huge mound of rubble. Upon the site thus prepared a broad and thick mass of concrete was deposited as a foundation for the barrage proper. In Oriental fashion, Mehemet Ali, having once made up his mind to carry out the work, wished to see it realised at once. He insisted upon the mass of concrete above referred to being completed during the low Nile of 1847, which involved the mixing and depositing of no less than four thousand tons of concrete per day. On the barrage itself, and the three canals in connection with it, an army of 80,000 men withdrawn from the villages was employed. The unfortunate fellaheen were crowded so thickly on the work that control or supervision was impossible. As an inevitable result, the mass of concrete, upon which the efficiency of the barrage depends, is in places merely a dislocated mass of sand and stone without any cementing medium. Upon this rotten foundation an ornamental and massive structure of brick and stone was erected, and still remains a standing monument of the folly of its projector, who ruined an admirably conceived scheme by the childish impetuosity with which he attempted to realise it. To form an idea of what the superstructure of the barrage is like, it is only necessary to imagine two long railway viaducts with a fort between them. The barrage across the Rosetta branch is 1,525 feet in length between the abutments, and includes sixty-one arches of 16 feet 4 inches span and two locks. That across the Rosetta branch is of similar construction and 1,787 feet long. The mass of concrete forming the foundation is 112 feet wide and 12 feet thick ; the width of the roadway over the arches of the barrage is 30 feet, and the height of the same above low Nile level is 39 feet. Large iron sluices are fitted in the arched openings of the barrage, by closing which it was hoped to dam back the river and raise its level 15 feet on the upstream side. Owing to the defects already referred to, it has been found impossible to effect this ; and, indeed, when it was attempted, a part of the structure cracked seriously and began to move down stream. Between the two barrages the Menoufieh Canal, having a bottom width of 200 feet, or about three times that of the Suez Canal, leads off to irrigate the lands between the two branches, and similar canals have their headworks on the flanks of the barrage. To show how far the present works are from realising the anticipations of their projectors, it is only necessary to say that the intended summer flow down the Menoufieh Canal was 3,200 cubic feet per second, whilst the actual flow is at times as little as 360 cubic feet. As regards width and depth, the canal has ample capacity to convey all the irrigation water required, if the barrage could be made to fulfil its function of damming back the river. Thus, when the Nile has risen 12 feet 6 inches, the flow down the canal is about 4,500

cubic feet per second, and even as much as 6,200 cubic feet has been measured. The same remarks apply to the Behera Canal on the western flank of the barrage, which was intended to have a minimum discharge of 1,900 cubic feet, whilst the flow is but 220 cubic feet in June, though it increases to 4,000 cubic feet in August. As a consequence, the irrigation of the summer crops of Lower Egypt is dependent to a large extent upon sakihs, shadoof, and other primitive appliances for raising water, at a cost practically of one-half of the value of the produce.

Having reference to the above facts, it is no matter for surprise that the late Khedive contemplated the completion of the barrage as a contingent work to his great sweet water ship canal, and that English financiers have from time to time made overtures to the Egyptian Government with respect to the same. Many similar works have returned unusually high profits in India, notably in Madras, where the official returns show the average receipts to be nearly 30 per cent. on the capital. It is difficult to exaggerate the value of high level irrigation in Egypt. Wherever water is raised by shadoof, each acre requires the services of two men for about a hundred days, and where centrifugal pumps are hired, the cost to the farmers is from 15s. to 30s. an acre for one complete watering. At the time of the construction of the barrage it was estimated that 150,000 oxen, 25,000 men, and 50,000 sakihs or chain-pumps were occupied in raising water to irrigate a comparatively small portion of the cultivated lands of Lower Egypt. It is difficult to say how many shadoofs and natalahs are at work in furthering the same end of watering the summer crops. All this would be saved if the Khedive's proposed canal and contingent works were carried out, and in addition at least 300,000 acres of desert and marsh land would be brought into cultivation. As the present taxed area in the provinces of Callioub, Charkieh, and Dakalieh, on the right bank of the Nile, and Behera, on the left bank, and of the Deltaic provinces, Menoufieh and Garbieh, is about 2,500,000 acres, the land reclaimed would constitute an important fraction of the total area under cultivation.

To construct the ship canal and complete the barrage, with the consequent modifications and extensions of the minor irrigation channels, would necessitate the expenditure of from 10,000,000*l.* to 12,000,000*l.* There is little doubt that the water-rates levied upon lands irrigated would yield a handsome return upon this expenditure, independent of the tolls upon shipping. As an alternative ship canal the late Khedive's project offers certain advantages and certain disadvantages as compared with the existing Canal. It has an advantage as a freshwater canal in cleansing ships' bottoms from marine growths, and so materially reducing the skin friction and power required to propel vessels through the water. It also will doubtless be the most popular route with passengers who may wish to spend a day

or two in Alexandria and Cairo, and not hurry past the country by the desert route. Where every hour is of importance, however, the present canal must undeniably have the preference, because, although the total distance from a common point in the Mediterranean is practically the same by both routes, the time occupied will be at least a day longer by the Khedive's canal, owing to its greater length and to the speed being necessarily slower through the canal than in the open sea. On the other hand, since the receipts from water-rates in the instance of the sweet water canal will constitute a large proportion of the whole, whilst the Suez Canal has no similar source of revenue, shipowners will be amply compensated for the delay by the low tolls which would be levied on the new route.

In conclusion, it may be said that the question of the construction of an alternative Suez Canal *viâ* Alexandria and Cairo resolves itself into this—Is it, in a rainless country like Egypt, preferable to construct a sweet-water canal running along a ridge, or to widen a salt-water 'ditch' lying down in a hollow; and is it, as regards our own country, preferable to have an alternative route for ships through Egypt, remote from the present one and under our own control, or to be dependent wholly upon M. de Lesseps and his successors?

JOHN FOWLER.

BENJAMIN BAKER.

THE
NINETEENTH
CENTURY.

No. LXXII.—FEBRUARY 1883.

*ON THE ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE
HIGHLANDS OF SCOTLAND.*

THE branches of knowledge which are vaguely grouped under the name of Political Economy are certainly the most inexact of all the sciences. It is sometimes questioned whether, in any one of them, conclusions have been established which are so definite and so certain as to attain the scientific level. Hardly a single proposition has been laid down respecting them which is not disputed, and even passionately denied. Hardly a single law has been ascertained which holds good under all conditions. And then, again, there are few conditions which Man himself cannot contrive to change. Within limits, which in some directions are very wide limits, Man can and does create or modify the conditions which absolutely determine innumerable results. It is hardly necessary to specify extreme cases; to point out that the laws affecting population cannot apply to communities of men and women who are bound to celibacy; that the laws regulating the accumulation of wealth cannot apply to men who are under vows of poverty. These, indeed, are rare exceptions to the general course of human affairs—extreme illustrations of the power of the human Will to escape from everything which corresponds to ‘law’ in the ordinary scientific sense. But examples involving the same power, only less glaringly exhibited, swarm in every department of human conduct, both in the past and in the present. The law determining the increase of mankind is one thing under a system of monogamy,

and a very different thing under the system of polygamy. Then, who could predict the consequences upon population of the bestial doctrines of the 'saints' of Utah? Is it possible, we may sometimes be tempted to ask, to arrive at any sort of scientific conclusions respecting any natural laws, governing the condition or the prospects of a being like Man, who is endowed with a Will so wanton and so wayward and yet so powerful?

Whatever may be the ultimate answer to this question, there is a proximate answer about which there can be no doubt whatever. A knowledge of facts is the only basis on which a knowledge of economic laws, if there be any, can be founded. And, inasmuch as the facts respecting the past progress and the present condition of mankind are eminently complex, the mere collection and classification of them is in itself a scientific process. The able and instructive Inaugural Address to the Statistical Society, delivered to that body in November last by its President, Mr. Giffen, is an excellent example of the light which can be thrown on great social problems by the simple exhibition of a few of these facts, carefully selected and presented in an intelligible order. But the full interpretation of such facts is a further process, requiring treatment even more circumspect and careful in its methods. There are no greater blunders than those which are often founded on accurate statistics. When men are counted, and not the products on which they feed; when numbers are estimated and not condition; when areas are calculated and not their quality; when rates of increase are ascertained, but standards of living are forgotten—then, our facts may indeed be facts, but they are worse than useless. Power to discriminate between facts which are decisive, and facts which are collateral, is the one intellectual need without which there may be 'cram' and information, but there can be no knowledge and no science. It is necessary to remember this even in the physical sciences, where phenomena are comparatively simple. But it is infinitely more necessary to remember it in all branches of inquiry affecting Man. On the other hand, as regards him, as well as regards all other things, there may be a few single facts which are in themselves absolutely decisive in establishing some one or more conclusions of profound significance. Such facts are chiefly to be found in the physical region of Man's nature—the region in which he stands related to other creatures, as a living Organism. Even here, as we shall see presently, his Will, consciously or unconsciously exerted, is an interfering force which must be taken into account. But as there are bounds which that Will cannot overpass, so there are exertions of it which are conclusive proof as to what and how much he can do, and will do, under favourable conditions.

Such is the value and significance of some of the facts on the subject of population of which Mr. Giffen has reminded us. For example, the increase in population in the United States of America

since the Declaration of Independence is a fact which establishes certain conclusions as to the breeding powers of the human race, which no other facts can ever refute or even modify. It is a fact that the population of the United States has, since 1780, doubled itself in periods of about every twenty-five years. Of course, it has to be remembered that this is due, as regards the area of the United States, to the double effect of breeding from within, and of immigration from without. But, as regards the whole human race, this makes no difference in the conclusion. The immigrants into America, if they were not bred there, were bred in Europe. It is merely a case of the excess of population, born in one country, pouring out into another. This stream brings no extraneous element into the calculation of the maximum power of the human race to multiply itself. As regards the aggregate of that race there can be no immigration. There is no external source from which its numbers can be increased. Sir William Thomson, by a bold exercise of the 'scientific imagination,' has suggested that the germs of life on our globe may have come to us in meteoric dust. But even this suggestion does not apply to developed Man. There is no planet which can come alongside our Earth in mid-space, as one ship can approach another in mid-ocean, and give over its cargo to join our crew and passengers. All the living freight this world can carry must be born within it. All the millions who have moved from Europe or from China, to join the millions who have been born in America, have made that movement because of the jostling and crowding in their own homes. And when we look to the statistics of those older homes of the human race, the causes of that jostling are seen to be the same. It is the immense breeding power which that race possesses. Since the long period of the French revolutionary wars was closed at Waterloo—that is to say, in a period of sixty-seven years—the population of Germany alone has increased by twenty-four millions. The United Kingdom has increased by eighteen millions; that is to say, it has more than doubled. In neither of these cases has there been any appreciable effect due to immigration, whilst in both cases the increase has arisen in spite of large emigration. But there is another case even more remarkable. It is the case of certain Provinces of British India. We have not the means of knowing, with any accuracy, the earlier stages of growth through which the present results have been arrived at. But these results are indeed tremendous. Ten years ago the population of the Province of Bengal alone (including Behar and Orissa) exceeded 64,444,000 souls. I have reason to believe that the new census for 1882 will show the same population to have risen to more than 69,183,000. That is to say, the increase in this Province alone in ten years has been 4,739,000, or nearly one million more than the whole population of Scotland by the census of 1881.

Now all these facts are of the class and rank which reveal a law. They prove the existence of what physicists would call a 'potential

energy' in mankind to multiply and to fill the world. This power and capacity may be latent and nothing more; or it may be actual, working in various measures and degrees. But whether sleeping or awake, it is always there—always to be reckoned with as liable, and indeed certain, to emerge, under favourable conditions.

So far we are on safe ground, and are dealing with a conclusion which the facts absolutely establish, and which no other facts can shake. It is a conclusion, moreover, which we see in a moment must be one of governing significance in all that concerns the past, the present, or the future. But, to the full understanding of it, some further questions must be asked. What are the conditions which bring this tremendous power of multiplication most powerfully into play? Probably, the answer which first suggests itself would be, in general terms, that they are conditions of prosperity and abundance. But here again, let us look to facts and see what we can gather from them. America is the simplest case. The abundance in that case has arisen from the vastness and fertility of new regions, more and more widely opened to the possession of men swarming to it, with all the knowledge and the energy of a civilisation which has been long achieved. This is abundance indeed; and, accordingly, it is seen producing the maximum effect. The case of the United Kingdom, and of some other European countries, is a case of another kind. The abundance here is the abundance of old societies, both cultivating better their own soil, and also receiving by commerce and manufactures a larger share in the surplus produce of other lands. This is a kind and measure of abundance different from that of the New World. It is less in amount; it is, as it were, less spontaneous, less bounteous and overflowing. Accordingly, the multiplying power which accompanies it is less marked. There is no immigration worth reckoning into any of the States of Europe; still the rate of increase is very large in some of them. But now let us turn to India. What is the kind and measure of abundance upon which the single Province of Bengal is breeding in the numbers I have quoted? The answer must be that, in regard to the great majority of these growing and crowding millions, the only abundance they possess is little more than a bare subsistence. A few handfuls of rice with a little salt and a little ghee is all they ever eat, and all they can ever hope to eat. There is no occupation of new territory; there is not much even of land hitherto unoccupied, and which it is possible to reclaim. There are no manufactures on any scale which can bring imported food. Nor have the people any stores—any accumulated wealth. On the contrary, they are for the most part deeply in debt to the money-lender. 'Wherever we turn,' says Mr. Hume,¹ 'we find agriculturists burdened with debts running on at enormous rates of interest. In some districts, even

¹ Late Secretary to the Government of India in the Department of Revenue, Agriculture, and Commerce.

Provinces, the evil is all-absorbing—a whole population of paupers hopelessly meshed in the web of usurers.' We know this only too well; for this is the fact which gives such tremendous meaning all over India to those terrible words, 'failure of the monsoon.' In all countries Man is dependent on the seasons. But in most countries one or more bad seasons can be borne without great distress. In most countries, too, the issue of a season does not depend on the issue of a few weeks. But in the wonderful and critical meteorology of the Indian Ocean and of the Indian mountain chains, if one great current fails, if one great mass of vapour is not lifted, wafted, and precipitated at the usual time, there is the total failure of at least one crop, and this is a loss which may reduce millions to beggary, and many thousands to starvation. Those only who have had any share in the government of India can know what the anxiety is arising out of such conditions of population. In ordinary seasons they are forgotten; and there is a great temptation to avoid thinking of them, because of the sense of helplessness with which they impress us. We feel ourselves to be in the presence of great natural forces over which we have no control. But so far as our present purpose is concerned—which is to ascertain, if we can, what are the natural laws governing the increase of mankind—this, of course, is the very aspect which should encourage us to think of the facts with which we have to deal in India. It is quite certain that the increase of population in Bengal is not due to abundance in any proper sense of that word. Where there is no store, no accumulation, no wealth; where the people live from hand to mouth, from season to season, on a low diet, and where, nevertheless, they breed and multiply at such a rate, there we can at least see that this power and force of multiplication is no evidence even of safety, far less of comfort. Perhaps the facts may even suggest to us the opposite conclusion—that the recklessness and improvidence of extreme poverty and of corresponding ignorance may be a greater stimulus to population than comfort and abundance. If so, it gives us much to think about. We know, indeed, of poverty and of destitution, more or less temporary, and among individuals more or less numerous, in European countries. But of chronic poverty, and of permanent reduction to the lowest level of subsistence, such as prevail only too widely among the vast populations of rural India, we have no example in the Western world. It has arisen, amongst other causes, from a powerful and civilised government arresting or mitigating the action of wars, and of pestilence, and of famine. But it looks as if sometimes nothing short of these can hold in check the multiplying force. It proves that, when wars are stopped and pestilences are abated, population may so swell and grow that millions and millions of men can be permanently reduced to a condition of extreme poverty, and of exposure by the ordinary vicissitudes of the seasons to the imminent danger of actual starvation. The sad statistics of some past Indian

hundreds, and the arduous efforts by which alone the Indian Government has very recently succeeded in preventing the recurrence of a sweeping mortality, are conclusive proofs that the mere growth of numbers in any country may be no indication of prosperity, but, on the contrary, of weakness and of great danger.

The case of Ireland is another example, on a smaller scale, of the operation of the same law. At the beginning of the last century, the total population of Ireland has been estimated, on good authority, not to have exceeded about two millions. Under that low kind of abundance which potato cultivation afforded, and under a system of land occupation which placed no check upon the increase of numbers, but rather encouraged it, the population of Ireland had doubled itself twice over before the lapse of a century and a half. In 1811, it already amounted to little short of six millions, and during the next thirty years more than two millions and a quarter were added to the amount. The census of 1841 showed a total population of 8,175,124. Moreover, this enormous increase, although contemporaneous with some agricultural improvement, and with some advance, too, in trade, was unfortunately contemporaneous also with continuous and systematic abuse and exhaustion of much of the best land in Ireland—by wretched husbandry, by barbarous customs of ‘runrig’ subdivision, and, in particular, by the destructive practice of burning. During the high prices of the French war, and of the sad years which followed it, a roaring and a lawless trade was done in the growth of wheat and other produce by thus using up rapidly the capital of the soil. A living witness has lately told us how in his childhood he remembers the wide horizon which at night was aglow with the light of fires, in which the whole fertility and capital of the soil was being in this way forced to yield itself up in a few years, and the property of many future generations was being anticipated and spent by one. The priests drove a trade, not less roaring, in marriage fees. Division and subdivision of the soil went on in proportion to its artificial productiveness and its real exhaustion. At last, with the failure of potatoes, the crash came. And, I suppose, no such crash has ever come in any of the civilized nations of the West. During the last five-and-thirty years the population of Ireland has been diminished by more than three millions of people, or at the rate of more than 86,000 a year. And yet we know that this great depletion is not enough to relieve a considerable part of the remaining population from distress. Again, a partial failure of the potato crop, with a cereal crop not much if at all below the average, places, we are told by Irish members, many thousand families in danger of want; if not of famine. Even Mr. Forster has lately confessed in the House of Commons his knowledge that some of the small tenants in Ireland could not make a living out of their wretched holdings—that no payment of their arrears could be of any use—nothing short of paying them money to help them to continue in a position which

be described as 'miserable and hopeless.' Parliament, shyly and ineffectually, admits its conviction of the truth by 'emigration clauses.'

All these facts from the East and from the West, from distant regions, where every detail of outward circumstance—of history and of law, of climate and of soil—is unlike the detail which is so familiar to us at our own doors—prove, beyond the possibility of question or of doubt, that the multiplying power of the human race is such that it is always and everywhere present—underlying the whole conditions of every society—ready to make itself apparent on the slightest opportunity. It is a force like that of a powerful spring, which is always exerting, even when unseen, a certain tension, and is certain to make its effects visible on the slightest lifting of some superincumbent weight, or on the slightest relaxation in the pressure of some internal structural resistance.

This is the great fact which Malthus was the first to trace and to establish in scientific form as a fundamental law. It is expressed in the general proposition that population is always tending to press upon the limits of subsistence. When men talk about being Malthusian or anti-Malthusian, if they know what they are talking about, they can only mean that they accept or reject some one or more of the corollaries and consequences which have been drawn from this law by Malthus. Because the law itself is as certain a fact as any other in the whole domain of science. The breeding power of mankind, under certain conditions, is as well ascertained as the breeding power of rabbits. What are the checks which have limited the operation of this power at different times and in different societies; whether it ought or ought not to be the object of any community to counteract such checks, or to encourage them; how legislation or customs and habits can be most wisely directed in the matter; all these are questions on which much debate may arise. But as regards the fact itself—as regards the general proposition in which it is expressed—it cannot be disputed except by those who do not understand it. I have quoted the cases of the population of Bengal and of Ireland, because they are both in their several degrees extreme cases, and the truth of the law in respect to them has been exhibited in chronic poverty, frequent distress, and occasional famines. But the operation of the law is, in reality, quite as demonstrable in the case of every other nation, however prosperous, and at every stage of its progress from fewness to numbers, and from poverty to wealth.

The terms of the proposition, however, are more elastic than they look, and are large enough to embrace all the variety of circumstance which exists in nature. The 'limits of subsistence' do not necessarily mean the limits of bare life—the mere keeping together of soul and body. That is, indeed, the ultimate or furthest limit, and to that furthest limit the pressure tends. But the pressure is felt long

before that bourne is reached. The standard of living to which men have been accustomed, or to which, from seeing it in others, they desire to reach, this is to them the standard which it always requires increasing exertion to attain or keep. And this increased exertion is sensibly felt in every nation—perhaps most sensibly in the most advanced and the most advancing. Even in the case of America, we already hear of want not being unknown in her great cities; and there is not a settler in the backwoods of Canada, or in the prairies of the West, who does not feel in some greater or less degree the ‘struggle for existence.’ Mr. Herbert Spencer has just told us that the strain and excitement of this struggle is the most conspicuous evil which struck him in American society. And then the very elements of prosperity in America—the abounding influx, and the abounding increase of its population—are the most signal of all proofs that in the Old World population is, according to the law, pressing, and pressing hard, on the limits of subsistence. From Germany alone, it is stated that during the last sixty years there has been an exodus of three and a half millions of people; and in this great tide of emigration the heaviest waves and the strongest currents have been the latest and the last. The pressure must be tremendous to which this current is due, whether we estimate it by its actual and increasing volume, or by the known facts of multiplication which are its source and spring. During the same sixty years Prussia alone, much of it with a poor soil and a poor climate, had more than doubled its population, rising from 10,350,000 to 21,500,000. Taking all the German States together, the population during the five years from 1875 to 1880 has been increasing at the rate of more than half a million a year. This would, indeed, be an evidence of prosperity if, but only if, there were any evidence of a corresponding increase in production of any kind. But, unfortunately, the evidence is all the other way. In the *Economist* newspaper of August 20, 1881, there was a most instructive article on the economical condition of the German people, founded on certain statistical facts supplied by the Vienna correspondent of that journal. It appears from these facts that in many parts of Germany the whole rural population, and especially the great mass of the peasant proprietors, are in a condition of deep and growing embarrassment. The indebtedness, both of individuals and of the Communes, is increasing more and more. In Prussia alone the mortgages on the land amounted, so long ago as 1866, to upwards of 300 millions sterling. In Bavaria it is estimated at above 50 millions. These results are not due to any want of thrift or any want of industry on the part of the German peasant. No people in the world are more industrious, and none live on simpler fare. But everywhere there is so little of a margin, even at the best of times, that a few bad seasons eat it up; and the significant remark is made, ‘It is curious how in this respect the necessities of the poorer

peasants seem to have determined the standard of living for the whole class.'

Yet, so deeply ingrained in many minds is the idea that an increase in the population of any given area of the earth's surface is in itself a cause and an evidence of prosperity, that many German writers are deploring the emigration which is the natural and, for the time at least, the only remedy. One of these has been lately estimating, at so much per head, the capital represented by each emigrant, and arriving at the result that, during a single year, more than five millions and a half sterling have been 'lost' to Germany and added to the wealth of the United States. Such writers forget that a man can only represent wealth when and where he is in a position to produce it; and that whenever, and wherever, from any cause which, whether permanent or not, is of sufficient endurance to last his life, a man has not the means of any employment which is of some profit both to himself and others, he can add nothing to, but must subtract something from, the wealth of the community to which he belongs. To illustrate a general principle by an extreme case, the increase of population in a Poor's House is no evidence of prosperity; on the contrary, it is an evidence of distress. And what is true of the small area of a Poor's House may be true of any other larger area in which analogous conditions prevail. It is true that with every new human mouth that is born there are also two hands born to feed it. But it is not true that the two new hands can always get enough to do upon the spot on which they are produced. The island of St. Kilda is the neatest example of an extreme case. By the last census there were seventy-seven human beings living there. They are a charming people, simple, hospitable—always ready to share what they have with any shipwrecked sailors who may be cast upon them. They have the same natural right to live and breed which is so often alleged for other portions of the human race. But if they do multiply, and do not emigrate, they have also a natural right to suffer. And this right Dame Nature, a stern economist, has been long asserting, on their behalf, as well as on her own. There has long been a horrible and mysterious mortality among their infants; a large proportion of them die within five days after birth, from some cause which has never been clearly ascertained. There is no fuel on the island, and the people are actually 'using up' the best pasture on the island as fuel to cook their food. They contribute nothing to the resources of the country except a few feathers. The whole community may be said to subsist on the providence of the proprietor, and on the occasional charity of the world. This, of course, is an extreme case, but it illustrates a general law which is of universal application. Wherever, in any area of country, the increase of population involves a lower and a lower standard of living—chronic poverty, and the necessity of periodical appeals to charity, which are periodical drafts upon the industry and

prosperity of other men—there the increase is an evil and not a good. It is upon this principle that such writers as the late Mr. Bagehot and Mr. Giffen and Sir James Caird have treated the growing population of our Indian Provinces as a source, not of strength but, on the contrary, of weakness, and even of imminent danger; and it is on the same principle that Parliament has lately confessed, although timidly and almost in a faltering voice, that it would be for the public interest to encourage and assist further emigration among the cottier tenants in the west of Ireland.

Moreover, it is important to remember that the truth of this principle cannot be gainsayed by any theoretical speculations as to changed conditions, which may possibly at some future time enable as large, or even perhaps a still larger, population to live in areas which are now overcrowded. Thus, for example, we are sometimes told that all the bogs in Ireland could be made productive. Even if this be true, which is very doubtful, it can be true only of a distant future, under conditions very different indeed from those which exist now, as regards habits of industry—as regards the value of produce, and above all, as regards the security of capital invested in the soil. Such speculations are always doubtful; but even if they were well-founded, they do not affect the necessities which arise out of the conditions which actually prevail. Even in the extreme case to which I have alluded—that of a great Poor's House—it is possible to conceive some future time when it may be converted into a great factory, stirring with life and industry, and enabling, perhaps, double the number of people to earn high wages, and to enjoy a correspondingly high measure of comfort. But this vision, even if it were certain to be realised, would be of no avail to affect the condition of the paupers who now fill its languid and melancholy wards. In like manner, with respect to any country in which the population is excessive at any given time, it may be possible to dream of some future discoveries in agriculture, or in mines, or of some changed conditions of market, which may enable double its numbers to live in plenty. But no such dream, even if it be prophetic, can alter the fact that, as matters stand, and as matters must stand perhaps for generations to come, the population in that country has so pressed upon the limits of its subsistence, that in the meantime one of the first conditions of improvement is a diminution of numbers. Mr. Giffen, in the excellent Address to which I have referred, has expressed this truth with admirable precision. He says: 'The soil may be capable of supporting, with better agriculture, a larger population; but this is not the point. The kind of agriculture possible in any country is related to the existing capacity of the population, or to such improvements in that capacity as are in progress.' The truth of this proposition is indisputable. To support a growing population the increase of produce must be—not future and contingent—not requiring new know-

ledge, new habits, and changed conditions in everything around, but an increase at least actually begun, growing *post passum* with the growth of numbers, and achieved by the successive generations which are to live upon it.

Nor is this all. It is obvious that there may be cases in which even agricultural improvement may demand, as one of its essential conditions, a diminution in the numbers of those who may have come to live upon particular areas of soil. Such are all cases in which that soil has, under a rude and ignorant husbandry, been turned to uses for which it is not adapted; or where portions of it have been overcropped and exhausted, whilst other portions have been, perhaps, totally neglected from want of knowledge, or of capital, to occupy it to the best advantage.

All these facts and principles in respect to population receive an ample and most instructive illustration from numberless facts in the history of our own country, and from no part of the United Kingdom more than from that portion of it which, perhaps even more than any other, has made the most rapid advances in wealth and in productive power. I refer to Scotland, and especially to the Highland counties.

The genius of Sir Walter Scott has bathed in the light of imperishable romance the doings and the feelings of the old Highland clans. They had the virtues of all rude and warlike races. They were brave and hospitable, and faithful according to their own rough codes of honour. But the condition of the people was what it could not fail to be from the nature of the life they led, and from the nature of the country they inhabited. The land was a land capable of yielding adequate means of support only as a return to industry and skill. The life was a life in which industry was impossible, and in which agricultural skill was unattainable and unknown. The whole condition of society was founded on war as an habitual pursuit. A chief was powerful according to the number of his followers. The land was held and subdivided with a view to their increase up to, and beyond, the bare limits of subsistence. There is abundant evidence that they lived in constant scarcity and exposed to frequently recurring seasons of famine. Mr. Cosmo Innes, than whom no man is more competent to speak with authority on the matter, has said of the old inhabitants of the Highlands that 'they were always on the verge of famine, and every few years suffering the horrors of actual starvation.'²

The condition even of some of the counties which are now among the richest in Scotland was at one time not much better than the condition from which the Highlands have made the same escape, only at a later date. In Charles the First's Parliament of 1633, a Bill was brought in 'desiring that all impositions for restraining the inbringing

² *Sketches of Early Scottish History*, p. 431.

of victual may be discharged, it being without example in any part of the world, and so much the more that *the whole sheriffdoms of Dumbarton, Renfrew, Argyll, Ayr, Wigtown, Nithsdale, stewartry of Kirkcudbright, and Annandale are not able to entertain themselves in the most plentiful years that ever fell out without supply from foreign parts.*' Accordingly there is abundant evidence of the constant scarcity and frequent starvation in which the Highland population lived. Some striking illustrations of this are given in Captain Burt's well-known letters written in 1726. Pennant, at a later period in the same century, speaking of Skye, says :—

The crops are most precarious; the poor are left to Providence's care. They prow! like other animals along the shore to pick up limpets and other shellfish, the casual repasts of hundreds during part of the year in these unhappy islands. Hundreds thus drag through the season a wretched life, and numbers unknown in all parts of the western Highlands fall beneath the pressure, some of hunger, more of the putrid fever, the epidemic of the coast, originating from unwholesome food, the dire effects of necessity. The produce of the crops very rarely is proportioned in any degree to the wants of the inhabitants: golden seasons have happened when they have had superfluity, but the years of famine are ten to one.

This state of things is not astonishing; the only matter of astonishment is how any considerable population could have lived at all. Let us remember, in the first place, that the food which now for several generations has been the principal food of all poor agricultural populations, was not then available. There were no potatoes. Let us remember, in the second place, that the climate is a wet one, and that drainage was absolutely unknown. Let us remember, in the third place, that although potatoes will grow on damp and even wet soils, barley and oats will not grow except on land which is comparatively dry. Let us remember, in the fourth place, that in a mountainous country, with a wet climate and no artificial drainage, the best land in the bottoms of the valleys must have been saturated with water, and that even the sides of the hills must in most places have been covered with a boggy and spongy soil. It follows from all these considerations that corn could only be raised on those spots and portions of land which were very steep or otherwise dry by natural drainage. Sometimes these may have been in the bottoms of the valleys when the soil happened to be light and shingly, but more often they were on the steepest sides of the hills, on the banks of streams, and among the stony knolls. Accordingly nothing is more common in the Highlands than to see the old marks of the plough upon land so high and so steep that no farmer in his senses would now consider it as arable at all. When these marks catch the eye of the stranger, he looks upon them and quotes them as the melancholy proofs of ancient and abandoned industry—of the decay of agriculture, in short of a stagnant or declining state. Whereas in truth these are the most sure and certain indications of the low and rude condition of agriculture in former times, when the better lands, which are now drained

and cleared and ploughed, were not arable because they were under swamp and tangled wood. When, again, we remember that such dry spots and patches of land as were then capable of bearing corn, were used for that purpose year after year; when we remember that there was no such thing known as a rotation of crops, since turnips and potatoes were wanting; when we consider further, that even the rudiments of a system of manuring land were also unknown, it is impossible to be surprised that the population of the Highlands, down even to the beginning of the present century, was exposed to frequent and severe distress, and we may well even wonder how any considerable population was maintained at all.

It is a common but erroneous notion, that the Highlanders, like the inhabitants of other wild countries, had at least an abundant supply of game. But neither was this resource extensively available. The country swarmed with foxes, eagles, hawks, and, at an earlier period, with wolves. These animals effectually prevented the breeding of game; even the deer, being unprotected, killed out of season, driven about and allowed no rest, were reduced extremely in number, and in the seventeenth century were found only in the remotest fastnesses of the country. So early as 1551 an Act of Parliament set forth that 'deer, roe, and wild fowl were clean exiled and banished from over-persecution.'

Indeed the only explanation of this difficulty is to be found in these two facts: first, that the population of the Highlands was never so great as is commonly supposed; secondly, that it was a population inured to hardship and accustomed to a very low scale of living; and thirdly, that such as it was it did not live on its own resources, but habitually eked out its own means of subsistence by preying upon its neighbours. This is the real explanation of the habit, so famous in Highland story, of black-mail raids upon the Lowland counties. Sir Walter Scott, who in all his novels keeps close to the facts of history and of nature, has put into the mouth of Bailie Jarvie, in *Rob Roy*, the true explanation of a habit so unpleasant to those who lived within reach of the Grampians:—

The military array of this Hieland country, were a' the men-folk between aughteen and fifty-six brought out that could bear arms, couldna come weel short of fifty-seven thousand and five hundred men. Now, sir, it's a sad and awfu' truth, that there is neither wark, nor the very fashion nor appearance of wark, for the half of thae puir creatures; that is to say, that the agriculture, the pasturage, the fisheries, and every species of honest industry about the country, cannot employ the one moiety of the population, let them work as lazily as they like, and they do work as if a plough or a spade burnt their fingers. Aweel, sir, this moiety of unemployed lodies, amounting to one hundred and fifteen thousand souls, whereof there may be twenty-eight thousand seven hundred able-bodied gillies fit to bear arms, and that do bear arms, and will touch or look at nae honest means of livelihood even if they could get it—which, lack-a-day! they cannot. . . . And mair especially, mony hundreds o' them come down to the borders of the low country, where there's gear to grip, and live by stealing, reiving, lifting cows, and

the like depredations—a thing deplorable in any Christian country!—the main especially that they take pride in it, &c.

My attention was called some years ago by an unknown correspondent to a very curious and interesting document in the British Museum, which contains much valuable information on the condition of the Highlands immediately after the Rebellion of 1745. It is No. 104 in 'the King's Collection,' and is the account of an eyewitness, a gentleman who travelled all over the Highland counties, and communicated the result to a friend in London. It is very probable that he was an agent of the Government. He is mainly occupied in noting the military condition and strength of the clans, their politics and their character; but incidentally gives us some valuable facts also touching the economic condition of the people. Thus, in speaking of the district of Lochaber, he gives the following account of the small tenants who held under the tacksmen or leaseholders:—

Each of these has some very poor people under him, perhaps four or six on a farm, to whom he lets out the skirts of his possession. These people are generally the soberest and honestest of the whole. Their food all summer is milk and whey mixed together without any bread; the little butter or cheese they are able to make is reserved for winter provision; they sleep away the greater part of the summer, and when the little barley they sow becomes ripe, the women pull it as they do flax, and dry it on a large wicker machine over the fire, then burn the straw and grind the corn upon quearns or hand mills. In the end of harvest and during the winter, they have some flesh, butter, and cheese, with great scarcity of bread. All their business is to take care of the few cattle they have. In spring, which is the only season in which they work, their whole food is bread and gruel, without so much as salt to season it.

No mention is made here of another source of food which, however, it is well known was a constant and habitual resource to the people of the Highlands, viz. the bleeding of live cattle and the mixing of the blood with meal. It is quite obvious how this practice should arise in a country where the people were constantly struggling with scarcity. But it is a curious circumstance that, like other customs originating in necessity, it gathered round it for its support reasons and opinions which are still sometimes given as the true explanation of its origin. It came to be considered as beneficial, not only to the men who consumed the blood, but to the poor beasts who afforded it; and there is ground for believing that on the strength of this notion the practice did actually linger on in the Highlands after it had ceased to be a necessity for the support of life. I have met with Highlanders of middle age, who recollect their fathers speaking of it as a custom general in their own younger days. Under such habits of life, and such conditions of husbandry, it is impossible that the Highland counties can ever have been thickly peopled. It is very difficult, however, to arrive

at any even approximate estimate of the population before the close of the civil wars. The most definite information I have seen is that given in the MS. already referred to. It will surprise many to be told that the greatest number of men in arms against the Government in the Great Rebellion of 1745, from the beginning to the end of that rebellion, did not exceed 11,000 men. In the same paper an estimate is given of the number of men in arms which each clan could turn out, and the comparative smallness of that number, even in the case of the most powerful clans, is remarkable. It is specially mentioned, not only that Argyllshire was then the most fertile of the Highland counties, but that ever since the Union the proprietors of land there 'had made very great improvements,' 'whence it came that they were all in easy circumstances.' The Campbells, including both the Argyll and Breadalbane branches, are put down as able to turn out 3,000 men, besides leaving at home enough to carry on the usual cultivation of the soil. The Gordons had at one time been able to produce an equal number, but were then much reduced. But when we come to the western and northern clans, the numbers are comparatively small. The maximum force even of the most powerful, such as the Grants of Strathspey, is put down as not exceeding 1,000 men, whilst many clans of celebrated name ranged from 900 to 300 'claymores.'

It is specially mentioned in the King's MS., that the McLeods of Skye, who were zealous royalists, had lost in the civil wars, and especially at Worcester, so many men that, by the general consent of all the northern clans, it was agreed they should have a respite from war till their numbers should increase.

Such having been the condition of the Highland population about the close of the civil wars and at the termination of the last rebellion, it remains to inquire what progress they had made during the period of peace and of comparative prosperity which occupied the remainder of the eighteenth century. Now there were four great causes which, during that period, were suddenly brought into operation upon the condition of the people, every one of them tending to induce a rapid increase of population, and constituting in their concurrence probably the most extraordinary stimulus to that increase which has ever been applied to any country. First, there was the natural effect of a settled government, the saving of life from the cessation of civil war, feuds, and broils; secondly, there was the saving of life, not less important, from the introduction of inoculation for small-pox; thirdly, there was the first introduction of potatoes as a new and most abundant means of subsistence; and fourthly, there was the use and establishment in all the islands, and on some parts of the mainland, of the highly productive manufacture of kelp from seaweed. Potatoes were first introduced in the island of

South Uist, so early as 1743, by Clanranald, from Ireland. Their use seems to have been violently resisted at first by the inhabitants; and we are told that they did not reach the next island of Berna till 1752, whilst in the course of another ten years they had come to support the whole inhabitants for at least one quarter of the year. Once established, their use soon spread over the Highlands, and their effect in promoting the increase of population must have been as powerful as it has elsewhere been. Inoculation was introduced into the Highlands in 1763, and as it appears never to have encountered the same hostile prejudices which existed in other parts of the country, and as the people generally are described as having accepted the new discovery 'with devout thankfulness,'³ this also is known to have tended powerfully in the same direction. The manufacture of kelp was introduced about the middle of last century, and at the beginning of the present century, just when the other causes of increase had attained their full operation, this product reached the enormous price of 20*l.* and 22*l.* per ton, and the Western Islands alone produced annually about 20,000 tons. Down to the year 1822, the average price was still 10*l.* 10*s.* This was an industry which required little skill, and only occasional exertion. Yet I have before me papers which show that in some parishes of the Hebrides the people paid the whole rent of their farms out of their receipts for kelp, so that they had the whole agricultural produce as surplus, their cattle, and their crops of all kinds, on which to live and multiply.

As the Malthusian law is universal, that it is the tendency of population to press upon the limits of subsistence, it cannot be doubted that with the removal of so many checks upon their increase, and with the simultaneous acquisition of a new and abundant food, the people of the Highlands must have multiplied rapidly during the latter half of the eighteenth century. The truth is, they did multiply, not only up to, but far beyond, the limits of their subsistence, and hence arose that great stream of emigration which has been the theme of so much natural but ill-informed complaint. It has never yet, I think, been pointed out with sufficient clearness or prominence, that the great emigration of the Highlanders arose out of an extravagant rate of increase during and before the period in which that emigration began. It will surprise, I think, many who suppose that no such emigration could be supported without a complete depopulation of the country, to be told that for many years during the period I refer to, the rate of increase in the Highlands was more rapid than that of the most thriving manufacturing and commercial cities at the present moment. It can be proved beyond all reach of doubt, that if we except the introduction of the potato, and the adventitious and (as it proved) the temporary

³ Walker, vol. ii. p. 354.

resource of kelp, there was no corresponding increase in the produce of the soil—no advance in husbandry to support in even tolerable comfort the advance in numbers. And it is a curious circumstance that the very writers who deplore most loudly the emigration, or what they call the subsequent depopulation of the Highlands, are the same writers who supply us with the most conclusive evidence as to the facts which prove that emigration to have been nothing but the natural and legitimate results of great natural laws.

In 1808 an interesting and important work on the *History and Condition of the Highlands and Islands*, was published in Edinburgh by a Dr. John Walker, who had been Professor of Natural History in the University of Edinburgh. In the concluding chapter he refers to the emigration of the people, and looking at it in a general and theoretical point of view, he regards it as likely to be excessive, and therefore as an evil to be deplored, and if possible to be checked. Yet I know no work which proves more clearly than his that that emigration arose out of the necessities of the case, that it was the one indispensable preliminary step towards an improved condition, and a more skilful agriculture.

In the first place, he shows that there had been a great and rapid increase of population immediately consequent on the establishment of settled law and order in the Highlands. In the second place, he shows that there was no corresponding increase in the means of subsistence arising out of any improvement in the system of agriculture. In the third place, he shows that this increase was such that, after supplying a continuous stream of emigration for many years, and after supplying also the British army with a large number of men for its continental and colonial wars, it still left every farm encumbered with a population for whose labour there was no room, and for which, therefore, there was no employment. Fourthly, he shows that the first step towards a better agriculture was, that there should be a more definite separation between the class of farmers and the class of labourers, and, consequently, a large diminution of the number of tenants.

In 1803 a Committee specially appointed by the Highland and Agricultural Society to report on Emigration, and the members of which were all so vehemently opposed to it as a great evil that they spoke of it as the 'malignant spirit of emigration,' were nevertheless obliged to confess that the primary cause was 'such an increase of population as the country, in its present situation, and with a total want of openings for the exertion of industry, cannot support.'

As regards one comparatively fertile parish in the Hebrides, I have the means from private sources of tracing with accuracy the progress of population. In 1768 the population stood at 1,676. In

1802 it had swelled to 2,776, and the marriage rate at that time exceeded the highest ratio now obtaining even in the richest cities. The latest percentage in those cities is 0·808; and in the 'Principal Towns,' where it is usually highest, it was only 0·783; whereas, in the parish to which I refer, in 1800 it amounted to the enormous rate of more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the total population of that time. The result was that when the potato failure came in 1846 the population had risen to above 5,000. From this population the resources of kelp had long been withdrawn, or had become of very limited value. I need not say what the result was; there was great distress; emigration followed; and in direct proportion as the excess was drawn off, and as the pauperised patches of land were gradually consolidated into crofts of a comfortable size, the remainder of the people became comparatively prosperous.

It appears further, from Dr. Walker's work, that emigration from the Highlands had not only begun, but had become so considerable as to attract attention long before sheep-farming on a large scale had been introduced, and long before it became generally prevalent in the Highlands. It is not less remarkable, as indicating one of the most deeply seated causes of that emigration, that, contrary to the general notion, it began not with the poorer but with the upper classes—with the military retainers—the gentlemen tacksmen, who under the old system were in fact a class of middlemen between the proprietor and the smaller tenants. They were generally men more skilled in arms than in agriculture. When a great rise in the value of cattle took place, and the proprietors, desiring to share, as they had a right to do, in the increased value of the produce of their estates, very generally raised their rents, these tacksmen of the old class found their position changed. They were accustomed to a rude abundance, to rents paid in kind, and to these rents being largely furnished to them out of the holdings of their subtenants. But on the one hand, they had now become accustomed, in the ranks of the British army, to a higher style of living; and, on the other hand, they found an increasing difficulty in giving for their lands such rents as a class of professional farmers were found ready to give, even in the rude and unimproved state of stock-farming which then existed. Hence the first movement of emigration came from the gentlemen-tacksmen. It was followed gradually, but continuously, by the emigration of that numerous class, yearly becoming more numerous from feeding and breeding on potatoes, whose labour was not only useless, but an encumbrance in the progress of agricultural improvement.

I now pass to another point of great importance in estimating the nature of the change which has made the Highland counties so largely dependent on sheep-grazing. It is indeed a strange inversion of the truth to interpret this change as an indication of a

backward movement as compared with other more thriving parts of Scotland. The fact is, that this change had already been accomplished in other parts of Scotland long before, and it is upon this change that their prosperity had been founded. Professor Walker remarks that many other parts of Scotland resembled the Highlands in physical geography and in the nature of the soil, the farms being largely composed of moorland or mountain pasture, with a comparatively small extent of arable land. But in those other parts, especially on what might be called the Border Highlands, sheep-farming on a large scale had been long established. Even in the Middle Ages, the great middlemen of the border counties are known to have possessed flocks of sheep almost as numerous as those now possessed by the largest graziers. It was the poverty, ignorance, and barbarism of the Highlands alone which had prevented a similar system of agriculture being sooner adopted there. There never was a country in the world in respect to which Nature has pointed out more clearly the agricultural use to which it is specially adapted. Wild and rugged as it is, a great portion of its mountain ranges are placed under a mild and moist climate, most favourable to the growth of natural pasture. Except upon the highest summits, and some of the midland masses, snow lies seldom, and never for any long time together. Along the whole extent of the western coast, mountains of great elevation are covered to the very top with a rich and luxuriant vegetation; and even those peaks and ranges which are largely occupied by rocks and stones have a fine though scanty herbage of their own. It is impossible to describe to those who have not seen it, the beauty and exuberance of the mountain pastures in the fulness of the year. They always remind me of the expressions in the Psalms, 'Thy paths drop fatness.'

Now, what use was made under the old Highland system of these abundant treasures of soil and climate? Of the very best parts of it they made, as we have seen, but a poor and scanty use; and of by far the largest part of the whole area of their country they made literally no use whatever. Black cattle and a few goats were the only stock in the country. Every one knows that cattle will not ascend to the higher ranges, and that they are incapable of climbing among the rocks to reach the innumerable small and broken but rich fields of pasture which are scattered among them.

Under these conditions of agriculture, it is not too much to say that a great deal more than one-half, probably it would be more correct to say that more than five-sixths, of the total food-producing area of the country was entirely and absolutely lost, and that the conversion of the mountains into sheep-grazings was as much a reclamation of waste lands as if the whole of that vast surface had been for the first time reclaimed from the sea. Sheep are wonderfully adapted for the

complete consumption of all available pastures. They climb everywhere, and are never so healthy and strong as when they have wide and steep ranges as their feeding-ground. Accordingly the moment their adaptability to the Highlands was established, they spread rapidly over the whole of it. The increase of value consequent on this husbandry, has been enormous; and I may indicate what has been this increased contribution of the Highlands to the national wealth, by representing it in the figures of rental, which may be roughly taken to be from one-third to one-fourth of the total produce. Thus, I am told of one estate which at the beginning of this century was offered under lease at 400*l.* a-year, and is now worth 10,000*l.* a-year; that is, the rise has been in the proportion of 100 to 4. In other words, the gross produce contributed to the wealth and resources of the country by that one estate has risen from between 1,200*l.* and 1,600*l.* to between 30,000*l.* and 40,000*l.* a year.

Pennant gives some data which enables us to estimate the value of the cattle exported (1772) from the large parish of Gairloch in West Ross at about 1,260*l.* I was informed by the proprietor in 1866 that the value of its exports was then upwards of 13,000*l.* In this case there has been also a great increase of population; his estimate was 2,800; the census of 1861 gave 5,438.

The truth is, that the diminution of a population purely agricultural, so far from being a phenomenon affecting the Highlands only, is but one example of the effects of a great general law, which has been operating, and is now operating, over the richest and most highly civilised countries in the world. Even in France, which is the paradise of peasant proprietors, the rural districts are notoriously losing in population; and some of the latest French writers on the progress of scientific agriculture declare that the numbers which still remain are among the great obstacles in the way of an increased production.⁴ To increase produce, and at the same time to economise labour, is the double object and the invariable result of every improvement in the arts. The art of agriculture is no exception; in it, as in all others, the accumulation of capital and the advance of knowledge and of skill dispense with half-employed and unproductive labour. This, at least, is the result of one stage, and that a most important one, in the progress of agriculture—that a population numerous, but accustomed to, and contented with, a low standard of living for themselves, and yielding no surplus for the support of others, gives place to a population smaller in amount, but enjoying a higher civilisation, and contributing in a corresponding degree to the general progress of the world.

Such are the general facts and principles which account for, and

⁴ See a very interesting article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for April 15, 1882, upon *L'Agriculture Extensive* in France.

satisfactorily explain, the continuous emigration of the Highlanders, so far at least as it has yet gone. But here the question arises, how far has it gone? It is true that there are particular districts less populous than they once were; but the counties, as a whole, have all gained in population since the beginning of the century, except the county of Argyll. The causes of this exception are obvious. In the first place, no county has advanced more rapidly in agricultural improvement. In the second place, no districts had been so stimulated to over-population by the causes I have specified as the insular and coast districts of Argyllshire. In the third place, no other Highland population had such ready access to a great industrial centre as those who lived within a few hours' sail of the Clyde. There, at this moment, in the shipbuilding trade, a man, with no other skill than such as can be easily acquired, can earn as wages in a fortnight far more than the whole year's rent of the croft on which his father vegetated. I know sons of Argyllshire crofters who have been and are the trusted captains and engineers of splendid ships, trading to all regions of the globe. The results of these great industrial movements have been happy for all concerned. Those who have gone, and those who have remained, are all better off. Argyllshire in 1801 stood at 81,000, and in 1831 had reached its maximum at 100,000; it is now only 76,440. But Inverness was only 72,000 in 1801, and is now 90,414; Ross and Cromarty had 56,000 in 1801, and has now 78,539. Sutherland, which in 1801 contained 21,117 people who were in frequent distress, and whose wretched cattle were starved even more frequently than themselves, now contains 23,370 people—with this difference, that we never hear of any distress among them—whilst the whole county gives token of the immense capital, and the not less immense affection, which now for three generations have been lavished upon it.

The theoretical result to which those who deplored emigration have always looked forward was no other than this—that the Highlands would become a mere grazing-ground of the Lowlands and of England—tenanted by a few large capitalists and by a few solitary shepherds. This is the result which those who do not know the Highlands very commonly suppose has actually arisen. They think that tillage is diminishing, that fertile land is being given up to sheep, that little or nothing is being spent on the improvement of the soil. I have no hesitation in asserting that this is a pure delusion, a delusion as gross—and this is saying much—as has ever prevailed in England respecting the social condition of the most distant countries of the earth, and which is the less excusable when it is propagated respecting a country every part of which is within thirty-six hours of London. I do, indeed, know a few cases, but they are very few, in which land really adapted for arable cultivation has been injudiciously appropriated to sheep alone. But this is a rare ex-

ception, and for the most part those who make loose assertions on this matter have no practical knowledge on the subject. It is perfectly true that there are many spots in the Highlands which were formerly tilled which are tilled no longer; but this is only saying that the rude and ignorant agriculture of other days is gone. It is perfectly true that millions of acres are now under sheep which formerly supported, during half the year, the cattle of the summer sheiling, and for the rest of the year was ranged over by nothing but the eagle and the fox. But this is only saying that the true and natural use has been found for those mountain pastures, which now maintain throughout the year thousands upon thousands of the most valuable of the animals which minister to the wants of man. It is perfectly true that glens which once maintained, with frequent famines, and with occasional assistance from unwilling Lowlanders, a population which lived in idleness, ignorance, and poverty, are now tenanted perhaps by some one or two, or three or four or five tenant-farmers; but this is only saying that at last that change has come in the Highlands which had come long before in the Lowlands and in England, and which has been in every portion of this country the one indispensable condition of an improved and improving agriculture. Unfortunately, and, as I think, much to our national discredit, we have not hitherto had any statistics of agriculture which are of any value; but the general fact is notorious to all who know the Highlands, that tillage has not been decreasing, but, on the contrary, has been increasing, and that enormously. It has retired indeed from the steeper banks and braes, and from the light shingly soils which were formerly the only soils adapted by natural drainage for cereal cultivation. It has retired also for the most part from the little patches among the rocks on which the ancient populations raised their handfuls of barley. But for every acre which has been thus abandoned to pasture, probably not less than ten acres have been added during the last century to the tillage land of the Highland counties. The outlay upon improvements by proprietors has been enormous. I am personally acquainted with cases in which almost the whole free rent has been so expended for years together. In many others the percentage so laid out has been very large. The county assessor has just reported that on a limited number of estates in Argyllshire, with a gross rental of 71,759*l.*, the cost of improvements during the last ten years has been 124,412*l.* This is an annual average of a good deal more than 20 per cent., probably fully 25 per cent., on the clear net rental enjoyed by the proprietors concerned. All over the Highlands, more or less, the same process has been going on. The valleys have to a large extent been cleared and drained, and fields of turnips are yearly extending their boundaries up the slopes of the lower hills. Comfortable farmsteads have been and are being

rapidly substituted for the rude and rickety buildings of the older system.

And to this improved and extended tillage, sheep-farming has been not a hindrance or a substitute, but a most powerful stimulant and encouragement. Dairy-farming, where it prevails, has contributed to the same result. My own impression is, not that there is too little, but that there is still rather too much cereal cultivation in the Highlands. Except in certain districts of fine land and a comparatively favourable climate, corn is not, and can never be, raised at a profit in the western Highlands except as food for cattle. But it forms, or is as yet believed to form, a necessary item in the rotation of crops, and a necessary accompaniment of the turnip-cultivation, which is essential for the feeding of all kinds of stock.

Let us now look at the general result as indicated by the state of occupation of land in the Highland counties. It seems to be commonly supposed that land in the Highlands is occupied for the most part either by great capitalists holding miles of country under sheep, or else by the old crofter class, of whose condition in the Island of Lewis we are now hearing such a deplorable account. It seems to be supposed that there is no middle class of tenantry. Of course the definition of classes is somewhat indeterminate. Let us, therefore, assume a definition for the purpose of arriving at determinate results. In the Lothians and in many other districts of high farming, a farm of 1,000*l.* a-year rent would not be reckoned in the class of large farms; neither would it be so considered among the great grazings of the North. But I will take a much lower figure, I will assume 500*l.* a-year rent as the dividing line; farms below that rental only being reckoned as belonging to the middle class—holdings between 20*l.* and 100*l.* to the class of small farms—and all below 20*l.* to the crofting class. Now here we are upon ground where the facts can be clearly ascertained, and can be represented in statistical returns, which are not only authentic but authoritative, and are accessible to all. The Valuation Roll of the counties in Scotland, made up under the provisions of the law, and upon which all county assessments are raised, shows the actual value of every holding in the county, and the aggregate value of the whole. I had the Valuation Roll of all the four counties in discussion examined some years ago (in 1865), and the following was the result:—

In Argyllshire there were 5,095 occupiers of land, and of this number only sixty-two paid above 500*l.* a-year, leaving no less than 5,033 tenants, all belonging to the middle or lower classes of occupations. Of these, again, no less than 1,882 belonged to the middle class properly so called; that is, tenants paying a rent of between 20*l.* and 500*l.* And of these again 796 lay between 100*l.* and 500*l.* I may further add, from my own knowledge and observation, though I have not

the precise return, that a very large proportion of the farms between 100*l.* and 500*l.* were really farms under 300*l.* Below 20*l.* there were no less than 3,151 crofter occupiers in the county of Argyll.

The total rental represented by the tenants above 500*l.* was 45,247*l.*, showing an average of between 700*l.* and 800*l.* a-year. The rental represented by the crofting class was 22,334*l.*. The rental represented by the classes above them was 262,899*l.* So that, in fact, if we took as our standard the state of occupancy in some of the Lowland counties, we might fairly say that the whole county of Argyll is held either by the small class or by the middle class of farmers. I may add that, having examined the Roll for the year 1881-82, I find that, whilst the total number of occupiers has diminished by about 200, there are still only 95 farms paying above 500*l.*, whilst there are 990 paying between 100*l.* and 500*l.*; 508 paying between 50*l.* and 100*l.*, whilst there are no less than 3,300 below 50*l.* rental. Of the great capitalist class of graziers, who are vulgarly supposed to monopolise the Highlands, men who pay over 1,000*l.* a year, there are only seven, and of these only two pay over 1,500*l.*, in the whole county of Argyll.

In the county of Inverness, when I last examined them, the results were not dissimilar. The total number of tenants was 4,951; and of these again only sixty-three belonged to the great capitalist class paying upwards of 500*l.* a-year; 491 were between 100*l.* and 500*l.*; 978 were between 20*l.* and 100*l.*, whilst 3,419 belonged to the crofting class. It thus appears that by far the largest portion of both counties are held by a middle class of occupiers properly so called. In Inverness the rental represented by the 3,149 crofters was only 25,191*l.*, whilst the rental represented by the three classes above them was 197,513*l.*

In Ross-shire the figures stood thus: total number of tenants 6,095. Of these only forty were above 500*l.* rent; 333 paid between 100*l.* and 500*l.*; no less than 591 between 20*l.* and 100*l.*, and 5,131 less than 20*l.* representing the crofting class. The total rental of the county was 193,000*l.*, and the crofters paid of this only 25,491*l.*

Compare this state of occupancy with that of East Lothian, long considered, and with truth, the very garden of Scotland. The agricultural rental in 1865 was 173,000*l.*, and this great rental was paid by the comparatively small number of 376 tenants; of these there were only forty-one under 20*l.*; between 20*l.* and 100*l.* there were sixty-three; between 100*l.* and 500*l.* there were 119; and above 500*l.* there were 153; so that in one of the Highland counties (Argyll) there are no less than ten times the number of the middle class of tenants that are to be found in East Lothian. I was once a proprietor myself in that splendid county; and I know the pleasure of dealing with capitalist

farmers, who paid their thousands as regularly as the dividends in the funds. But recent events may well suggest a doubt whether in the Eastern Lowlands of Scotland generally the consolidation of farms has not been somewhat excessive.

These figures prove conclusively that it is a delusion to suppose that the old crofting class of tenantry has been sacrificed in order to make way only, or even principally, for great grazing capitalists. They prove that the bulk of the Highland counties are being possessed by a middle class of tenantry, with numerous holdings which are accessible to men of comparatively small capital, and are actually held by many of the old inhabitants of the country—almost all of them above 100*l.* having the usual Scotch tenure of a nineteen years' lease.

Whilst such are the facts as regards the larger part of the Highland area, there is unfortunately another part of that area in which the facts are different, and in which there is a corresponding difference in the results. Once more from the failure of a single crop, that of potatoes, together with the effects of a single gale upon late-sown oats and barley, we hear a cry of distress and an appeal for charitable aid. And where does it come from? From the Island of Lewis, where the late Sir James Mathison poured out his immense capital like water upon the 'reclamation' of peat-mosses, and where a benevolent management has rather promoted than checked the growth of a population with a low standard of subsistence, and having no extraneous industry to depend upon, except that of fishing, which is proverbially precarious. Those who wish to understand the alarming disproportion between population and the permanent or average produce of the soil which once prevailed all over the Highlands, and which has been allowed to grow up in an exaggerated form in the Island of Lewis, should study the able and exhaustive Report, drawn up by Sir John McNeill, G.C.B., and presented to Parliament in 1851, upon the causes of Highland destitution between 1846 and that year.⁵ He shows conclusively that in numberless parishes of the west coast the whole produce of the land would not support the families which had come to live upon it, for more than a few months of the year. In Lewis the population, which at the beginning of this century stood at 9,168, has now mounted up to 25,487 in 1881. There are close upon 3,000 tenants trying to live on patches of soil worth less than 5*l.* of rent at the low rate of about 5*s.* an acre. The reclamation of the bogs has been an almost complete failure. After an outlay of 100,000*l.* the total rental, including shootings, represents little more than 14*s.* per head on the total population; and in some parishes of the island the proportion is even less. Rates and

⁵ *Report of the Board of Supervision*, by Sir John McNeill, G.C.B., 'On the Western Highlands and Islands.'

taxes amount in some cases to 9s. 4d. in the pound. This is the condition to which the whole of the Highlands would have been reduced if both the people and the proprietors had not taken warning in time. And this is the condition to which they would be reduced again, if they were to listen to the advice of those who would arrest the progress of civilisation and of improvement by establishing in the Highlands another population like that which is now living, half-starved as we are told, in the hovels of Donegal and Kerry.

ARGYLL.

‘THE CREED OF CHRISTENDOM.’¹

IF an author's special faculties cut their image most sharply on his political estimates and social speculations, his nature as a whole finds its largest expression in his religion. Even if it be merely an undisturbed tradition, the fact that this suffices for him is far from insignificant. And if it be self-formed, whether spontaneously given or deliberately thought out, it not only carries in it all the traits of the personality, but presents them in magnified scale and true proportion. Hence Mr. Greg's *Creed of Christendom*, quite apart from its merits as a theological treatise, possesses a high biographical interest; for it is a transparently *sincere* book, and lays bare the interior dealings of an eminently veracious, exact, and reverent mind with the supreme problems of human belief. In order to give it its true value as a chapter in his history, it should be taken into view not as an isolated product, but in connection with the earlier state of mind from which it recedes, and the later which speaks in the Preface to the third edition (1873). This Preface—perhaps the finest of his essays—contains his last word of doubt and faith, and probably marks the resting-place of his mind in its best vigour; for, though we have since heard from him both brighter and sadder things, they seemed to be, the one the sunshine of a passing mood, the other the expression of a growing languor and weariness of life.

The education and habits of a refined and devout Unitarian family gave him the theory of life from which his independent thought set out. Outside observers, both sceptical and mystical, have always upbraided that theory as a weak attempt to blend incompatible elements and settle the contradictions of the world by a hollow compromise, while not denying its correspondence with a certain trustworthy equilibrium of understanding and character. It may be described as essentially natural religion, enlarged and completed by a supernatural appendix. The whole of its Theism and half of its Ethics were within reach of the human reason and conscience; but of the inner side and higher range of morals—spiritual purity, forgiveness of injuries, love to the unlovely—the obligation was first impressed by the Christian revelation. And the life beyond death, vainly pursued

¹ *The Creed of Christendom*. By the late W. R. Greg.

by the dialectic of Plato and claimed by the rhetoric of Cicero, became an assured reality with the Resurrection of Christ. The universe was a mechanical system of delegated causality, instituted for beneficent and righteous ends, and, for their better attainment, not excluding fresh intercalary volitions at special crises. Thus the immediate Divine agency was invoked only to initiate and to interrupt the order of nature; the mark of its presence was always the novel & the exceptional, and it would be eternally absent did no such phenomena appear. Everything was made to hinge upon *Creation* and *Miracle*; and it was precisely with the approved evidences of these that, on the one hand the natural science, and on the other the historical criticism, of the coming age were about to make havoc.

The former of these conceptions it cost Mr. Greg but little to modify or even to sacrifice. Though he had learned at school that 'the Creation of the World' took place 4004 years before the Christian era, he had not been so drilled in the six days' cosmogony or the Ten Commandments as to indispose him to redate and redistribute the work as Lyell, Maxwell, or Darwin might require. Nor had he any difficulty, except under irritation of the *Carlylese* gospel, in substituting the idea of an Immanent Divine Causality for a Will that takes its start in time. His mind was thoroughly open to this change; but, unlike many contemporaries who have had a like experience, he carried into it the moral predicates which distinguish Theism from mere poetic Pantheism. His latest avowal on this point clears his position in these noble and modest words:—

I can find no words of adequate condemnation for the shallow insolence of men who are not ashamed to fling the name of 'atheist' on all whose conceptions of the Deity are purer, loftier, more Christian, than their own. Those who dare to dogmatise about His nature or His purposes prove by that very daring their hopeless incapacity even to grasp the skirts or comprehend the conditions of that mighty problem. Even if the human intellect could reach the truth about Him, human language would hardly be adequate to give expression to the transcendent thought. Meanwhile, recognising and realising this with an unfeigned humbleness, which yet has nothing disheartening in its spirit, my own conception—perhaps from early mental habit, perhaps from incurable and very conscious metaphysical inaptitude—approaches far nearer to the old current image of a personal God than to any of the sublimated substitutes of modern thought. Strauss's 'Universum,' Comte's 'Humanity,' even Mr. Arnold's 'Stream of Tendency that makes for Righteousness,' excite in me no enthusiasm, command from me no worship. I cannot pray to the 'Immensities' and the 'Eternities' of Carlyle. They proffer me no help; they vouchsafe no sympathy; they suggest no comfort. It may be that such a Personal God is a mere anthropomorphic creation. It may be—as philosophers with far finer instruments of thought than mine affirm—that the conception of such a Being, duly analysed, is demonstrably a self-contradictory one. But at least, in resting in it, I rest in something I almost seem to realise; at least I share the view which Jesus indisputably held of the Father whom He obeyed, communed with, and worshipped; at least I escape the indecent familiarity and the perilous rashness, stumbling now into the grotesque, now into the blasphemous, of the infallible creed-concoctors who stand confidently ready with their two-foot rule to measure

the Immeasurable, to define the Infinite, to describe in precise scholastic phraseology the nature of the Incomprehensible and the substance of the great Spirit of the universe.²

Thus, without parting with the conception of a personal God, Mr. Greg had, in 1873, modified his religious language and come to speak of Him rather as the 'Spirit of the Universe' than as its original 'Creator.' In 1845 to 1848, however, when the *Creed of Christendom* was written, he was still preoccupied by the deistical idea of the 'First Cause,' that ceased to act as soon as the system of 'Second Causes' had been set in motion; unless indeed in rare moments of miraculous re-entry, to rectify or supplement the work of nature. The question therefore of any immediate Divine agency in the mind or the history of man narrowed itself to a single point—the evidence of miracle;—for all practical purposes, the particular system of miracles recorded in the canonical Scriptures. The *Creed of Christendom* examines and rejects this evidence, and leaves all religion an inference from the natural to the supernatural, from experience to what transcends experience. The author thus renders his thought homogeneous, instead of mixed: he pushes the ground of his original Theism through his Ethics, which only half rested on it before, and his doctrine of Immortal Life, which had not even touched it; and so brings his inductive habit of intellect to inward consistency, by omitting nothing from its jurisdiction.

His inherited faith rendered this an easy—for so logical a mind an almost inevitable—process. He had been brought up among those who reject the story of the Nativity and Incarnation; and who excuse themselves for this, not by some one paramount reason susceptible of test, but by a medley of motives;—partly a critical doubt respecting date and authorship; still more, the evident discrepancies of the two narratives; most of all, the incredible nature of the miracle and its doctrine. If these are admissible grounds for rejection, they cannot be denied a far wider application: we need not shut our eyes to slight marks elsewhere of later date, or force ourselves to harmonise inconsistencies, or accept on authority statements that revolt us. The phenomena which discredit the opening chapters of Matthew and Luke may be looked for anywhere, and must be held good for the same consequences, wherever found; and there is not one of them which, to Mr. Greg's eye, failed to reappear in the sequel of that early history: the reporter of the Temptation is as little known as of the Annunciation; the accounts of the Resurrection are as irreconcilable as of the Infancy; the eschatology announced as the consummation of the Cross is even more plainly fictitious than the existence prior to the human birth. Mr. Greg's examination of the Christian records was therefore only an extension to them throughout of a

² *Creed of Christendom* (7th edition), vol. i. Intro. lxxxix.-xci.

mode of reasoning already held conclusive in a particular instance; and it was peculiarly difficult for those to answer him who had once committed themselves to the same assumptions. As if to set this difficulty in the strongest light, the attempt was made by his next older brother, the late Mr. Samuel Greg, in a long and interesting letter, afterwards (at W. R. G.'s request) appended to the second edition of his *Scenes from the Life of Jesus*. To a calm observer it is obvious at once that, if judgment were to be given only from the admitted premisses, the two brothers must agree; but that, since it is largely influenced by unformulated sentiment and affection in the elder, no argument could bring them to concur. They start together with the same principles of historical criticism: they work them out to no dissimilar results within the compass of Matthew's Gospel: but, as soon as they are applied to weaken the authority of the fourth Gospel, and to shake the story of the Resurrection, the older brother starts back with hurt enthusiasm, and insists that the true path is lost. He complains (without real ground) that here the treatment 'rapidly deteriorates' and even becomes 'very bad,' being especially censurable for taking no account of Paley's discussion of the Resurrection. There is much that is pathetic, little that is reasonable, in this parting scene. It is plainly due to disappointed sympathy, not to offended understanding: for the *Creed of Christendom* pursues its even way through the inculcated chapters with unabated care and equity of purpose; nor was the author in any way bound to notice a pleading founded, like that of Paley, on a totally different conception of the witnesses under examination. But Samuel Greg—impulsive, mystical, and tender, surrendered to ideal admirations—habitually judged an argument by its conclusion rather than the conclusion by the argument; and, prepossessed with the image of the 'beloved disciple' as the chief authority for the personality of Jesus, and haunted by the Pauline text, 'If Christ be not risen, your faith is vain,' he could not look with patience on doubts about the fourth Gospel, or on any Christian religion without the miracle of the third day. On these points the younger brother's answer is still extant in manuscript, and contains the following pregnant sentences:—

A great part of your paper seems directed against—what I assuredly am not—a man who doubts the great facts of Christ's history, and the great features of His character. I accept both in the main. And observe that, to ninety-nine out of a hundred Christians, *you* appear as completely to have missed and to deny all that is peculiar and essential in Christianity, as *I* seem to have done to you. The peculiarity and essence of Christianity lie, with them (and they are right in the main), in the doctrine of the Fall and the Atonement. If it was not a system of mysterious redemption and substitution it was, they conceive, nothing.

Now I believe that Christ lived, taught, and died, and that we have an imperfect and traditional account of His life, death, and teaching. I believe that He was the greatest and purest of those great and pure souls to whom glorious intuitions are granted, or in whom they rise, or on whom they flow. I believe that these

intuitions were to him *convictions, certainties*, and that the belief in His mission to teach them was *a part of Him*. But when you go further and affirm that He was one and the same in Matthew and in John, the same in every part of the Gospel history,—I hear such things without surprise in the pulpit, where men seldom think, and are never liable to be contradicted,—but I cannot understand their being repeated elsewhere, or having ever gained currency where men could read the Bible. Do you think that Jesus is the same in John and in Matthew? Is not the whole tone of character different?—the one teaching by simple parables, the other dealing in metaphysical enigmas; the one promising salvation only to the good, the other only to the believer; the one breathing universal love and the saintliest morality, the other full of the denouncing and damnatory spirit of Calvinism; the one *speaking* of the bread of life, the other *giving* it? Or is it the same Jesus who raises Lazarus, and who turns water into wine in Galilee, and catches money in a fish's mouth at Tiberias? Is it the same who utters the comprehensive sentence, 'He that is not against us is with us,' and the exclusive one, 'He that is not with us is against us'? Do you really think it a consistent and harmonious delineation of character to represent Jesus at one moment telling His disciples, 'Ye know not what spirit ye are of,' and the next saying, 'I give you the keys of the kingdom: whatsoever ye bind on earth shall be bound in heaven,' &c. That you *may* form, and that I *have* formed, a consistent and harmonious conception of the Jesus who was the original of these pictures, is true enough. But it is equally true that you must form this by throwing out much and modifying more.

The *Creed of Christendom* was essentially a refutation of the Protestant claim of infallible authority for the Bible as the organ of supernatural revelations. With the help of such secondary sources as were available in English at the time (1851)—mainly Theodore Parker's translation of De Wette's Introduction—the author resolves the Old Testament into its component elements, each with its literary history and its vestiges of natural growth. From the Pentateuch especially he selects, in sufficient number, the phenomena of repetition, of contradiction, of anachronism, which mark a simply human product. And the Prophecies are so far examined as to divest them of their supposed Messianic character, or at least of all predictive reference to the Evangelic story. By distinguishing the later from the earlier thought, the Theism of the Jews is shown to have been of gradual formation, under the evident pressure of historical causes, instead of falling from heaven ready-made at the outset. These inquiries are pursued no further than is needful in order to invalidate the claim of oracular inspiration for the Hebrew Scriptures, and, in particular, to break the link of prophecy which is supposed to unite two 'dispensations' in one supernatural continuity. The logical effect is not only to withdraw a defence from the apologist, but to constitute an attack upon his position: for, if the alleged vaticinations have no existence but from misinterpretation or the fiction of a 'double sense,' the New Testament writers, in resorting to them, knew not what they said; and, while failing to make out the prophet's inspiration, directly disproved their own. The early Christian missionary who, like Peter or Stephen, assailed the unbelieving Jews with Messianic citations from their sacred books, put

himself therefore distinctly in the wrong, and naturally stiffened the necks which he wished to bend. Not, indeed, that the Jews understood their Scriptures any better than the Christian disciple, but they could easily see, in his case of definite and historical misfit, the error which lay hid in their own indefinite and ideal expectation. They were perfectly justified in disowning the Messiahship of Jesus.

Proceeding to the Greek Scriptures, Mr. Greg limits his examination to the Gospels; and, having described the phenomena of identity and difference, both verbal and substantive, which bring the three Synoptics into a related group, he explains them by Schleiermacher's hypothesis, that each Gospel is a 'compilation from a variety of fragmentary narratives and reports of discourses and conversations, oral or written, which were current in Palestine from thirty to forty years after the death of Jesus.' The original materials thus become anonymous, and may comprise, in unknown proportion, the notes of eye- and ear-witnesses and transmitted memories from hearsay; and the aggregate, however innocent the process of its growth, cannot have a higher character than that of popular tradition. All the Synoptics are accordingly shown to bear the marks of such fallible tradition; in their deviating accounts of the same transaction or the same saying; in their inaccuracies of time and place and citation; in their recital of some things which Jesus could not have done or said; and in the traces they betray of ideas and controversies belonging to the next generation. The analysis which brings out these features, without professing to be original or complete, suffices for its end: it wins for the author the right to handle freely a biographical sketch so little secured by known personal attestation and so open to mythical additions and emotional colouring; and to apply to it a discriminative criticism founded partly on general laws of historical and psychological probability, partly on special internal marks of pure truth or relative fidelity.

This right, however, cannot, on the same grounds, be exercised upon the fourth Gospel: for here we have no compiler's tissue of floating anecdotes and sayings, but the continuous production of an original hand, uniform in design, consistent in execution, and strikingly peculiar in its historical painting; and if it be the bequest of an apostle, it has at least the claims inseparable from first-hand testimony, and cannot be called in question without imputing personal incompetency. Mr. Greg half evades this invidious necessity by declining the question of authorship, instead of wholly escaping it by referring the book to the post-apostolic age. On the point whether John wrote it he has 'no opinion;' but that it is unhistorical he is sure; chiefly on account of its contrast with the Synoptics; so that they, with all their uncertainties, serve as a rule of superior truth for its comparative condemnation. It must be confessed that there is here something gratuitously disrespectful in treating as perhaps

apostolic that which is wholly untrustworthy; and that it would have been better to accept, as evidences of considerably later origin, the internal peculiarities—of doctrine, of chronology, of biographical material and scenery, and of personal delineation—which so strongly excite the critic's disaffection. That the book should be written with a dogmatic rather than an historic purpose may not be incompatible with its reputed authorship. But that a constant companion of the ministry of Jesus should shift it almost wholly to a new theatre; should never come across a demoniac and never tell a parable; should remember nothing about the 'Kingdom of Heaven' and the 'Coming of the Son of Man'; should have forgotten the last Passover of the 'little flock,' with its institution of the Communion, and have occupied those festival hours with the Crucifixion instead; should have lost the Master's terse maxims and sweet images of life, thrown out in homely dialogue, and have fancied in their place elaborate monologues, darkened with harsh and mystic paradox,—is so utterly against nature as to forfeit the rank of an admissible hypothesis. To this conclusion Mr. Greg himself was brought by subsequent study of one of these features, viz. the silence of this Gospel as to the 'Lord's Supper' and its identification in date of the Crucifixion with the Passover; so that he threw his final conclusion into this form:—

The dilemma seems to be inescapable: *either* John did not write the fourth Gospel—in which case we have the direct testimony of no eye-witness to the facts and sayings of Christ's ministry—*or*, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, as deduced from the Synoptical accounts, with the special doctrines of sacramental grace to partakers of it, and of the Atonement (as far as it is warranted or originally was suggested by those words of Christ), becomes the baseless fabric of a vision.³

The Gospels, thus divested of personal authority, and preserving only an assemblage of anonymous traditions, can no longer authenticate their contents as supernatural or even historical truth. Their mixed elements lie open to the reason and conscience, to be dealt with by a process of 'Christian eclecticism' which shall winnow the perishable chaff from the reproductive grain. It is a matter of course that the miracles are the first sacrifice to this process; not as being intrinsically incredible, but as being inadequately attested; and, moreover, as proving neither doctrine nor duty, even if proved themselves; in conformity with Locke's maxim, that 'the miracles are to be judged by the doctrine, and not the doctrine by the miracles.'

The unique importance in the primitive Christianity of the belief in Christ's Resurrection draws from Mr. Greg two special discussions of its earliest expression. In his first edition, he reviews the alleged incidents of the story in the order of their occurrence; starting therefore from the empty sepulchre and ending with the vision on the

³ *Creed of Christendom* (7th edition), vol. ii. p. 52, note.

Damascus road; and here he is concerned mainly with the Gospel narratives and the value of their evidence. In his Preface to the third edition he begins at the other end, on the ground that the first witness to speak reports the last thing that is told; that for us Paul is beforehand with every one in breaking the news of the risen Jesus; and that, if we are to learn the genesis of a belief, we must study the order of its expression by believers, and not of the events believed. Even this amended treatment does not place us within hearing of the tale till more than twenty years after the miracle it relates, the First Epistle to the Corinthians being written A.D. 57; but it brings us a stage nearer the germ of the tradition than the Synoptics; the earliest of which embodies the hearsay of the Church some fifteen years after. What we get by collecting together all that is said on the subject in the historical books is the *final* form of the story after it has received all the accretions of rumour. What we at least approach by consulting the undoubted words of Paul—the personal convert of the risen Christ—is the *initial* type of this marvellous belief. The apostle's words, 'Last of all, He was seen of me also,' suggest, as Mr. Greg remarks, if they do not imply, a *vision* which he identified with the objective image of the Crucified (whose person there is no reason to suppose he had ever known); and the same word (*ὡφθῆναι*, He let Himself appear) is applied to all the other appearances of which he speaks at second-hand. This brief intimation is indeed slighter even than Mr. Greg supposed; for, assuming it to refer to the conversion on the way to Damascus, he filled it in with all the scenery of that event as described in the Acts of the Apostles—a book of far later date, and exhibiting the Christian tradition in the post-Pauline form of the next generation, ulterior even to the Synoptic records. Within the limits of the apostle's testimony we gain no idea of a *bodily* resurrection and temporary return to outward intercourse with the disciples; it is an *inward* process which he describes when he speaks to the Galatians of his conversion—'When it pleased God, who separated me from my mother's womb and called me by his grace, to reveal his Son in me.' To this point then, and no further, we can securely trace the symptoms of the doctrine that was to be—viz. an intense conviction, due to some inward experience or vision of intuitive thought, that he who had hung upon the cross on Calvary was now reserved in higher existence for ends which He was revealing to the minds of his disciples: 'He had been put to death indeed in the flesh, but made alive again in the spirit' (1 Peter iii. 18).

The difficulty of explaining this intense conviction, if it does not rest upon palpable fact, Mr. Greg freely admits, in terms even superfluously strong:—

Now, if this were all—if we had no further testimony to the resurrection of Jesus from the dead, than that it was believed by the whole original Christian Church; that the apostles and personal followers of Christ, who must be supposed

to have had the best means of knowing it, clung to the conviction enthusiastically, and witnessed to it by their preaching and their death; and that Paul, not a personal follower, but in constant communication with those who were, made the above assertions (1 Cor. xv. 3-8) in a letter addressed to one of the principal churches, and published while most of the eye-witnesses to whom he appeals were still alive to confirm or to contradict his statements,—if the case rested on this only, and terminated here, every one, I think, would feel that our grounds for accepting the Resurrection as an historical fact in its naked simplicity would be far stronger than they actually are. In truth, they would appear to be nearly unassailable and irresistible, except by those who can imagine some probable mode in which such a positive and vivifying conviction could have grown up without the actual occurrence having taken place to create it.⁴

Why then does Mr. Greg not yield to evidence so 'nearly irresistible'? Because, on turning to 'the actual occurrence' which seems alone adequate to explain the belief, he finds it related in several ways so little consistent, that 'we cannot frame any theory whatever as to the Resurrection which is not distinctly negatived by one or other of the evangelical accounts:' so that 'if the occurrence were to rest only on the Gospel narratives, rational belief would be almost out of the question.' And this position he makes good by a skilful, but perfectly fair, comparison of the mixed traditions which the evangelists have brought together in their closing chapters for the discomfiture of harmonists.

Forcible, however, as the contrast is between the persuasive enthusiasm of the apostles and the irreconcilable recitals of the evangelists, it is not clear that an inference fairly warranted by the one is forthwith cancelled by the other. If it ever be right to say that nothing short of a real Resurrection supplies an adequate cause for the belief, it will not cease to be so merely because tradition has confused the reality, and rendered its true form irrecoverable. To justify Mr. Greg's negative conclusion, the previous positive concessions must be reduced in strength. Partly from a liberal wish to grant the most, partly from too easy acceptance of the ecclesiastical pictures in the Book of Acts, he has, perhaps, overstated the suddenness, the intensity, the solidity, of the first disciples' faith in the bodily resurrection of Jesus, and His ascension to heaven. And had he been willing to take the allowance of time which only an untrustworthy tradition denies him, he would have found room for the possible growth of this belief from hints of Messianic prophecy, applied to One who was the centre of an infinite love and grief, and who was far too holy 'to see corruption.' That Paul declares the 'rising again on the third day' to be 'according to the Scriptures,' and that Peter and Philip and Paul perpetually argue, in their missionary speeches, as reported in the Book of Acts, in favour of the suffering and risen Christ, from the testimony of 'all the prophets,' may surely be taken as some index to the source and formation of the belief.

⁴ *Creed of Christendom* (7th edition), vol. i. Pref. xxvii.-xxviii.

As soon as it became a divine axiom that 'so it was to be,' the step was not far to the conception that 'so it doubtless is.' There is no need to suppose it taken all at once. Four or five years elapsed ere the inward light broke upon the Apostle of the Gentiles; and we receive from him the first traces of the current tradition after a quarter of a century of fading memories and brightening imaginations. With such ample time to move in, it cannot be deemed impossible for an assured faith in Messiah's heavenly life to generate its own incidents of confirmation. Mr. Greg points out the many curious vestiges which the tradition retains of its own early stage of doubt and visionary impression; the sudden apparition of the risen Jesus in the midst of the disciples 'when the doors were shut;' His equally sudden 'vanishing out of sight' from the evening meal at Emmaus; the consequent flash of conviction on Cleopas and his companion that it was *He*, though during hours of previous talk 'their eyes were holden that they should not know Him;' the fright of the eleven, 'thinking they had seen a spirit;' and the 'doubts of some' who met Him by appointment on the Galilean mountain.⁵ With such indications of a half-way stage of phantasmic or semi-etherial phenomena between Messianic prepossession and crystallised history, the intense conviction of the early Christians can hardly be pronounced beyond the reach of a process of natural development.

Mr. Greg was too clear a thinker to imagine that in parting with the bodily Resurrection of Christ he lost either any needful authority for His teaching, or any evidence of a future life. As for the former, Jesus Himself declared that men had plenty of religious authority without it: 'If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they hear, though one rose from the dead.' And to the latter, if otherwise unknown, no conclusion can possibly be drawn from an instance confessedly official, personal, and unique, in which the fact alleged, instead of being incident to the common human nature, and therefore typical for us all, is distinctive of an individual who has no second in the course of time; an instance in which every particular of mode, of date, of sequel, is demonstrably absent from the deaths familiar to our homes. A misunderstood argument, read at every funeral, that if, within the apostolic generation, Christ was to come to a millennial reign on earth over His disciples, He must have been called from death, and be living in heaven, and that, *vice versâ*, if He be living in heaven, it is that He may come for this end and assimilate His disciples to Himself, has been wrongly carried over to quite another subject, so as to confuse the sublimest hope of the human heart in every age with the obsolete scenes of the Messianic drama. It is hard to say whether the apostle's reasoning or the faith in eternal life has suffered the greater wrong from their forced partnership.

⁵ *Op. cit.* vol. i. xxx.-xxxiii.

Mr. Greg's historical eclecticism then unconditionally drops all that is miraculous and dismisses the whole conception of oracular dictation of truth and duty. Other credentials they cannot have than the inward pleas which suffice for Reason as the organ of truth, nor other authority than that which commands the conscience as the organ of Duty. But a purely *human* history, that borrows no voices from the skies, and sends no demons into the abyss, may be profoundly efficacious as a moral and spiritual power; and such has been, and must for ever be, the life, the thought, the character of Jesus Christ.

On this subject (says Mr. Greg) we hope our confession of faith will be acceptable to all, save the narrowly orthodox. It is difficult, without exhausting superlatives even to unexpressive and wearisome satiety, to do justice to our intense love, reverence, and admiration for the character and teaching of Jesus. We regard Him not as the perfection of the intellectual or philosophical mind, but as the perfection of the spiritual character, as surpassing all men of all times in the closeness and depth of His communion with the Father. In reading His sayings, we feel that we are holding converse with the wisest, purest, noblest Being that ever clothed thought in the poor language of humanity. In studying His life, we feel that we are following the footsteps of the highest ideal yet presented to us on earth.⁶

The author who writes under such a feeling may well protest against being regarded as an alien from Christianity, and place himself rather among its restorers; for

Christianity was not in its origin a series of sententious propositions, nor a code of laws, nor a system of doctrine, nor a 'scheme' of salvation, but the outcome and combination of a holy life, a noble death, a wonderfully pure and perfect character and nature, a teaching at once self-proving and sublime—the whole absolutely unique in their impressive loveableness.⁷

This impressive image, however, is not reached without a process of *moral* eclecticism as searching as the previous *historical*: partly to clear away from the reported words of Jesus the accretions of later tradition; and partly, also, to subtract from His authentic teachings such imperfect or erroneous elements as they owed not to His personality, but to His place and time. Even after these discriminations have been made, and the proper characteristics of the Christian ideal of life are set forth into distinct light, Mr. Greg finds elements among them which he cannot unreservedly accept, and which, so far as they are treated as obligatory, he regards as inconsistent with the well-being of society. These objectionable features are five: (1) Non-resistance to violence; (2) Almsgiving; (3) Avoidance of providence and forethought; (4) Condemnation of riches; (5) Communism.

In the presence of many pious Eutopias, of Quakerism, of mendicant orders, of counsels of perfection and vows of poverty, of convents and agapemones, we cannot pronounce it superfluous to expose once

* *Op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 168.

* *Op. cit.* vol. i. p. xlv.-xlvii.

more the mischievous perversions of duty covered by these several heads; and in Mr. Greg's performance of this task the firm hand of the political economist never escapes the control of a true moral insight. Few readers will find anything to challenge in his vindication of thrift and saving; of force, disciplinary, penal, and defensive; of acquiescence in an unequal distribution of property; and of rigorous care in the administration of alms. But they may feel some surprise that, in thus teaching them, he supposes himself to be making them unchristian, and withdrawing them into a foreign or pagan code; that, in short, he identifies Christianity with each one in turn of the fanaticisms which he is rebuking. It would seem as if he were bark-bound still by the literalism that lingers on a sacred text, and felt the same spell that exercised and fixed the extreme sects of Christendom. Are not the precepts distinct and specific?—you cannot pare them away:—‘I say unto you, that ye resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also.’ Yes; but to whom are they addressed?—not to mankind at large, or to the future members of a gathered Christendom, or even to the associates of the same evangelised community in their relations with each other; but to the ‘little flock’ environed by a hostile world, the ‘sheep among wolves,’ the bearers of a message which was sure to be met by hate and scorn and contumely, and which yet to the hearers was charged (it was supposed) with the difference between ruin and rescue. To a modern missionary also, or even a private Christian, going to his duties in an alien society, to be watched by a cordon of suspicious eyes, and within reach of innumerable forces poised to strike, no wiser counsel could be given than this commendation of the patient and passionless temper. The more closely and truly an injunction of duty fits the concrete conditions of person and scene to which it is addressed, the more certainly disqualified must it be for serving as a clause in a universal code.

The same method of historical instead of abstract interpretation accounts simply enough for the discouragement of prudential ‘thought for the morrow.’ The vision of a ‘kingdom of God,’ under the influence of which the rule of life was shaped for the disciples, was the vision of a world in its last days, whose ‘morrow’ was not temporal, but eternal, and whose wants and wealth had scarce an hour’s survival. The future which erects prudence into a virtue was cut off; there was no next generation, no ‘continuing city,’ no growing commonwealth of letters and arts to provide for; and during the brief suspense what could be wiser, especially for the prophets and heralds of the crisis, than to anticipate the temper of the promised age and surrender the heart to its divine trusts and affections? Paul, repeating the lesson, gives the reason. It is because ‘the time is short,’ that ‘they who weep should be as though they wept not, and they who rejoice as though they rejoiced not, and they who buy as

though they possessed not.' It is because 'the fashion of this world is passing away,' that he 'would have (his Corinthians) without carefulness.'⁸ For a permanent constitution of things these precepts are not intended; or, if ever they seem to be so, they spring from a feeling that it is still true, viz. that in its temporal industries, a religious will, instead of stimulating the gainful impulse beyond its natural measure, must have no anxiety but for its righteous regulation and control. Mr. Greg did not overlook the fact that 'all these exhortations to lay up treasures in heaven, and not on earth, were delivered under the prevailing impression that the Kingdom of Heaven, where all things would be differently ordered, was close at hand.' But if, instead of coming in as an afterthought relegated to a note, it had been present to him with its full significance from the first, he would have found no contradiction between Jesus and the political economists, but have distinguished them as legislating for different worlds.

In making Christianity responsible for favouring, and even instituting, communism, Mr. Greg has the plain warrant of the Book of Acts. The Church of Jerusalem, it is there said, 'had all things in common;' the disciples 'sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all, as every man had need.'⁹ 'As many as were possessors of land or houses sold them, and brought the proceeds and laid them down at the apostles' feet; and distribution was made to every man according as he had need.'¹⁰ And so far as this picture has been contemplated with reverence in after times, and set up as the ideal of a perfect society, it has undoubtedly imparted a communistic tendency to Christian benevolence. The picture, however, is a romantic reproduction of forgotten facts; and, like other contents of the same book, is wholly inconsistent with authentic vestiges in the Epistles of the condition and habitudes of the early Church. In the Pauline exhortations the co-existence of the rich and the poor is everywhere assumed as the ground of special relative duties; the apostle promises in his missionary travels 'to remember the poor;' he collects for them in the wealthier cities, desiring each householder to lay by statedly in proportion to his ability, 'as God hath prospered him;' he recognises the relation of master and slave as compatible with the discipleship of both. Nor are these indications found only in the sphere of Gentile Christianity, which perhaps could not admit the communism of Jerusalem. It is precisely the Judaic and ascetic James, who, in his Ebionitish invective against wealth, betrays its presence and its contrasts in the parent Church: 'For if there come unto your assembly a man with a gold ring, in goodly apparel, and there come in also a poor man in vile raiment; and ye have respect to him that weareth the gay clothing, and say unto him, Sit thou here in a good place; and say to the

⁸ 1 Cor. vii. 29-32.⁹ Acts ii. 44, 45.¹⁰ *Ibid.* iv. 34, 35.

poor, Stand thou there, or sit here under my footstool: are ye not partial in yourselves?'¹¹ Among the many errors of the first disciples we have not to reckon the vain attempt to push the spiritual brotherhood of men into expression by temporal equality; and if in 'the general tone of Christ's exhortations' Mr. Greg finds a 'tendency in that direction,' it means no more than the compassionate sorrow with which He looked on a great nature sunk into a grievous lot, and divine affections suppressed by the tyranny, now of luxury, and now of misery. Whoever is susceptible of such compassion and able to stand clear of the semblances of life, must at times have dreamed, like Plato, of a model republic stored in heaven, where righteousness meets no hindrance more. But none the less is he aware that the model will not come down and rest upon an earth constituted like ours. It can but fix the eye and kindle the heart of those who slowly shorten the interval between the possible and the real.

All these mistaken enthusiasms Mr. Greg has admirably exposed. He has rightly charged them on the Christian Scriptures; but not rightly, as we think, on the religion of Christ, his allegiance to which might, with full warrant from historical truth, have remained exempt from the allowances and attenuations exacted by their presence.

It is the function of the eclectic critic to amend a faith but not to win it. So long as Mr. Greg, under guidance of his firm intellect and conservative moral reverence, works at the correction of error and the simplification of Christian belief, what he saves is pure and high and adequate to the practical needs of a nature veracious, affectionate, and devout. But criticism gets through its materials and comes to the verge at last; and then, if the residuary religion is to be held on any better tenure than inheritance or unconscious sympathy, it must become the object of other modes of thought than those which have hitherto sufficed. Whether to sink or swim, you are thrown off the edge into the metaphysic deeps, and must find some isle in them or perish. Metaphysics, they say, are barren; but the decrying of metaphysics is more barren still. It was one of Mr. Greg's genuine liberalities that, with a conscious inappreciation of metaphysical speculation, he did not disparage it in others, flinging his own defect as a stone of offence against them. Deeply as we respect the natural ethics and religion realised in the personality of Christ, which he saved by the eclectic process, we cannot say that, when independently tried by philosophic tests, it seems to us quite coherent and complete. Thoroughly imbued with the scientific conception of inflexible law, and applying it in the same sense of mechanical necessity to all atoms and all minds, to the phenomena of perception and those of will, he surrounded himself with a perfectly

¹¹ James ii. 2-4.

determinate universe in which there was no alternative, and nothing was possible except the actual. On this plane of thought, the ethical life, it is obvious, becomes homogeneous with the physical, and *obligation* to this or that type of character can belong as little to man as to the horse. Yet the moral affections, it cannot be denied, are something quite different from the admirations and repulsions excited by the animal genera of natural history; and still more is the shame of guilt unlike the consciousness of a humpback or a squint. All that lifts human affection above mere sympathy and antipathy, all that gives it ideality and nobleness, the glow of approval, the enthusiasm of right, the surrender of reverence assumes precisely what has here no room to be. To some extent, Mr. Greg admitted this, and with a pathetic courage made the necessary sacrifice. He curtailed his Christianity of three features, all of them present in its 'Paternoster'—Repentance, Forgiveness of Sins, and Prayer; the first because the Sin, the second because the Penalty, the third because the Future is necessarily predetermined. He felt and owned the harshness of his conclusion.

It is a conclusion from which the feelings of almost all of us shrink and revolt. The strongest sentiment of our nature, perhaps, is that of our helplessness in the hands of fate, and against this helplessness we seek for a resource in the belief of our dependence on a Higher Power, which can control and will interfere with fate. And though our reason tells us that it is inconceivable that the entreaties of creatures as erring and as blind as we are can influence the all-wise purposes of God, yet we feel an internal voice, more potent and persuasive than reason, which assures us that to pray to Him in trouble is an irrepressible instinct of our nature—an instinct which precedes teaching, which survives experience, which defies philosophy.

For sorrow oft the cry of faith
In bitter need will borrow.¹²

May it not be that what is here treated as a conflict of faculties is nothing but an inconsistency of theory?—that, having put himself under guidance of a philosophy which mechanises the world, Mr. Greg is agitated and perplexed by the inrush of experiences that moralise it?—and that then, when he tries to put them under a formula that will not hold them, he calls the formula 'Reason,' and the experiences 'Rebels' against it? Better surely to let the formula be content with its own physical business, and allow what is unconformable to it to live by its own different rule. In truth, some freedom—*i.e.* alternative agency, in the mind of men and in the mind of God—is the vital root of all morals and all religion; and if that root be withered, it is not only that repentance, and forgiveness, and prayer are cast away as dead branches, but that duty itself cannot come to life, or any sap flow into the affections to make them blossom into enthusiasm of worship. No one is more sensitive than Mr. Greg to the blight

¹² *Op. cit.* vol. ii. pp. 200, 201.

upon the ethical life and the pieties of conscience induced by 'Antinomianism' and 'Calvinism' (inaccurately identified with Paulinism); yet he fails to recognise the same essential features in his own doctrine of 'irreversible decrees.' His strong moral affections and practical faith in goodness cut short the logic of his theory, and let him go no further than the vestibule of its consequences. But few as those steps are, have they not taken him too far from that mood of intense reverence and love for the teaching, life, and spirit of Christ, in virtue of which he claims the place of a disciple? Strike out from that teaching all that turns upon 'forgiveness;' from that life, all its dealings with 'repentance;' from that spirit, all its breathings of 'prayer,'—and would the materials for so great a veneration be unimpaired? Would not the tenderest traits have been erased, the most spiritual characteristics have disappeared? Do not these things enter into every scene that is pathetic and sublime, and touch the very secret that renders that figure 'unique in its impressive loveableness'?

Perhaps the most memorable example of Mr. Greg's combination of critical intellect with conservative feeling is afforded by the final chapter on 'the great enigma,' the question of a future life. His fastidious and exacting reason rends all the proofs to tatters; but the thing proved remains on him still as a seamless robe: he cannot divest himself of it; it is no integument fabricated by art, but an organic part of his nature. If there are no *better* grounds for hope than other people find, the grave *must* have the victory; but he boldly dispenses with *definable* grounds, and claims the life to come as intuitively *known*. This is the more remarkable, because in general *his modes* of thought take the moulds of the empirical philosophy, and tend to complete distrust of all data except of 'knowledge in the making;' and it is something new to find him verging towards a doctrine of ready-made 'first truths.' And the occasion of the change contains a peculiarity which renders it more impressive. What is accepted in philosophy as *intuitive* apprehension is usually something present in immediate consciousness, either as involved in it or as cause of it; so that the intuition and its object co-exist, and their relation may conceivably enough be and be known at one and the same time. Thus it is in any theory, like Malebranche's, of interplay between human cognition and the divine ideas, or any assertion of immediate knowledge of God. But to have 'intuition' of a *future* life, I must know what now is not and only *is to be*: it is no immediate apprehension, but a prophetic vision of something which will hereafter come true. This surely is as much a departure from the legitimate scope of the word as if I were to claim intuitive knowledge of the place of Moses's burial, or of what happened before I was born. The following passage affects us with a certain surprise, as coming from Mr. Greg, and seems to have the tincture rather of Francis Newman's thought:—

The truth we believe to be, that a future existence is, and must be, a matter of information, or intuition, not of inference. The intellect may imagine it, but could never have discovered it, and can never prove it; the soul must have revealed it; must, and does, perpetually reveal it. It is a matter which comes properly within the cognisance of the soul—of that spiritual sense to which on such topics we must look for information, as we look to our bodily senses for information touching the things of earth—things that lie within their province. We never dream of doubting what they tell us of the external world, though a Berkeley should show us that their teaching is at variance with, or indefensible by, logic. We therefore at once cut the Gordian knot by conceding to the soul the privilege of instructing us as to the things of itself; we apply to the spiritual sense for information on spiritual things. We believe there is no other solution of the question.¹³

Be it so. No doubt need be thrown on the fact of this inward revelation. Only, in describing it, we may ask leave to treat it, in spite of its apparent spontaneity, as an unconscious inference rather than as the vision of a seer. Groundless prophecies, vaticinations of distant scenes, it is not the business of the soul to make. But estimates of its own spiritual experiences, forecasts from its own moral states, measurement of its own range of possibility—of the scale of its aspirations, the capacity of its affections—all these it effects with the instinctive certainty with which every living organ feels its own function and goes at it; and within these are contained a number of continuous processes, so relating the present to the future, and making such demands on time, as to take no more notice of death than of night, and look for the morrow as unsevered from the day. 'The spiritual sense' cannot pass *per saltum* across the chasm between life visible and life invisible. Some bridge of idea there must be—something at hand as a point of departure and line of direction—some felt disproportion, it may be, between the requirements of thought and conscience and their achievements, the length of work and its measured hours; and whatever faith is comprised in such consciousness is essentially *inference*, though inextricably woven into its texture, and incapable of being withdrawn from its pattern to be annexed as its fringe. It may even be suspected that in Mr. Greg's own mind the immortal hope, which seemed to him as the flash of a new-born star, was not without relation to those very reasonings which he dismisses as nebulous and lustreless. In the genesis of the deepest natural beliefs, the mind follows a subtle logic too quick and composite for memory to photograph: explicit language halts after it in vain and turns out only some blotch of a paralogism; and then, naturally enough, the affronted belief disowns its pretended proof and sets up for itself. The most rooted convictions are precisely those of which we find it hardest to offer adequate evidence; we seem to wrong them by the poor attempt, and retire from it with the shame of discomfiture. From too hasty surrender to this experience, Mr. Greg has hardly

¹³ *Op. cit.* vol. ii. pp. 271, 272.

made the best, we think, of the reasoned case for a future life; he puts it conscientiously, but like an advocate who does not expect to convince, but means to win by a *tour de force* which he alone knows to be in reserve. And there is something touching in the eager relief with which he escapes from the strain of his long rationalistic labours by a final rush into the arms of intuition.

The only occasions on which a shade of doubt has passed over my conviction of a future existence have been when I have rashly endeavoured to make out a case, to give a reason for the faith that is in me, to assign ostensible and logical grounds for my belief. At such times, and still more when I have heard others attempting to prove the existence of a future world by arguments which could satisfy no one by whom arguments were needed, I confess that a chill dismay has often struck into my heart, and a fluctuating darkness has lowered down upon my creed, to be dissipated only when I had again left inference and induction far behind, and once more suffered the soul to take counsel with itself.

This appears to me the only foundation on which the belief in a future life can legitimately rest, to those who do not accept a miraculous external revelation. *Et tibi magna satis.* It is a belief anterior to reasoning, independent of reasoning, unprovable by reasoning; and yet *as no logic can demonstrate its unsoundness*, or can bring more than negative evidence to oppose to it, I can hold it with a simplicity, a tenacity, an undoubting faith, which is never granted to the conclusions of the understanding. *Là, où finit le raisonnement, commence la véritable certitude.*¹⁴

JAMES MARTINEAU.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.* vol. ii. pp. 273, 274.

THE THEATRICAL REVIVAL.

EIGHTEEN years ago, when I was a country boy, enjoying London on a holiday visit, I made a naïve remark to a man of mind and to a young man who aimed to be fashionable. I asked them whether it was often that they went to the theatre. The young man who aimed to be fashionable said, 'Never,' and looked unspeakably supercilious. I had been guilty of a social mistake. The man of mind treated the question with that gentle silence which is perhaps the best rebuke of folly. Those were the bad times of the English stage. The stage was neglected. The Keans had retired, and so had Helen Faucit. A somewhat spasmodic appreciation of the poetical drama had completely disappeared. We had two actresses of individuality and grace—Miss Herbert and Miss Kate Terry—but it was not easy to reconcile the public to the dramas in which these artists were best fitted to play. A performance like Miss Herbert's in the *Merry Widow* would now draw the town for six months, surely, and the refined realism of Miss Kate Terry, exceptional as it was, even then, in its popularity, would nowadays ensure her a triumph scarcely then dreamt of. We had many excellent actors, but of these there happened to be hardly one who had not long ago exhausted his first freshness; Mr. Fechter's blond wig was, it is true, still a sensation, but the world had tired of Phelps's services at Sadler's Wells; Buckstone and Compton were eclipsed at the Haymarket by the eccentric success of Sothorn; Charles Mathews, an actor who moved with unequalled ease in narrow limits, and beyond them could not move at all, sought his profit in the provinces, where older tastes lingered and finished light comedy was yet acceptable; Benjamin Webster was already in the background, already approaching old age. Alfred Wigan seemed about the only link between the theatre and that population of Mayfair and the great country houses which calls itself 'society.' In the matter of authorship those were still the days when the French stage was so far out of the ken of most of us that adaptations were wont to be not only new but 'original.' The native dramatist, when not engaged in that peculiar process of creation which he best understood, was likely to be bestowing himself on the

business of devising some popular and break-neck leap for a hero of melodrama. Tom Taylor, who might have written yet better than he did if he had written less, was busy, before breakfast, with dramatic authorship, in which literature was not forgotten. And there was just arising, by way of reaction from what was noisy and what was artificial, some work destined afterwards to be accepted very warmly and then to be wearied of by some, and found insufficient. I mean the stage work of Mr. Robertson. There was a certain resemblance between that work and the work of our modern præ-Raphaelites in painting. Each was a work of revolt from conventionality both good and bad. Each had simplicity and freshness, and each was trivial. In each there was a magnifying of insignificant detail, a failure to see a subject largely, to see it as a whole.

Well, my man of mind and my young man who aimed to be fashionable are still living, and abroad in the town; the elder would be sorry now to miss a first night at the Lyceum, and the younger is to be reckoned with the innumerable host who become hushed in the presence of Miss Ellen Terry. What is it that has wrought the change in their social habits? What has made it the right thing to resort diligently and with enthusiasm to the places which eighteen years ago it was the right thing to in the main ignore? The answer to the question cannot be given in a sentence. Any true answer must be neither sanguine nor cynical, and it must take account of many things. Above all, it must recognise how quickly an effect may itself become a cause: by action and reaction the change has been wrought; the London world has acted on the theatre, and the theatre has acted on the London world.

Perhaps dramatic authorship is the matter about which, in thinking of the present or the immediate future of the English theatre, we must still be the least sanguine. For, though the name of Alfred Tennyson was figuring but lately on a play-bill, it is yet true, speaking broadly, that the highest class of English imaginative writing goes only into prose fiction or into a few volumes of English poetry. How this may be we hardly stop to ask, though at once there can be seen two strong reasons for it; the first, that with many the idea is still a comparatively new one that English intellect and the stage need not live wholly apart; the second, that while the writer of narrative fiction may shape his work almost in what form he will, the writer of a drama to be acted must submit to the necessary exactions of the stage. The mere mechanism of theatrical writing is a thing of extreme difficulty. Even the length of the piece is practically dictated; one story must entertain the audience from half-past eight till eleven. A division into three acts is dictated. That division is almost inevitable; but again further division into scenes is strictly inadmissible, or you unduly multiply the work for the carpenter and the scene painter. Again, the time

that must needs be consumed in changes of costume is a thing for the author to remember. The exits and entrances—all the coming and going—there must be adroit provision for them. Yet, further, though the custom of engaging a company specially for an important piece, or at the least of modifying the company to suit its requirements, is gaining ground, it is still a difficulty to duly consider everybody in the writing of the parts. The dramatist finds fetters here, as he finds them nearly everywhere else. The novelist is wholly unfettered. Without attempting to account exhaustively I have perhaps said something towards accounting for the habitual absence from the acted drama of the highest English imaginative writing. Again, the dramatist needs above all things a most unusual practical familiarity with the stage.

Our most accustomed dramatic writers—I speak particularly of the writers of the serious plays—are, then, writers of the second rank. Among pure humorists who contribute to the theatre there is to be reckoned one wit of the first water, Mr. Burnand. But even he, in his theatrical work, occasionally forgets what is really the quality of his talent. Among those living writers of full middle age whose work has long been before the public Mr. Charles Reade is the only one who is a novelist of importance as well as a dramatist. He is a writer who has always made so much of the mechanism of his art, and of vigorous effects, that there is nothing surprising in his acted dramas having won a fair measure of success. Several of his most marked characteristics can be displayed quite as well in a play as in a novel, and tell as well in the one as in the other. Thomas Hardy is a novelist of subtle and peculiar genius—genius so potent that if he chooses to exercise it in the yet unfamiliar medium of the theatre it may come to be very influential and acceptable there. A literary flavour is to be discerned in the stage writing of Mr. W. G. Wills. Mr. Wills once wrote a novel; his plays are poetical, his leanings more towards the art of literature than towards the mechanism of the stage. But, being apparently without the gift of powerful invention either of story or of character, he is neither forcible playwright nor strong poet. His verse stands between the verse of all the facile poetasters and that of the few men now living whose poetry was worth publishing because it is great and their own. He is always tasteful—nay, he would have been more popular if his taste had been less excellent. His taste has endowed him more than once with an artistic courage, the courage to surprise and to rightly disappoint. He showed that, long ago, in his own really admirable invention of the *Man o' Airlie*, in which he was not afraid of tragedy, and was most pathetic when he was most ironical. He showed it again, the other day, in his adaptation of *Jane Eyre*, which relies for its interest wholly upon the development of curious character and pathetic circumstance, even where it would have been possible, without

wronging the volume greatly, to have insisted on the interest of sensational effect. The quite commonplace playwright would have been more sensational than Charlotte Brontë in adapting her work. Mr. Wills has been far less so. He has always had before him the respect of his art.

Of the more undeniably popular dramatists of the time Mr. Byron and Mr. Albery stand, perhaps, as the chief; but Mr. Albery's reputation suffers for a while at least from the fact that it is now thirteen years since he produced his best play, and Mr. Byron's artistic fame would have been greater if he had not withheld from his work the labour of the file. He is perpetually amusing. It is not in human nature to grumble much at a man who is perpetually amusing. Recent criticism has called his humour 'cockney.' The question is not whether his humour is 'cockney,' but whether it is humorous. Undoubtedly it is; his rapid smartness compels laughter, almost as effectually as does Albery's most finished wit. But it suffers under the examination which the other will bear without hurt. A distinct and original conception of character underlies Mr. Albery's finest work, and the human nature that he draws the best would not find itself at home only in the parlours and the kitchens of the streets between the river and the Strand. Mr. Byron's truest characters are the second cousins of Mrs. Lirriper. They all of them hail from Norfolk Street. Yet *Cyril's Success* shows that he could have painted a larger world. As an artist, he has been persecuted by popularity and wronged by triumph.

Well, then, the younger men? seeing that we imagine that we know pretty well what the mature workers of the last twenty years are likely to give us. What of the younger dramatists? They are far more numerous, to begin with, than they are thought to be by the chance playgoer—by the playgoer who makes no study of the stage, but goes the round of the theatres for the entertainment of unoccupied evenings. That playgoer has never heard of many of them. The names of others are words that he read once or twice at the top of the programme, and forgot when he left the stalls. The mere passage of time counts for so much with the large public in literary reputations made at the theatre, that it is difficult for a young writer to take with any promptitude the place due to him for his work. He must have written long, and perhaps written wearily, before he may be thought to have written well. More than one of the best of our younger dramatists are somehow labelled in the eyes of the public by the success of an after-piece or of a *lever de rideau*. A *lever de rideau* is half over before the playgoer of breeding and substance has struggled into his seat, and an after-piece is performed when his thoughts are with his waiting brougham. So it is that the literary quality of the newer work is not quite correctly gauged by that portion of the audience which deems itself in exclusive possession of literary taste. Now, as I began

these words on dramatic authorship by saying that in the modern theatrical revival the matter of authorship was that about which we had least cause to be sanguine, so I shall not continue by asserting that any Sheridan or Molière of the future lurks unappreciated among our newer writers. I do say, however, that our newer writers will at least quite worthily take up amongst them, and inherit, the mantle of their elder contemporaries. I think they may do more.

And if readers do not care to form this opinion for themselves by a series of visits to the play, they can form it by referring to a well-considered book which a student of the theatre has written very lately. Mr. William Archer, in his *English Dramatists of To-day*, makes no facile eulogium of modern dramatic authorship. He is something of a pessimist; he is often a severe critic. But in a conscientious account of the very modern stage-writers he has to bring before us with a fair share of approval Mr. F. W. Broughton, 'a writer of dialogue,' Mr. Theyre Smith, Mr. Herman Merivale, Mr. Pinero, Mr. G. R. Sims, and Mr. Sydney Grundy, while, recently as his book was published, he has not been able to take note of Mr. B. C. Stephenson, the writer of *Impulse*, which is now playing at the St. James's, nor of Mr. Brandon Thomas, who has joined Mr. Stephenson in the authorship of *Comrades* at the Court. Mr. Theyre Smith, like Mr. F. W. Broughton, may perhaps fairly be classed as a writer of dialogue that must above all things be smart. Mr. Sydney Grundy, in *In Honour Bound*, the piece of his which happens, perhaps, to be known the best, shows quite plainly that he is a writer of dialogue that is not merely smart; it is allied with good construction, and its brilliancy and force are appropriate to the characters who utter it. Mr. G. R. Sims has proved his power of repartee by *The Member for Slocum*; in *Lights o' London* and the *Romany Rye* his bright and biting things have been the more direct result of his own observation of life, of the 'society' that calls itself 'good' and of that which we can hardly be deemed uncharitable for calling bad. And, moreover, these last-named plays of his, and the *Silver King* of Messrs. Jones and Herman, are the most conspicuous instances that can now be mentioned of the acceptance by the public of a robust return to drama which, without being simply sensational, shall have in it the interest of well-compacted story, and shall deal not with trivial things, but with those deeper matters of love and fortune which after all move humanity the most and move it the longest. Even in comedy large things are desirable; large motives for satire and merriment. Some of us had got to doubt whether the height of comedy was quite reached by Mr. Bancroft's pleasant fooling among Mr. Robertson's milk-jugs.

But, to be plain, of the theatrical revival there are greater signs than any that are shown in dramatic authorship. There is the enlarged and eager interest of the public, which is not wholly, though

it is partly, caused by the contemporary craving for mere entertainment. There is much that depends on, and results from, that enlarged and eager interest, and there is much which it provokes and stimulates. To take first that which good judges of the theatre will hold to be the smallest thing, there is the manifest improvement in accessories and costume. From all our West End theatres the 'Adelphi guest' has vanished—he of the white cotton gloves, and she of the shabby gauze dinner-dress—and the Adelphi guest of our youth was far from confining his presence to the playhouse which gave him his name. Behind the footlights, and for a shilling a night, he went widely into society between the Strand and St. James's Street. He was in every stage drawing-room. Now, in place of the Adelphi guest and of that curiously seedy professional actor who was only a grade above the Adelphi guest—who was little better than a 'super' after all—there are, as any high-class London manager will be able to tell us, whole groups of young ladies and gentlemen eager for 'an appearance.' Of the men some are University men; many are public school men. Twenty years ago the Church, the Bar, or, let us say, the War Office—among these only would their choice have lain. Of the women a smaller number, but still not a number that is altogether insignificant, have hitherto known no life but gentle life. They will bring on to the stage the traditions of the parsonage house—at all events of the house of a gentleman. And the rest—these others who crowd the rooms of the fashionable teachers of elocution and of the art of acting, or seek thankfully, to begin with, the smallest rôles in the comedies—some of them, of course, are merely stage-struck, instances merely of ambition unsupported by ability; but others, and the most of them, are young persons of good parts; and on the stage, it should be said frankly, good parts are not confined to qualities of brain. The legitimate place, in theatrical representation, of beautiful form and colour, of pleasant voices, and of the native gift of gracious gesture is a very much larger one than conventional criticism has been accustomed to allow. So from among the agreeable and engaging of all ranks the stage is getting its recruits.

If the greater care and larger treasure now remuneratively bestowed on the perfecting of accessories—scenery, furniture, costume—are evidence of the increased interest of the public in the theatre, there is sometimes to be found a yet more satisfactory evidence of the character of that interest. One may chance to be annoyed now and then by the people one sits by in the stalls or the balcony—bored by their parade of the pure idleness which plainly brought them there. They are fresh from a dinner, and, with loosened tongues, they babble to each other in perfect contentment when they have sunk into their seats; and a supper party is in store for them at the end of the show. Are these the people, one asks oneself then, before whom artists should be called upon to exhibit their art? And one sighs

for the old critical pit, with its rows of trained and accustomed playgoers. But the public judgment of a performance is, on the whole, much fairer than at such moments one is inclined to think. The receptions given to the two last elaborate efforts of the Lyceum management may be cited on this point. First came *Romeo and Juliet*, then *Much Ado about Nothing*. *Romeo and Juliet* was mounted with crushing magnificence. The frequent change of scene allowed an expenditure which, unless I am out in my reckoning, in *Much Ado about Nothing* it would have been difficult to incur. In the latter comedy Mr. Irving's directions were just as tasteful, but they were not so lavish. Well, which of the two plays has succeeded the best? When in the history of the English theatre has there been known such a *queue* as that which formed patiently before the Lyceum box-office these last January mornings? And what was the cause of it? When *Romeo and Juliet* was in the playbills, the public was attracted by a brilliant spectacle, by one faultless performance—that of Mrs. Stirling—and by the sight of two favourite performers making the best they could out of parts for which, to speak largely and roughly, they were not well suited. But when *Much Ado* was put up the public saw a tasteful but a less overwhelming spectacle, and they saw the two favourite performers precisely at their best, in parts for which they were perfectly fitted. The element of satire that underlies Shakespeare's conception of the part of Benedick Mr. Irving must have quietly enjoyed—that robust humanity boasting its own strength, and swayed, even while it boasted, by the lightest of feminine charms. The chivalry of the character must have suited him too, and its graciousness, and its self-searching wit. He has been able to look 'poignards,' if it was for Beatrice to 'speak' them. Nor is Miss Ellen Terry less happy in a character which calls from her for nothing of Juliet's abandonment to passion and despair. Beatrice suffers, but she suffers vicariously. Vicarious suffering is not apt to be fatal. Beatrice's sorrows are the sorrows of comedy, and she is beset by no perplexities which wit will not remove. Here, then, with Mr. Irving fitted with a part in which he makes not a single mistake, and Miss Terry enacting a character in which one only of her own most characteristic notes—the note of simple pathos—is missing, the Lyceum Theatre has found its chief success, and the public, in making its choice, has shown that it is not so dull but that it can yet choose wisely.

Another proof of the reality of the theatrical revival is to be seen in the success that attends upon the repetition of old comedy by actors who do not enjoy that exceptional position in the public favour which belongs to the two leading artists of Wellington Street. Mr. Thorne shares Mr. Bancroft's confidence in the works of deceased authors; but while Mr. Bancroft's constancy is pledged to Tom Taylor and Robertson—to the departed writers of modern comedy—

Mr. Thorne is getting ground for a substantial attachment to the memory of a writer as remote as Sheridan. His most recent revival of *The School for Scandal* was not in all respects as enjoyable as that which he and Mr. James were fortunate enough to organise about a dozen years ago, during the brief career of Miss Amy Fawsitt; but his presentation of *The Rivals* is altogether admirable, and it marks a step in our new theatrical progress. If in one sense it is easy to play a comedy of Sheridan's, because in a comedy of Sheridan's there is no bad part—not one entrance that is superfluous nor one exit that is ineffective—in another it is profoundly difficult, for character so clearly cut must be interpreted by actors of polish and decision; it is a fierce light that Sheridan is played in; it is a literary atmosphere, the atmosphere of the *salon*. And I am sure that no performance of *The Rivals* equal to that now given at the Vaudeville has been seen since the days when all the skill of the English stage was concentrated upon a couple of play-houses. The men's parts have been played fittingly. Mr. William Farren might have sat to Gainsborough for a portrait of Sir Anthony, silvery and benign, though of temper rapidly heated; Mr. Henry Neville has adapted himself to new exigencies, and has brought, with utmost skill, a necessary but unusual air of lightness to the part of Captain Absolute; Mr. Thorne, a character actor of individual method, curiously quaint or effectively grotesque, is a Bob Acres of the newer order; and Mr. Maclean, an actor constantly useful, yet useful only within limits which prevent his reaching either to deep emotion or to brilliant merriment, is found a thorough interpreter of the lively but partly unconscious humour of Sir Lucius O'Trigger.

The ladies' share in the merits of the performance is quite as noteworthy, and that to some extent because of the four ladies engaged only one can be called celebrated. From Mrs. Stirling, in that Indian summer of her art by which we are now benefiting, it was fair to expect much, nor has anything short of what we had a claim to expect been given us by her. Her Mrs. Malaprop is very fascinating, very keen, a little wicked, and somewhat coldly genial. Her 'nice derangement of epitaphs,' her defective education, by no means conceal the ability of one who was born to be a woman of influence, a woman of the world. What a chicken is Lydia beside this *rusée*, energetic woman who has seen most things and knows all! The marked success of Mrs. Stirling's young professional sisters has been more a matter of surprise than her own unqualified triumph. Julia, with something of the sentimentality of the part abandoned and the rest of it controlled, subdued, or brought so near to nature that we hardly know it to be artifice, is a more welcome personage, as played by Miss Alma Murray, than she has been accustomed to be. Generally, in truth, the serious interest of *The Rivals*, its mawkishness and sickliness, which centres in Julia and

her lover, Falkland, has been the blot upon the play. No wonder Sheridan himself wrote scenes of comedy with greater relish than scenes of sentiment, when his own generation allowed him in the one the dialogue in Lady Sneerwell's dressing-room and in the other only the stilted tenderness and artificial passion of Julia and of Falkland. I have heard of a thoughtful if likewise an irreverent amateur performance of *The Rivals* in which Julia and Falkland were cut out of the play altogether: the thing can be done without in the least affecting the fortunes of the more interesting characters. And certainly nothing that Sheridan satirised in *The Critic* is more absurd than that which in all seriousness he wrote in *The Rivals*. But at the Vaudeville Julia duly appears. They are satisfied with moderate excisions, and rely upon the discreet art of Miss Alma Murray to save the part from ridicule. But Lydia's, though not a great part, is the better of the two. In the hands of Miss Emery she is rather fast and excessively modern, but her fastness is what it ought to be—that of extreme youth—and the *modernité*, which I confess myself unable to suggest to Miss Emery how to avoid, is the only thing about this elegant young actress's performance which betrays a lapse of the dramatic faculty. Miss Lydia's wilfulness and waywardness, and that romantic disappointment at a duly acknowledged love affair, which naturally falls hard on a juvenile novel-reader, are represented thoroughly. And the new Lydia, with a voice not altogether sympathetic or finely controlled, has the personal charm of mobile expression and of pure colour and line. Sheridan's Lucy is a soubrette whom Miss Kate Phillips makes resolute as well as pert, after the French fashion. She is just a reminiscence of the soubrette of Molière, with something of her authority and independence. Such a figure, if not a more natural, is at all events a larger one upon the stage—more important and impressive—than the conventionally impertinent yet mincing or giggling chambermaid of English second-rate comedy.

Cordial as may be our welcome to performances of Shakespeare and performances of Sheridan such as those now given at the Lyceum and the Vaudeville, our vision of the modern stage could hardly be a hopeful one if it did not include some recognition of the perfect interpretation of modern character, the vigorous grasp of modern life. Players like Mr. Charles Warner and Miss Amy Roselle at the Adelphi bring the brains for comedy into the performance of melodrama. Exceptional character actors like Miss Lydia Cowell, Mr. Arthur Cecil, Mr. Hare, and Mr. Brookfield give us their sharply outlined portraits from the street and the drawing-room. And at the Princess's, supported by a company chosen generally with singular skill, there is always being played some well-constructed drama which displays to advantage the energetic heroism of Mr. Wilson Barrett and the engaging troubles of Miss Eastlake—the adventures of a man against whom

society has conspired and the sorrows of the gentle and of the very pretty.

The two latest examples of vigorous dealing with modern drawing-room incident, in which the expression of tragedy lurks behind comedy's mask, are the plays of *Impulse* and *Comrades*, acted, both of them, with quite modern completeness. The first is written by a dramatist who began to be known yesterday, the second by the same in collaboration with an actor turned dramatist who is known almost for the first time to-day. *Impulse* is constructed with some of that stage art of which it seems the French are by no means in exclusive possession. By its performance, Miss Dietz, it seems, is motioned to a good place in her craft. Mr. Kendal's genuine gifts of comedy get more widely recognised, and are indeed more fully displayed than they have hitherto been, and Mrs. Kendal enjoys the satisfaction of knowing that while critical people give her the peculiar artistic credit that attaches to a first-rate player who voluntarily plays a second-rate part, half London heartily hopes that the sacrifice will not be repeated, since in truth the frequent changes of piece that make such sacrifices reasonable enough at the Théâtre Français are wholly wanting in our London playhouses devoted to the long run. *Comrades* has one radical defect, perceived early and perceived till the end; the main interest is built up on a basis of profound improbability; or, rather, if it must be admitted that there are in the world, and in the Queen's service, any elderly generals quite so silly as to be guilty of the concealments practised by the general of *Comrades*, we cannot conceive that they are fit characters to make the ground-work of a dramatic study. But, in truth, their existence may be doubted. The general of *Comrades* would, under his peculiar circumstances, have had the manliness to tell the young woman of his second choice that, since his life had not been all secluded, his world not only the cloister or the closet, there had existed, it might be at a remote time, some woman of his first selection. It is true that if he had pursued this reasonable course the story would never have proceeded, the play would never have been written; we should have lost a piece capable, despite its improbabilities, of arousing emotion and of exhibiting one highly skilled actor quite at his best. Situation after situation is carefully contrived, and scene after scene is strongly wrought, and Mr. Coghlan, who has the opportunity to profit the most by what the dramatists have done for the performers, holds the attention of the audience by a varied and successful show of the emotion which men call restrained and controlled. This emotion is well graduated, and at the close of the second act it finds its climax. Here the judgment of the actor suffers him effectively to break through the accustomed bounds. Not alone now does he rely, wisely, on gentle inflections of the voice, or, unwisely, on stuffy breathings; the channel of his expression is enlarged, and its measure greater. Mr. Clayton's part in

the piece is not remarkable, and its performance is described when it is said to be adequate. The actor could esteem the piece but lightly if he judged it by reference to his own rôle. Mr. Arthur Cecil too has often been more worthily employed than he is employed in *Comrades*, but the genius of a quaint humour being habitually in him, he makes the weakish part of Chivers somewhat entertaining. Further contribution towards comic effect is made by Mrs. Gaston Murray, and Miss Carlotta Addison and Miss Marion Terry are ladies to be named, for they play parts that are important; but I do not find in Miss Addison, refined though she be, the capacity to stir emotions of any appreciable depth, and I hold Miss Marion Terry more satisfactory when she is cleverly engaged in a burlesque of sentiment than when she is studiously addressing herself to the expression of sentiment that is sincere.

The assumption of the management of the Globe Theatre by Mrs. Bernard Beere allows room for the belief that in another playhouse consideration will be given to the claims of refined art. The lady has, indeed, already shown herself a manageress likely to err only on the side of offering to the public an entertainment too chastened and graceful—too much wanting in the strong dramatic element which the pit and gallery demand, and to which the stalls, I fancy I observe, are not profoundly indifferent. Aided by Mr. Kelly's quiet realism, Mr. Vezin's taste and experience, the genial presence and spirit of Miss Maggie Hunt and the true dramatic gestures and picturesque colours of Miss Ormsby, the pieces which the manageress has presented have not altogether failed; and, whatever may have been their lack of conspicuous triumph, they have revealed in Mrs. Bernard Beere herself a measure of capacity even beyond that with which she had previously been credited. It was to some extent a disadvantage to her to appear last summer in a part which recalled to all the world so strongly a recent part of Mrs. Kendal's, but Mrs. Beere's graceful performance was, nevertheless, as able as anybody else's would have been to stand the contrast with that of our one great English actress of strong emotion. Mrs. Kendal's position is unique. She has set her mark deep and broad on the contemporary stage—a mistress of sunny humour, and one whose pathetic expression comes from 'out of the depths' indeed; the single actress of our time in England who, having done with a part all that critical shrewdness can desire, or popular fancy expect, knows at the right moment how to do that indescribable something more which makes critical shrewdness lose itself, and carries an audience off its feet. Something less than an ideal Bathsheba in *Far from the Madding Crowd*, Mrs. Bernard Beere was an ideal Dora in *The Promise of May*, her curious naturalness, which is either a happy gift or a learned acquirement, there doing her invaluable service, as it is doing to-day in *Jane Eyre*.

Enlightened people who must be critical to prove they are intelligent, and whose view of criticism is that it is sharp fault-finding, are wont, when they have been as severe as possible upon contemporary authorship, to find two further faults with the condition of our stage. They tell us we have no great actors and no good critics. All that it is necessary to say on the second of these two matters is perhaps this: that it is unpractical to expect important criticism of unimportant creation, and that the mind of the amateur, the mind of the remote dilettante, and not the mind of the man who is near to the work and takes reasonable account of its conditions, is alone betrayed in the demand that a trivial performance shall provoke a substantial treatise. But when the occasion comes, and the excellent thing is done, either in writing or in acting, I am not so sure that it is altogether lost sight of by the eyes best trained to note it; I am not so sure that the best judgments on the theatre are those which are pronounced at prettily spread dinner tables, after the soup, with the pardonable partiality which comes of the amateur's complete freedom from any sense or notion of responsibility. And when we are told that we have no great actors, that reproach is also addressed to us with a light-hearted and facile self-satisfaction we do not greatly respect. The Lyceum and the St. James's, night after night, tell a different story. But if it is more moderately objected that there is a conspicuous paucity of rising genius, we can answer sincerely that rising genius was never the commonest thing in the market. And we can add that in a decade immediately following upon a long period of exceptional stage barrenness it is a hopeful sign that the secondary parts in our dramas are played more and more by young players of breeding and gifts. This is hardly the moment in which to expect the full fruit from seed planted but lately. We shall wait till to-morrow for the best results of the new importance that belongs to the stage to-day.

FREDERICK WEDMORE.

MIDDLE-CLASS EDUCATION.

THE late expiring London School Board left, as a legacy to its successors, a recommendation that higher elementary schools should be established for both boys and girls who have passed examination in the fifth standard, or its equivalent—the fees to be fixed by a Committee of the Board, and no child to be debarred on the score of poverty. The mere proposal, by a member present, to defer decision upon this recommendation was denounced, as showing a desire to starve the education of the metropolis, and a jealousy of the progress of the people. It is, however, by no means so clearly in the interests or inclination of the people, that higher education should be in the hands of a Government department, and entrusted to the administration of School Boards.

The very description of the education offered as ‘higher elementary’ savours of some confusion of ideas on the subject. Δευτερο-πρώτος is a composite word which has puzzled translators; and, rejecting the literal rendering of ‘second-first’, as meaningless, they have adopted in our Authorised Version of the New Testament the expression ‘second after the first.’ So must the phrase ‘higher elementary’ education, to have any sense in it, mean higher after the elementary. It is probable that of the two words so strangely coupled the first expresses the real intention, and the second is only a decoy word to bring its fellow within the precincts of the Elementary Education Acts, which alone authorise public taxation for the purpose.

Lord Brougham and Sir Kay Shuttleworth, who with infinite care, and through much discussion, obtained the guiding enactments, can hardly be accused of having had a desire to starve education, or of a jealousy of popular progress. The question is not whether educational progress is desirable, but whether the proposed mode of progress is not one of obstruction. There is no demur to spending, but to mis-spending public money—nor to over-education, but to false education. The dispute is not between the willing and the grudging, but between two very different proposals for attaining a common object.

The Council Office by its Code, and School Boards by their pro-

grammes, are advertising a public provision of secondary instruction. The admirers of the School Boards say that 'their success in grappling with elementary teaching is in favour of a like attempt to organise middle-class education.' But what may be the positive value of the middle-class instruction they offer, or its negative effect on the elementary instruction it may stand in the way of, it is high time seriously to judge before too late.

Let us consider what middle-class education is, that we may judge whether what the School Boards offer to undertake will satisfy this country, and whether they are the right bodies to undertake it. For simplicity's sake, we will consider chiefly boys' education.

After infant preparation, first comes the elementary stage of instruction common to all classes, up to about the age of thirteen, but qualified by the sequel in the prospects of each class. For the working classes it ordinarily occupies the whole of their school-time.

The second stage of instruction, differing in subjects and in quality of study, is for those who continue school-life longer—whether such of the working class as can profit by pushing their school education beyond the limit at which their circumstances would otherwise make it cease; or the middle classes of the community, whose ordinary course of school education continues to about the age of sixteen, when their apprenticeship to business begins; or those who can carry on school-work to its completion, who pass on to the universities, or to scientific and learned professions, or to independent lines of life.

The third stage of school-life is for those who can thus carry it on to its end.

The first of this triple series has, in this country, a legislative provision of public assistance and management; the last is well able to support itself. The question is, whether the middle stage, or any part of it, should be included in the public provision made for the first.

In other countries the State offers educational provision for all classes of society, and more or less enforces its acceptance on all who are not otherwise as well provided. Much has been done, of late, by all civilised nations to adapt their national education, each according to their own constitutional principles, to modern requirements.

In France there is complete school machinery under the central Government. The State now grudges the religious orders any influence in it. National support and minute classification are the chief characteristics of their system. The teachers are trained in Government colleges, and paid fixed salaries from the Treasury. The primary schools are strictly what their name implies. Above them are two kinds of middle schools—*Lycées*, established by the State in every department; and *Collèges*, for less advanced studies, established in every commune. The teaching in these two kinds of secondary schools is, respectively, classical and commercial; in both are taught modern

languages and mathematics; and in both young children are admitted into lower divisions, for special elementary preparation. The baccalaureate degree may be reached at about the age of eighteen, and then follows any special instruction for professional or industrial employment. Every lesson, of every hour, throughout all the schools is minutely prescribed by the Government, and the boys are never free, day or night, from the supervision of *maîtres d'étude*. Their moral discipline also is under *provisseurs*.

In Germany each State has an Education Department at its capital. Every child is compelled by law to be instructed by some one certified and appointed by the Government. The only voluntary work is infant preparation. The Prussian Code of 1850 asserts that 'all public and private school establishments are under the supervision of authorities named by the State.' It is provided by law that there must be a primary school in every parish; in which schools the instruction is of the most elementary kind. Next come the *Realschule* for commercial and the *Gymnasium* for more classical education; and in both there is an elementary division specially preparatory to the higher stage of instruction, as in the French *Lycées*. These schools are maintained by local taxation and fees; but the Polytechnic schools for special training are wholly supported by the State. Certain lines of employment are restricted to those who pass final examinations in these schools.

The Swiss is, perhaps, the most perfect public educational system. This most economical of all people devote, in some cantons, a third of their whole taxation to this one object, besides the fees paid for every child. It is, of course, a cantonal system, and has lately so vindicated its independence. There is a primary school in every commune; attendance is compulsory, unless equally good education is being obtained elsewhere. Above these schools there is an ascending series of higher schools, up to the schools of industry leading to the Polytechnic, and to the classical gymnasia leading to the universities. Their law says:—'*L'organisation des établissements d'instruction publics et privés est l'un des principaux objets de la sollicitude de l'Etat. Ils se divisent en écoles primaires, secondaires et scientifiques.*' It is a national and perfectly classified system.

In the United States there is, naturally, equal public provision for all kinds of education for the whole community, supported by a common rate in each locality, levied on all kinds of property, real and personal, and put under the administration of committees elected by every township. Mr. Everitt, when Minister to this country, described the peculiar merit of the system to be that 'the schools are so good that children of the wealthy are sent to them, there being nothing eleemosynary in their character; while, the chief burden of taxation falling on the rich, the children of the poor get good education almost gratuitously, and all classes mingle together in the schoolroom,

which is a feature essential to the social system.' In the Report of the Massachusetts Committee of last year the idea is thus expressed :— 'General intelligence is necessary to the existence of a free State ; and, unless the children of the State grow up together in the same schools, they will not have that common sympathy which leads a people to labour together in the administration of free government. For this reason the State holds in its own hands the power to determine the character and extent of that education.' There are primary schools, grammar schools, and, lastly, high schools, both classical and 'English,' leading to the universities.

The Canadian system is specially interesting as a mixture of English ideas at home, and abroad in a new country. Our reciprocal service with colonies consists in our starting them with good institutions, and their trying and proving them in free and novel circumstances more open to experiment than our old country can be. Her Britannic Majesty, with the advice of her Dominion Legislature, has established an Education Department under each Provincial Lieutenant-Governor, which is empowered to prescribe school regulations, appoint inspectors, distribute grants, prepare examinations, award certificates, and sanction the text books to be used. Every child from the age of seven up to twelve has 'a right to attend' some 'public school' which is elementary and free ; parents being fined for the non-attendance of their children. Rural and town 'sections' are formed for the local administration of these schools under trustees. Above the 'public schools' there are county schools which are high or collegiate institutions for what we call the middle classes—one for every county, or union of counties, established by Boards and supported by a 'High School Fund.' There are also schools of practical science, and normal or model schools. This is a system of Republican State-parentage, of elaborate classification.

In this country national education, so far as it has been undertaken by the Legislature, means no more than a provision of elementary schools chiefly intended for the use of the working classes. A Treasury subsidy towards their support is made conditionally on the successful execution of a code of Government regulations ; and for the rest their cost is chargeable on local rates, and on fees, or borne by voluntary contributions. The idea of their receipt of public aid has been the interest of the State in the education of such of the people as would otherwise get no good education. The middle classes as well as the upper are left by the Legislature to private resources, independent of the State.

In times gone by provision was patriotically made for education in this country for all ; but the labouring class, still in serfdom, were not thought of. In the stirring times about the beginning of this century, the patriotism and religious zeal of private societies endeavoured to meet as best they could the rising claims of the

modern working class. The task outgrew private means. In 1810 Lord Brougham got inquiry made into 'the education of the lower orders,' and the Commissioners' Report stated that 'a large number of poor children were without instruction.' In 1833 Lord Althorp obtained a Parliamentary grant of 20,000*l.* a year 'in aid of private subscriptions for educating children of the poorer classes, to be strictly kept to that purpose.' In 1846 the well-known educational 'Minutes of Council' expressly applied the public grants to 'schools for the poor, in which reading, writing, the first four rules of arithmetic, and elements of geography were to be taught, and sewing to girls.' The debate on the existing Act of 1870 shows plainly the same parliamentary intention up to the present time. Mr. Forster, its honoured author, stated that the object of his Bill was 'a primary popular education, affecting the intellectual and moral training of the numerically vast proportion of the population of this country, to the provision of which the middle class should not step in quoting the precedent of America.' Lord Sandon, as Education Minister, six years later, stated the legislative idea of the amending Bill he introduced to be that 'no child should enter on life's struggle without the tools required by present civilisation.' Mr. Bright, at the same time, described what he thought was wanted as 'not to teach too many things, but to put the child's foot on the ladder by which he might rise.' It is clear, therefore, that the mental equipment of children of the working classes for their early apprenticeship to labour has, throughout, been the main object of our public provision for national education.

The higher education required by the middle classes has not only not been the object in view, but a national repugnance has always been expressed to placing in the administration of the Government, or of any public department, the intellectual and moral training of the independent body of the nation. The eminent Wesleyan educationist, Dr. Rigg, gave utterance to this sentiment at a recent meeting thus :—

There is nothing that is necessary for a free nation that will less bear to be mechanical than its education.

At the same meeting the late First Lord of the Admiralty, who has done more service than any one else for good popular literature, said :—

If one cast-iron system is imposed, built up grade upon grade, opening from Whitehall, or other office, the result will be disastrous to this nation. We shall lose the freedom, independence, and self-reliance of English life. Relying on State aid and direction in national education must imperil the future of England. The commercial principle of demand and supply is the right one, at all events for the great bulk of the nation. The father, who can afford it, will send his son where he can get a fair return in his education for his own expenditure, and the boy goes into life indebted to his parent for the care and cost he has borne for him. Such education is worth more, in its reciprocal action, to national character, than any at the cost and will of the State.

The Scotch Education Act of 1872 authorises, to a greater extent than any English Act, public taxation for secondary instruction. The School Boards created under its provisions have the management of the better sort of burgh schools vested in them. But they are restricted to contributions from the 'common good' of the burgh, or endowments belonging to them. Such schools, moreover, are relieved from the necessity of giving elementary instruction which the Boards are enjoined to provide therein, 'so that the funds of such higher schools may be more exclusively applied to giving instruction in the higher branches.' The Scotch Endowments Act of last session will go far to make the educational provision for the middle classes come from such resources, and to open it by exhibitions, to promising children of the working classes, in the view that Parliament, having provided by taxes for elementary schools, has set free endowments for higher education.

Ireland, of course, has no exceptional objection to Treasury subsidies in the case of intermediate education. But that the subsidy is more the object of desire than the education may be inferred from the significant observation made in the Examiners' last Report, that 'the geography of Ireland does not appear to be taught in Irish intermediate schools.' The Irish Board has petitioned the Lord Lieutenant 'not to let intermediate education be crippled by inadequacy of funds;' but it may be that, in the real interests of education, the aid of the State in the shape of 'result fees on higher instruction' has been rather too large than too small.

This review of foreign and home national education presents a twofold contrast. In the foreign systems the State provides for every stage of school-education, but each stage is kept distinct. In this country, the only legislative educational provision is for the elementary stage; but the Executive, by attempting to stretch the application of that provision, is confusing two stages together.

On the first point of contrast—the limit of State provision—there are many high authorities in favour of our advancing to a higher point in this country. No less an authority than Mr. Matthew Arnold, in an able volume on *Popular Education on the Continent* (1861), maintained its desirability. He asserted, what nobody denies, that 'the middle classes of England should not be content with their private schools.' But he added, what many will deny, that 'the State can do a great deal better for them than they can for themselves, by giving their schools a public and national character, and bringing the instruction given in them under a criticism which the knowledge of the middle classes is not in itself at present able to supply.' There have lately appeared articles in leading papers written strongly in favour of our School Boards undertaking higher education, and apparently with an absolute *clôture* against all that can be said against it. These articles curiously contrast with the

views of a member of the French Institut, thus expressed in a recent number of the *Revue des deux Mondes*, on secondary education :—

Quand ils s'engage sur ce terrain, l'Etat doit faire appel aux efforts des particuliers à limiter autant que possible le champ de sa propre action. Le droit, comme le devoir, de l'Etat est de constater, par les moyens les plus sûrs, les résultats de l'enseignement secondaire. L'uniformité est le pire ennemi du progrès.

This, for a distinguished member of the French Institut, is a strong demur to State interference with secondary education, even amongst generally centralised institutions. The *examen final*, before leaving school for active employment, is almost all he would allow to State interference. As to the effects of the existing system in France, he asks :—

Est-ce qu'il y a un seul homme en France qui a reçu l'éducation que ses parents lui eussent donnée s'ils eussent été libres ?

Unofficial Englishmen generally do not seem eager to adopt the foreign system of State education for the bulk of the nation. The result on national character does not excite their envy. The advocates for its adoption in England are always asserting the superiority of intelligence abroad. It was asserted in the House of Commons one day that every boy in a German primary school could read Schiller; and it was asked, by way of contrast, how many boys in any English national school could read Shakespeare. The House seemed to think that a system which turned out from elementary schools an average of workmen's children reading Shakespeare should make its universities graduate in handicrafts. Comparing young German school-boys, said to be readers of Schiller, with our national school boys, as they turn out from school, which lot would an employer choose from for work, say in house, shop, stables, or farm ?

But we are warned that if our elementary schools will not train to the German standard, not only of literature, but of art, we shall not 'hold our own' in industrial competition with the world. This argument betrays a mistaken view, a confusion between elementary, higher, and special education. The over-eagerness of the manufacturers for their future workmen to begin higher and technical instruction before the completion of general preparation, shows more ignorance in them than inability to read Shakespeare shows in young working boys. This mistake is scouted by the common sense of the nation. The Commissioners of School Inquiry stated that 'they found an almost unanimous agreement among their witnesses as to the folly of mixing up special with general education.' Their conclusion was that 'there should be no attempt to make school a substitute for apprenticeship; but that a school should teach what was useful to all its scholars, whether as mental discipline or as valuable information.' There is, then, little encouragement from public opinion to the assumption of secondary education by our Government in imitation of foreign systems.

The distinction between primary and secondary education is the second point of contrast in foreign systems with the confusion of the two which our Government is introducing. On this point the foreign system contrasts favourably. It is strange that a late Minister of Education is reported to have thus spoken at a recent meeting :— ' People talk about secondary, or higher, as contrasted with primary education ; the difference really consists in one thing alone, and that is the age at which the child's education ends.' The difference has nothing to do with the child's age, but consists in the subjects, and still more in the nature of study, in the two stages. The practice of the art of reading, for instance, giving power to get knowledge, and much knowledge in its course, belongs to the first stage. The entrance on scientific and literary study, with the use of terms necessary for such higher study, but useless to those who cannot further pursue it, belongs to the second.

But even if the will of the nation, deliberately expressed in Parliament, were to extend the first intention of our Education Acts, and to adopt an official undertaking of higher as well as elementary instruction, the mode of discharging the task would have to be greatly altered from the attempt now being made. As now being attempted, it is a lamentable failure in two ways. In the first place the higher flight has led to neglect of elementary instruction ; and in the second place this injury to primary requirements, so far from being compensated by the higher instruction, is aggravated by the worthlessness of the offered supplement.

On the first point, all will allow that practising the *art*, absurdly called the *subject*, of reading, whatever the subjects of reading may be, is at the root of elementary instruction, the best test of the goodness of which is the quality of that practice. But the testimony of the Inspectors of our national schools in 1879-80 was that while literature and science were advertised in their programmes, and grants of public money awarded to such studies, there was but little that could be called intelligent reading to be heard in the highest standards of our best schools. ' Really good reading,' says one, ' is very uncommon ; the reading is seldom characterised by intelligence and expression.' Another says :— ' Reading is seldom good, often fluent enough, but at the expense of distinct articulation and intelligent expression.' A third says :— ' The schools in which I hear really good expression in the reading of any class might be counted on the fingers.' A fourth says :— ' Until reading, the most important branch of elementary instruction, is better taught, the results of our whole system must be fallacious.' A fifth says :— ' There is little good reading in my district ; indistinctness of utterance, inaccuracy about easy words, inattention to stops, a sing-song tone, an entire absence of any sign of intelligence, characterise the ordinary reading.' Similar statements appear throughout these Inspectors' Reports of 1879-80. But if the art of reading,

to be of any service, is an expression of the writer's thoughts, and their association with the reader's own, what sort of instruction in the art is that which produces a town-crier's recitative from the reader's mouth, and a responseless lack-lustre in his eye? These Reports show that the operation of the Act of 1870 had not in 1880 mended the defects of our system, as previously reported upon by the Commissioners of 1861, who said:—

A large proportion of the children in our elementary schools are not satisfactorily taught what they come to learn. The greater part do not learn even to read: at least their powers of reading are so slight, and the reading so little connected with any intelligent perception of its import—so much a matter of mere mechanical routine—as to be of little value to them in after life. They do not generally obtain any mastery over elementary subjects which the school ought to give. They neither read nor write well. The work seems of little practical use. It looks as if the drudgery of elementary teaching were such as to render the accomplishments of a highly instructed teacher for the most part unavailable,—not that the teachers are too highly trained, but the way in which different methods of teaching children to read and spell are connected with elaborate theories of various kinds conceals the fact that, after all, there is no profound mystery in teaching children to read, write, and cypher. (Vol. i. p. 154.)

The latest reports of 1880–81 continue the same dolorous account of our schools. There cannot be a better authority than Mr. Sandford, who says, 'The attempt to teach specific subjects in primary schools has done more harm than good, and seriously interfered with elementary work.' Rushing into science before being able to read, and attempting the use of other tongues before one has mastered one's own, assumes a discovery of the royal road to learning of proverbial delusion.

But the ambition to deal with more showy work has not only led to neglect of first elements, but to a contemptuous exclusion of the first claimants to public instruction. Mr. Forster himself lately confessed that the children most in need of State guardianship are still educationally unprovided for, and wandering about without any care. There was hope expressed that the omission might be supplied by an extension of the Industrial School system: that is to say, by the Police, not the Education, Department. So schools primarily intended for the poor reject the poorest. We train from pauperism in pauper schools—from degradation in degraded schools—in Scotland avowedly under 'Juvenile Delinquency Boards.' Destitute and neglected children may not come into schools of higher instruction used by classes which would resent their contact.

But what, in the second place, is the higher education offered at this primary sacrifice both of rudimentary instruction and of the most needy children? Treasury grants are offered for teaching, as 'specific subjects' in elementary schools, Algebra, Euclid, Mechanics, Chemistry, Physics, Animal Physiology, Botany, Principles of Agriculture, Latin, French, and Domestic Economy (see last edition of Code). The grants are, indeed, limited to success in cramming any one child with only two of these subjects, and that only after he has

passed the fifth standard of general instruction, and with a simultaneous test of his retention of elementary subjects. All these new limitations of the grants, and the relegation of two former 'specific subjects' to the lower category of 'class subjects' which they were found never practically to exceed, are acknowledgments that a leap too high was being aimed.

To what extent, however, are the still remaining 'specific subjects' really taught? Under the pretentious title of 'Domestic Economy' cookery is chiefly supposed to be taught, but only theoretically and scientifically, as kitchens can seldom be attached to schools. Future kitchen-maids are taught to distinguish warmth-giving from flesh-forming foods respectively, as carbonaceous and nitrogenous. They can enumerate the ingredients of starch, fat, and sugar in the former as farinaceous, oleaginous, and saccharine matter; and of white-of-egg, fibre, curds, &c., in the latter as 'albumen,' fibrine, casein, gluten, &c. These terms, which belong to necessary classifications of much wider studies, will, no doubt, soon cease to burden their memories; but the time spent in so temporarily confusing their ideas can hardly be called advanced elementary instruction, and is lost to real elementary school-work. Teachers, nevertheless, receive public money for the operation, as if it were real instruction. In some large towns school boards have a salaried officer called a 'demonstrator of science,' who not only uses, but composes, special text-books for their schools, some of which extend the scope of 'scientific subjects,' making, for instance, domestic economy to include hygiene and all other science bearing on the healthiness and comfort of home—but invariably in scientific terminology, which alone justifies the distinction of the study as specific, and its public reward.

By 'Animal Physiology' is meant a study of anatomical diagrams so far as to get by heart the Latin names of every feature, enabling a child to call the back of his head 'hocciput,' and his shoulder 'umerus.'

Botany, which might be admirably used as a subject for the practice of reading, full of the most salutary interest, and giving pleasant exercise of consecutive thought, is presented to many children in a form of stiffest nomenclature, classifying flowers as monocotyleda or dicotyleda, and trees as gymnospermous conifers, or cycads.

French might be begun at elementary schools both grammatically and conversationally if there were teachers, and made of subsequent use to boys seeking employment where there is foreign correspondence; but as it is pretended to be taught it would not enable a navvy to get his dinner on the Continent so well as the *lingua-franca* which has obtained currency without any teaching at all.

All this sort of pretension, though so well paid for by the Government as to tempt schoolmasters away from elementary teaching, can hardly be dignified with the name of higher instruction; to offer it to even the lowest middle class as an educational provision is only

to stand in the way of their getting otherwise what they really require. It does not even qualify for further study, but after winning prizes will be forgotten.

But the advocates of these 'specific' studies in Board schools say they don't pretend to give middle-class education. They call them 'higher elementary' studies. They plead, as the girl for her illegitimate child, that, after all, it is only a small thing they bring before the world. Certainly it is a very small thing—far short even of its advertisement; but a State offer, though it be only 'semblance of worth, not substance,' stops more substantial competition. Even its pretence is being already receded from. Children in our largest towns are leaving school at the age of thirteen, or put on half-time still earlier. It is found impossible, by any desertion of elementary teaching, for masters to earn many grants on 'specific subjects' under such circumstances.

The inspectors are for abandoning the attempt altogether. In the last yearly reports one of the inspectors, Mr. Blakiston, says that 'he would have the whole fourth schedule expunged from the Code, with the exception of "English literature" (which really comes within the ordinary "class subjects"). The papers on "specific subjects" are either dry and technical, as might be expected from teachers who had got them up from meagre text-books, or else confused and discursive. The misspelling would be incredible but to an inspector.'

Mr. Fitch, in the same report, says of the foreign languages:— 'They cannot be so taught in our elementary schools as even to make such a beginning as to enable the scholar to pursue the study hereafter by himself. A child who wants to learn German or Latin should be helped, by means of a scholarship, to enter a secondary school.'

Mr. French says 'he cannot regard the "specific" teaching as satisfactory. The superficial acquaintance with the subjects given cannot abide long. The time and labour drawn away by grants in endeavouring to teach these subjects would be better devoted to improvement in reading.'

Mr. Haslam says, 'Answers in "specific subjects" often show only an imperfect acquaintance with some long words.' Mr. Holmes says, 'they are out of place in an elementary school,' and Mr. Ley, that 'spending public money for such a sort of middle-class education is questionable—hard work for teachers, and with results meagre and unsatisfactory.'

Mr. Sandford declares that 'he seldom finds the grants on "specific subjects" justified by any amount of useful knowledge acquired by, or of intelligence awakened in, the scholars who pass examination in them.'

The Bishop of Exeter, who has been the chief adviser in all our legislation on the subject, said lately in debate, 'The fourth schedule ought to go. It is a delusion educationally, except in cases where

the elementary school is really taking the place of a secondary school.'

The higher instruction in elementary schools, worthless in quality, seems happily also failing in quantity.

But, besides the rather impudent plea that not much of such teaching, though advertised, is really given, the undertaking is defended as incapable of much harm because so few apply for it.

There is, then, a double plea for the 'higher elementary' instruction offered by Board schools—first that it means little, and secondly that few will take that little. The waste of training of teachers to teach what is so little taught is not even taken into the account.

There is a remarkable argument adduced for this defence. It is said: 'Forward pupils master the rudiments two or three years before the school age is completed, and they would have time on hand which would be wasted if they were taught nothing in addition.' The argument amounts to this: that some ideal age being assumed to which all boys must remain at school, if a child can complete a supposed requirement of elementary instruction before that age, he must sacrifice the advantage of earlier apprenticeship for a term of such higher teaching, as above described.

The London School Board seeks escape from such absurdity by setting up distinct 'higher grade' schools for such forward pupils after they have passed the fifth standard in elementary schools.

This may be an improvement, so far as the separation of schools, on what has been done at Bradford, and imitated at Leeds and other towns. The sample high school at Bradford turned out nothing but an aristocratic edition of the elementary school at its side. Children are admitted at the same early age to both, and both offer the same programme of teaching from elementary to higher subjects. The aristocratic children may stay somewhat longer at their school, and so prosecute higher studies further; but the only other difference is that they pay a weekly fee of ninepence, while their inferiors pay twopence. Ninepence a week is taken as the limit of what the working class, for whose education grants are chiefly intended, can afford. It is, therefore, supposed that only working men will avail themselves of the education at that price; and it is stated that grants will not be made for those who betray their ability or willingness to pay more. But the only practical effect of the ninepenny fee is to bring a higher class within the public educational aid, and to enable them to use it without any sense of public indebtedness, or any mingling of their children with those of lower degree. The *Times* thus expressed its approval of this result: 'There is now opened for the middle class a higher school by the simple process of devising a somewhat higher fee, so that decent people may get education for ninepence a week without the unpleasant necessity of their children being mixed with the "wastrel" class.'

The London School Board's imitation would be certainly an improvement on this model, if higher education should be undertaken by them at all. Mr. Buxton describes their proposal to be, 'To finish and prolong instruction without exceeding the limit of the Code or of elementary education.' But, if so, what is the distinction between the two grades of school? It cannot be only one of age? The studies are higher, and the social rank of the children must be higher, as those only, unless aided by exhibitions, can stay to a later age.

The question, then, remains whether it is for the interest or in accordance with the wishes of the country that higher education than that contemplated by the Legislature should rest upon public support and be under Government direction.

On the point of public support one may fear that the growing burden of secondary added to primary education would soon drive Parliament into a disastrously reactionary fit. On the other point, of Government direction, there is assuredly a very prevalent misgiving about its probable issue in national priggishness, involving as it must a stiffness in its process, of less harm in elementary, but of serious damage to higher education. It is more in the spirit of Englishmen that parents who can should educate their children, and our middle class is rapidly following the upper in more and more highly valuing good education.

In the discussion at Leeds of a proposal to adopt the London improvement of the Bradford model, the feeling prevailed that the School Board had enough to do with primary education; and that secondary instruction of older children should be left to private efforts, but with a larger aid to exceptional ability in the way of scholarships, from their local endowments, to higher schools out of the province of the Board.

Some think they see a gap between the upper elementary and lower secondary education which would be thus unprovided for. But, if it be so, it should at all events be filled up with better materials than those which are offered. There is no time to be lost to prevent such gap-filling being as is now undertaken by school boards, with very difficult retrieval, and with great embarrassment to better plans.

What better plan, then, is feasible for supplying schools adequate in number and quality for the real need of the middle classes?

The School Inquiry Commissioners of 1868 gave their opinion that for the middle classes in this country there should be a distinct supply of schools of each of the three grades of education.

They would have every town possessed of a day school of the lowest grade of middle-class education, with upper and lower divisions. In the lower division boys from the age of six to twelve should learn to read intelligently books of elementary instruction, to write, to cypher as far as fractions, and to know outlines of geography. In the upper division all this should be kept up, and Latin and

French begun. Algebra, geometry, experimental physics, and the rudiments of chemistry and of drawing come within the category of subjects for more or less first study by boys in the upper division. The fees paid at these schools would vary from two to four guineas a year. The Commissioners would have boys required to quit schools of this grade at the age of fourteen, lest the cleverest might be kept on, and break in upon the grade above, and so cause the injury which our present practice inflicts on elementary schooling.

The second grade schools should prepare youths, by about the age of sixteen, to enter on business, whether in manufactories or some sorts of profession, army or civil service, engineering, or other highly skilled employment. Farmers, large shopkeepers, and many professional men would keep their sons at school up to this age. Latin, and at least one modern language, should be thoroughly taught in these secondary schools. The mathematics should be strictly scientific, though of practical appliance. Trigonometry, practical mechanics, and other branches of natural science belong to this grade, while English literature must never be neglected. The fees paid in day schools of this grade would be from 6*l.* to 12*l.*, and for boarders from 30*l.* to 40*l.* a year.

Schools of the first grade, of which few are wanted, would prepare for the Universities and higher professions, and would be chiefly classical. Some would be more distinctly commercial, teaching living rather than dead languages, and especially devoted to higher mathematics and natural science.

It may be that this programme is somewhat elaborate, and rather what such eminent educationists thought worthy of their wishes than within their expectation to realize. Its mere outline, however little it might be filled up, presents a startling contrast to what the School Boards offer, or could offer, to any of the middle classes, and differs even more in kind than in degree.

The general idea of these Commissioners, as to the best mode of filling up the deficiency of suitable schools for the middle classes, was that the many available endowments throughout the kingdom should be used, as far as they would go, to provide school buildings and exhibitions; that private schools should be encouraged to submit themselves to a system of inspection and examination, which would rapidly increase their number by affording parents a reliable index of their value; and that, where means still failed, districts should be allowed to rate themselves, but only for buildings and exhibitions. They desired that Government should provide inspectors, and the Universities examiners. The exhibitions would give free access to middle-class schools to children of the working class showing aptitude and desire for more skilled employment in life; and public opinion is plainly showing itself in preference of such provision for exceptional ability to what is practically a public bounty for an artificial "bounty of assistance" having one class to spoil another.

Such were the conclusions arrived at, after most careful inquiry, consideration, and repeated discussion, by the most competent authorities.

Their proposal to carry out the scheme by districting the kingdom, and distributing endowments so as to supply the various requirements of every locality, could not pass the ordeal of Parliamentary debate. Opposition was made, not to the Commissioners' views of what the middle-class schools should be, but to the proposed grouping of endowments in different places. The scheme was also based on the action of counties, or groups of counties; and the boroughs objected to being absorbed, for the purpose, in larger areas. The very questionable benefit some of them derived from the patronage, or from the money value, of their endowments, they would not part with, even for the sake of a wider and better application of them. The senseless argument was also adduced that the letter of wills should be enforced against their obvious spirit, however times and circumstances might have changed. The London School Board, now raising 'as a burning question' the claims of education to wider use of City endowments, indicates a probability of more liberal treatment by Parliament, soon, of endowments not nearly so generously appropriated.

What, then, are the materials we have in hand to meet this demand?

There are, besides many magnificent 'hospitals' of special endowment for clothing, feeding, and teaching children in particular localities, grammar schools of the better sort, that is, at least a third of the three thousand endowed schools in England fit for the purpose—at present educating nearly fifty thousand boys of the middle class, and capable of taking a great many more, both day scholars and boarders. Railways have greatly enlarged the area of possible day attendance at these schools in large towns. They are, however, quite insufficient for the growing demand, and they are unequally distributed through the kingdom, owing to altered aggregation of population. They have mostly been brought under new schemes of management more adapted to the times by the Charity Commissioners; and some, too much affecting the classical grade, have been made more commercial. Fresh foundations are in great demand in many places, and the demand is being met, checked only by the competition of Government. The munificent and accomplished Duke of Devonshire was very lately engaged in the establishment of a new grammar school at Carlisle, and the Lord Chancellor of another at Petersfield.

There are also many private schools started on the ordinary commercial principle of supply and demand—some of them very good of the second grade, but few good of the lower grade, and scarcely any at present equal to the highest requirements of the middle class. What is wanted, in order to bring them into much

larger demand, is some public test of merit or good inspection, which the Universities could best supply, and by their local examinations are already partially supplying. The snare of such schools is subserviency to the patronage of parents, of which the endowed schools are of course more independent.

There are, moreover, proprietary schools, the property of incorporated shareholders, not of the schoolmasters themselves, chiefly of recent origin, and much on the increase. Of this sort, of the highest grade, King's College was the earliest example, to which many others have been affiliated in the neighbourhood of London, and, more or less like which, many have sprung up all over the kingdom, such as the College of the International Education Society at Spring Grove. The recently-established County Schools are a valuable contribution of second grade proprietary schools. A third grade consists of those intended for the lower middle class. Some have been established by denominational bodies, which receive special life and vigour from the religious zeal of their founders. The last undertaking of the proprietary sort is one advertised by the 'Public Intermediate Day School Company,' who state their object to be 'to establish, organise, and manage, on a Christian basis with a conscience clause, self-supporting public day schools, intermediate in grade between the elementary schools and public schools of the higher class.' On this company's committee are the Bishop of Exeter, Lord Aberdare, Sir Kay Shuttleworth, Lord Fortescue, Dr. Gladstone, of the London School Board, Dr. Rigg, Principal of the Wesleyan Training College, and many other distinguished educationists. Their prospectus reports that 'there are many in the social scale immediately above the range of the publicly provided elementary schools showing readiness to pay the full cost of a suitable and independent education for their sons, which in many parts of the kingdom they cannot get, and the supply of which can best be adjusted to local demand by so variously composed an association.' The history of all these proprietary undertakings, say the Commissioners of 1868, is the history of recent struggles for the improvement of secondary schools. Some have failed or changed their character; but as a class they have been of great usefulness, by giving considerable assistance in solving our chief educational problem.

The patriotism of our forefathers founded universities, and schools as feeders to them, open to the whole citizenship of the country, outside of which serfdom then lay. Some of these school endowments, by the increase of wealth and by the raising of their terms, have become available only for the richer classes. The working class is not, as erst, unthought of for education, but is publicly provided for. What the patriotism of the present day, therefore, has to do, whether by endowment or otherwise, is to provide schools for the middle classes adequate to the requirements both of the times and of their social status. It is already evident by the demand that good schools

of this sort would cover their own cost and be profitable. Even the competing Treasury has not shut up private purses, and larger fees are willingly paid by parents, though also rated for the competing schools, for an education which they prefer. *Ce n'est que le premier pas qui coûte*, that is, the first establishment is the only difficulty. If competition were equally weighted in this respect, there would be ample income for current expenditure and a profit; and University men are found readily taking the masterships of such schools as are already started. It is by such independent education alone that the sons of our middle class can be trained to take their proper place in the next generation. The associations, habits, and traditions of childhood should be no narrower than the station they lead to. Government education is too cramped, inelastic, loses too much the variety of teaching talent, and is too much exposed to official and legislative quackery to suit the independent middle class of England.

Besides, what all ratepayers pay for must avoid what ratepayers will not agree to. Heaven preserve our middle-class education from the 'religious difficulty!' The feeling of this nation is repugnant to the sacrifice of religious teaching in school for exaggerated fears of infant dogmatism. The single fact that the Bible itself has not escaped the 'expurgatory index' of some School Boards is enough to draw from English parents larger payment for education out of their control. There is a still graver fact that Government officials publish 'science primers,' naturally obtaining use in Government schools, in which the absence of religion is supplied by sceptical philosophy. To this danger, however, ratepayers may agree to be indifferent, or parental responsibility should be keenly alive.

For technical instruction, there seems no lack of both corporate and individual liberality ready to supply schools, and scholarships for free admission of rising talent to them. The City and Guilds of London Institute and Mr. Whitworth may be cited as splendid examples of patronage of both kinds. There are Institutes in our great manufacturing towns which comprise in their ample circle of subjects all that is wanted for this purpose, and the comparative desertion in such towns of more ambitious Colleges established for lectures on abstract science indicates the limits of the practical requirements of artisans, as distinct from more literary and professional students. Where no such Institutes exist, there is a cry for night schools, by no means equally serviceable, and which are a poor Government postscript to elementary schools. The City Institute just named derives all its external aid from King's College and kindred institutions, and none from Government. The present Commissioners on Technical Instruction seem to assume that schools for this purpose are in this country to be a part of the State educational undertaking. They say, 'It is clearly the aim of the Government that this superior instruction shall be placed as fully as possible within the reach of the working class.' But as a special part of the middle class

education, the aim of Government should be to trust those who are interested, and stand out of their way. If we may judge by what the Government are doing in this teaching way at South Kensington, we shall not expect from such quarters much effect on the science and art proficiency of our artizans, nor brightening prospects of our 'holding our own' in foreign competition. What is taught there is not so much the application of natural science to industrial art, as the old subjects of the fourth schedule of our Board schools over again—animal physiology, magnetism, acoustics, &c. Not a tenth of the papers sent in come from the artizan class at all. Pupil teachers are the most numerous winners of the science certificates, for which they are credited with extra marks in competing for Queen's scholarships, often at the cost of their arithmetic and algebra. There are three thousand school teachers in London alone holding on an average three such certificates each, very few of whom are giving any sort of science instruction in their schools. The very system of examination keeps practical artisans away, while teachers, diverted from more solid work by the Government prizes, get 'passed' by thousands with the help of special cram-books, the use of which is forbidden in all foreign 'schools of technology.'

The Schools of Art established by the Department in many of our larger towns, though they must, equally with those established by private liberality, be of great use to students really needing their help, yet waste vast sums of public money in giving tedious drilling to hosts of boys who do not intend to make any kind of drawing their profession; merely to get credit and grants to elementary schools.

It is quite true that the late Prince Consort rightly judged that nothing was more needed for the material prosperity of this country than schools of science and art. The South Kensington Museums were enough to attach national gratitude to his memory. He truly said of them, that it was an education of itself to walk through their carefully arranged and labelled collections. But it is mortifying to find still so many foreign artists and designers in our best manufactories, and our manufactures so often surpassed by Continental rivals. It indicates some flaw in our training, which is certainly not stinted in cost. Friendly critics attribute the failure to want of thoroughness in general education, which is the necessary preparation for all special work.

Schools of practical science and art are necessities in all our centres of industry for the sons of the middle class and rising talent in the lines of life requiring such special training. Facilities for acquiring a knowledge of both theoretical and applied science are certainly, at present, much greater on the Continent than here. But it is the reorganisation of our secondary general instruction that is in this view most urgently needed, and so thought our Science Inquiry Commissioners some ten or twelve years ago. Government

grants to managers and teachers of elementary schools for results on examination of their pupils in science and drawing will not effect what is wanted. The schools above adverted to are more in the right direction, not supported by rates nor under Government, but meeting local demand by large voluntary action on the part of men and bodies directly interested. The Universities could greatly assist in testing the work done, and in Scotland have already done so far more than in England.

In the United States and in Canada, the earliest age at which students are admitted to the colleges of technology is from sixteen to eighteen, and then only on their passing an examination in algebra, geometry, and what we call 'specific subjects' learnt in previous schools. The late Canadian Inquiry Commission received the strongest testimony to the necessity of keeping technical instruction entirely apart from and independent of general school education. They stated that 'on no point was their evidence more clear and uniform than as to the desirability of the "schools of technology" being kept entirely separate from all other schools.' 'To attach them to any other as appendages would be to ensure their failure.' What we want in this way, besides local schools of art properly made use of, is more provision in industrial centres of teachers, apparatus, and rooms for the study of applied science for youths of the middle class destined for apprenticeship to skilled manufacturers or agriculturists, civil and mining engineers, metallurgists, chemists, apothecaries, or for any other line of scientific calling; and of exhibitions for poorer youths of ability to make use of such a provision.

The national education of every country should, in principle, be in harmony with the political system of the country. It cannot be so in England, if while the Legislature restricts public educational aid to elementary instruction mainly intended for the working classes, the Government is allowed to intrude itself into the management of higher education. Of course, we must consider the first steps taken in the aspect of their further tendency. Government beginning to deal with higher instruction will not stop at the beginning. No principle can govern the amount of interference or limit the range of educational undertaking. Government so taking into its hands gradually the direction, superintendence, payment, and uniform method of the nation's education, will contravene in an essential point the whole tenor of our political system. The Constitution of this country seems, as it were, a connecting link between the Governments of Europe and the progressive popular power westward, that is, between sovereignty for the people and sovereignty by the people. If we allow the element of Government patronage to preponderate in our institutions, the free and progressive spirit of the nation must proportionately suffer. England knows the secret of freedom consists in self-administration in all concerns capable of it, that is, in all of which a central undertaking is unnecessary. Of all concerns, the education of

children is the very last of which the State should needlessly take the conduct from those who are naturally and immediately responsible. It cannot now be said that parents of the middle class are not generally as willing, as they are able, to undertake the charge of their children's education, if only good and well-proved means are made ready to their use. If they are tempted to say to themselves, 'We pay for a public education, so we may as well make use of it,' they will only spoil the provision made for others, and get a very inadequate one for their own.

In our national race with foreigners we should by mistaking our own course only fall further behind them. The mistake we are falling into, if we entrust School Boards with so-called 'higher elementary' education, partakes of two false ideas—an inappreciation of what our middle classes require, and a depreciation of the education of the working classes, as if its object were to rescue them all from a degraded position. Mr. Mundella rather encouraged the latter idea by citing as a sample of the normal course of national education, not of the freedom of its outlet, that it raised from the ranks of labour distinguished men. The children of labour, with free access to any other line of life they may be fit for, are in no contemptible social position. The working classes have nothing to be ashamed of in their own career. For the only permanent result of life, it may be as well followed as any other line. The highest thoughts within human capacity are as accessible to the labourer as to the prince. The noblest moral culture, the highest principles of action, and, in the most important sense, the best mental training also, are even favoured by the hardest lot. As to intellectual development in the philosophic sense, and stores of knowledge, when it is said that all should receive as much as possible of them, no exception need be taken to the sentiment, but only to the inference that all should be philosophers. No doubt, both individually and nationally, we are all bound to improve and cultivate every talent of body, soul, and mind to the utmost in common service to God. To quote the Vice-President again, he lately well said that 'the true object of national education was to make a thriving, honest, and God-fearing people.' But man does not live by books alone, and a smatter of 'specific subjects,' alike for all classes, is a poor prescription for a thriving commonwealth. Far better will it be if Government aid to national education in this country is kept to what it is wanted, and able to effect. Then will higher education meet the advancing demand, and rise of its own impulse to its natural level.

The prayer which Sydney Smith offered up in St. Paul's Cathedral for an heir born to the British throne is applicable to our Education Minister with reference to the education of the middle classes: 'May he grow in favour with the nation by leaving to its own force and direction the energy of a free people.'

NORTON.

VILLAGE LIFE IN NORFOLK
SIX HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

A VILLAGE LECTURE.

[In the autumn of 1878, while on a visit at Rougham Hall, Norfolk, the seat of Mr. Charles North, my host drew my attention to some boxes of manuscripts, which he told me nobody knew anything about, but which I was at liberty to ransack to my heart's content. I at once dived into one of the boxes, and then spent half the night in examining some of its treasures. The chest is one of many, constituting in their entirety a complete apparatus for the history of the parish of Rougham from the time of Henry the Third to the present day—so complete that it would be difficult to find in England a collection of documents to compare with it.

The whole parish contains no more than 2,627 acres, of which about thirty acres were not included in the estate slowly piled up by the Yelvertons, and purchased by Roger North in 1690. Yet the charters and evidences of various kinds, which were handed over with this small property dating *before* the sixteenth century, count by thousands. The smaller strips of parchment or vellum—for the most part conveyances of land, and having seals attached—have been roughly bound together in volumes, each containing about one hundred documents, and arranged with some regard to chronology, the undated ones being collected into a volume by themselves. I think it almost certain that the arranging of the early charters in their rude covers was carried out before 1500 A.D., and I have a suspicion that they were grouped together by Sir William Yelverton, 'the cursed Norfolk Justice' of the Paston Letters, who inherited the estate from his mother in the first half of the fifteenth century.

When Roger North purchased the property the ancient evidences were handed over to him as a matter of course; and there are many notes in his handwriting showing that he found the collection in its present condition, and that he had bestowed much attention upon it. Blomefield seems to have been aware of the existence of the Rougham muniments, but I think he never saw them; and for one hundred and fifty years, at least, they had lain forgotten, until they came

under my notice. Of this large mass of documents I have copied or abstracted scarcely more than five hundred, and I have not yet got beyond the year 1355. The court rolls, bailiffs' accounts, and early leases I have hardly looked at.

The following lecture—slight as a village lecture must needs be and ought to be—gives some of the results of my examination of the first series of the Rougham charters. The lecture was delivered in the Public Reading-room of the village of Tittleshall, a parish adjoining Rougham, and was listened to with apparent interest and great attention by an audience of farmers, village tradesmen, mechanics, and labourers. I was careful to avoid naming any place which my audience were not likely to know well; and there is hardly a parish mentioned which is five miles from the lecture-room.

When speaking of 'six hundred years,' I gave myself roughly a limit of thirty years before and after 1280, and I have rarely gone beyond that limit on one side or the other.

They who are acquainted with Mr. Rogers' *History of Prices* will observe that I have ventured to put forward views on more points than one, very different from those which he advocates.

Of the value of Mr. Rogers' compilation, and of the statistics which he has tabulated with so much labour, there can be but one opinion. It is when we come to draw our inferences from such returns as these, and bring to bear upon them the side lights which further evidence affords, that differences of opinion arise among inquirers. I really know nothing about the Midlands in the thirteenth century; I am disgracefully ignorant of the social condition of the South and West; but the early history of East Anglia, and especially of Norfolk, has for long possessed a fascination for me; and though I am slow to arrive at conclusions, and have a deep distrust of those historians who for every pair of facts construct a trinity of theories, I feel sure of my ground on some matters because I have done my best to use all such evidence as has come in my way.]

When I was asked to address you here this evening, I resolved that I would try to give you some notion of the kind of life which your fathers led in this parish a long, long time ago; but on reflection I found that I could not tell you very much that I was sure of about your own parish of Tittleshall, though I could tell you something that is new to you about a parish that joins your own; and because what was going on among your close neighbours at any one time would be in the main pretty much what would be going on among your forefathers, in bringing before you the kind of life which people led in the adjoining parish of Rougham six hundred years ago, I should be describing precisely the life which people were leading here in this parish—people, remember, whose blood is throbbing in the veins of some of you present; for from that dust that lies in your

churchyard yonder I make no doubt that some of you have sprung—you whom I am speaking to now.

Six hundred years ago! Yes, it is a long time. Not a man of you can throw his thoughts back to so great a lapse of time. I do not expect it of you; but nevertheless I am going to try to give you a picture of a Norfolk village, and that a village which you all know better than I do, such as it was six hundred years ago.

In those days an ancestor of our gracious Queen, who now wears the crown of England, was king; and the Prince of Wales, whom many of you must have seen in Norfolk, was named *Edward* after this same king. In those days there were the churches standing generally where they stand now. In those days, too, the main roads ran pretty much where they now run; and there was the same sun overhead, and there were clouds, and winds, and floods, and storms, and sunshine; but if you, any of you, could be taken up and dropped down in Tittleshall or Rougham such as they were six hundred years ago, you would feel almost as strange as if you had been suddenly transported to the other end of the world.

The only object that you would at all recognise would be the parish church. That stands where it did, and where it has stood, perhaps, for a thousand years or more; but, at the time we are now concerned with, it looked somewhat different from what it looks now. It had a tower, but that tower was plainer and lower than the present one. The windows, too, were very different; they were smaller and narrower; I think it probable that in some of them there was stained glass, and it is almost certain that the walls were covered with paintings representing scenes from the Bible, and possibly some stories from the lives of the saints, which everybody in those days was familiar with. There was no pulpit and no reading desk. When the parson preached, he preached from the steps of the altar. The altar itself was much more ornamented than now it is. Upon the altar there were always some large wax tapers which were lit on great occasions, and over the altar there hung a small lamp which was kept alight night and day. It was the parson's first duty to look to it in the morning, and his last to trim it at night.

The parish church was too small for the population of Rougham, and the consequence was that it had been found necessary to erect what we should now call a chapel of ease—served, I suppose, by an assistant priest, who would be called a chaplain. I cannot tell you where this chapel stood, but it had a burial-ground of its own.¹

There was, I think, only one road deserving the name, which passed through Rougham. It ran almost directly north and south

¹ Compare the remarkable regulations of Bishop Woodloke of Winchester (A.D. 1308), illustrative of this. Wilkins' *Conc.*, vol. ii. p. 296. By these constitutions every chapel, two miles from the mother church, was bound to have its own burying-ground.

from Coxford Abbey to Castle Acre Priory. The village of Rougham in those days was in its general plan not very unlike the present village—that is to say, the church standing where it does; next to the churchyard was the parsonage with a croft attached; and next to that a row of houses inhabited by the principal people of the place, whose names I could give you and the order of their dwellings, if it were worth while. Each of these houses had some outbuildings—cowsheds, barns, &c., and a small croft fenced round. Opposite these houses was another row facing west, as the others faced east; but these latter houses were apparently occupied by the poorer inhabitants—the smith, the carpenter, and the general shopkeeper, who called himself, and was called by others, the *merchant*. There was one house which appears to have stood apart from the rest and near Wesenham Heath. It probably was encircled by a moat, and approached by a drawbridge, the bridge being drawn up at sunset. It was called the Lyng House, and had been probably built two or three generations back, and now was occupied by a person of some consideration—viz. Thomas Middleton, Archdeacon of Suffolk, and brother of William Middleton, then Bishop of Norwich. This house too was on the east side of the road, and the road leading up to it had a name, and was called the Hutgong. In front of the house was something like a small park of $5\frac{1}{2}$ acres inclosed; and next that again, to the south, 4 acres of ploughed land; and behind that again—i.e. between it and the village—there was the open heath. Altogether, this property consisted of a house and 26 acres. Archdeacon Middleton bought it on the 6th of October, 1283, and he bought it in conjunction with his brother Elias, who was soon after made seneschal or steward of Lynn for his other brother, the bishop. The two brothers probably used this as their country house, for both of them had their chief occupation elsewhere; but when the bishop died, in 1288, and they became not quite the important people they had been before, they sold the Lyng House to another important person, of whom we shall hear more by-and-by.

The Lyng House, however, was not the great house of Rougham. I am inclined to think that stood not far from the spot where Rougham Hall now stands. It was in those days called the Manor House or the Manor.

A manor six hundred years ago meant something very different from a manor now. The lord was a petty king, having his subjects very much under his thumb, but his subjects differed greatly in rank and status. In the first place, there were those who were called the free tenants. The free tenants were they who lived in houses of their own and cultivated land of their own, and who made only an annual money payment to the lord of the manor as an acknow-

ledgment of his lordship. The payment was trifling, amounting to some few pence an acre at the most, and a shilling or so, as the case might be, for the house. This was called the Rent, but it is a very great mistake indeed to represent this as the same thing which we mean by rent now-a-days. It really was almost identical with what we now call, in the case of house property, 'ground-rent,' and bore no proportion to the value of the produce that might be raised from the soil which the tenant held. The free tenant was neither a yearly tenant, nor a leaseholder; his holding was, to all intents and purposes, his own—subject, of course, to the payment of the ground-rent—but if he wanted to sell out of his holding, the lord of the manor exacted a payment for the privilege; if he died, his heir had to pay for being admitted to his inheritance, and if he died without heirs, the property went back to the lord of the manor. So much for the free tenants. Besides these were the *villeins* or *villani*, or *natives*, as they were called. The villeins were tillers of the soil, who held land under the lord, and who, besides paying a small money ground-rent, were obliged to perform certain arduous services to the lord, such as to plough the lord's land for so many days in the year, to carry his corn in the harvest, to provide a cart on occasion, &c. Of course these burdens pressed very heavily at times, and the services of the villeins were vexatious and irritating under a hard and unscrupulous lord. But there were other serious inconveniences about the condition of the villein or native. Once a villein, always a villein. A man or woman born in villeinage could never shake it off. Nay, they might not even go away from the manor in which they were born, and they might not marry without the lord's license, and for that license they always had to pay. Let a villein be never so shrewd or enterprising or thrifty, there was no hope for him to change his state, except by the special grace of the lord of the manor.² Yes! there *was* one means whereby he could be set free, and that was if he could get a bishop to ordain him. The fact of a man being ordained at once made him a free man, and a knowledge of this fact must have served as a very strong inducement to young people to avail themselves of all the helps in their power to obtain something like an education, and so to qualify themselves for admission to the clerical order and to the rank of free man.

At Rougham there was a certain Ralph Red, who was one of these villeins under the lord of the manor, a certain William le Butler.

² I do not take account of those who ran away to the corporate towns. I suspect that there were many more cases of this than some writers allow. It was sometimes a serious inconvenience to the lords of manors near such towns as Norwich or Lynn. A notable example may be found in the *Abbrev. Placit.* p. 316 (6th. E. ii. Easter term). It seems that no less than eighteen villeins of the Manor of Cossey were named in a mandate to the Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, who were to be taken and reduced to villeinage, and their goods seized. Six of them pleaded that they were citizens of Norwich—the city being about four miles from Cossey.

Ralph Red had a son Ralph, who I suppose was an intelligent youth, and made the most of his brains. He managed to get ordained, about six hundred years ago, and he became a chaplain, perhaps to that very chapel of ease I mentioned before. His father, however, was still a villein, liable to all the villein services, and *belonging* to the manor and the lord, he and all his offspring. Young Ralph did not like it; and at last, getting the money together somehow, he bought his father's freedom, and, observe, with his freedom the freedom of all his father's children too, and the price he paid was twenty marks. Of the younger Ralph, who bought his father's freedom, I know little more; but, less than one hundred and fifty years after the elder man received his liberty, a lineal descendant of his became lord of the manor of Rougham; and, though he had no son to carry on his name, he had a daughter who married a learned judge, Sir William Yelverton, Knight of the Bath, whose monument you may still see at Rougham Church, and from whom were descended the Yelvertons, Earls of Sussex, and the present Lord Avonmore, who is a scion of the same stock.

When Ralph Red bought his father's freedom of William le Butler, William gave him an acknowledgment for the money, and a written certificate of the transaction, but he did not sign his name. In those days nobody signed their names, not because they could not write (for I suspect that just as large a proportion of people in England could write well six hundred years ago, as could have done so forty years ago), but because it was not the fashion to sign one's name. Instead of doing that, everybody who was a free man, and a man of substance, in executing any legal instrument, affixed to it his seal, and that stood for his signature. People always carried their seals about with them in a purse or small bag, and it was no uncommon thing for a pickpocket to cut off this bag and run away with the seal, and thus put the owner to very serious inconvenience. This was what actually did happen once to William le Butler's father-in-law. He was a certain Sir Richard Bellhouse, and he lived at North Tuddenham, near Dereham. Sir Richard was High Sheriff for the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk in 1291, and his duties brought him into court on the 25th of January of that year before one of the Judges at Westminster. I suppose the court was crowded, and in the crowd some rogue cut off Sir Richard's purse, and made off with his seal. I never heard that he got it back again.

And now I must return to the point from which I wandered, when I began to speak of the free tenants and the villeins. William le Butler, who sold old Ralph Red to his own son, the young Ralph, was himself sprung from a family who had held the manor of Rougham for about a century. His father was Sir Richard le Butler, who died about 1280, leaving behind him one son, our friend William, and three daughters. Unfortunately, William le

Butler survived his father only a very short time, and he left no child to succeed him. The result was that the inheritance of the old knight was divided among his daughters, and what had been hitherto a single lordship became three lordships, each of the parceners looking very jealously after his own interest, and striving to make the most of his powers and rights. Though each of the husbands of Sir Richard le Butler's daughters was a man of substance and influence yet, when the manor was divided, no one of them was anything like so great a person as the old Sir Richard. In those days, as in our own, there were much richer men in the country than the country gentlemen, and in Rougham at this time there were two very prosperous men who were competing with one another as to which should buy up most land in the parish, and be the great man of the place. The one of these was a gentleman called Peter the Roman, and the other was called Thomas the Lucky. They were both the sons of Rougham people, and it will be necessary to pursue the history of each of them to make you understand how things went in those 'good old times.'

First let me deal with Peter the Roman. He was the son of a Rougham lady named Isabella, by an Italian gentleman named Iacomo de Ferentino, or, if you like to translate it into English, James of Ferentinum.

How James of Ferentinum got to Rougham and captured one of the Rougham heiresses we shall never know for certain. But we do know that in the days of King Henry, who was the father of King Edward, there was a very large incursion of Italian clergy into England, and that the Pope of Rome got preferment of all kinds for them. In fact, in King Henry's days the Pope had immense power in England, and it looked for a while as if every valuable piece of preferment in the kingdom would be bestowed upon Italians who did not know a word of English, and who often never came near their livings at all. One of these Italian gentlemen, whose name was *John* de Ferentino, was very near being made Bishop of Norwich; he *was* Archdeacon of Norwich, but though the Pope tried to make him bishop, he happily did not succeed in forcing him into the see that time, and John of Ferentinum had to content himself with his archdeaconry and one or two other preferments. Our friend at Rougham may have been, and probably was, some kinsman of the Archdeacon, and it is just possible that Archdeacon Middleton, who, you remember, bought the Lyng House, may have had, as his predecessor in it, another Archdeacon, this John de Ferentino, whose nephew or brother, James, married Miss Isabella de Rucham, and settled down among his wife's kindred. Be that as it may, James de Ferentino had two sons, Peter and Richard, and it appears that their father, not content with such education as Oxford or Cambridge could afford—though at this time Oxford was one of the most renowned universities in Europe—sent his sons to Rome, having

an eye to their future advancement; for in King Henry's days a young man that had friends at Rome was much more likely to get on in the world than he who had only friends in the King's Court, and he who wished to push his interests in the Church must look to the Pope, and not to the King of England, as his main support.

When young Peter came back to Rougham, I dare say he brought back with him some new airs and graces from Italy, and I dare say the new fashions made people open their eyes. And they gave the young fellow the name he is known by in future, and to the day of his death people called him Peter Romayn, or Peter the Roman. But Peter came back a changed man in more ways than one. He came back a *cleric*. We in England now recognise only three orders of clergy—bishops, priests, and deacons. But six hundred years ago it was very different. In those days a man might be two or three degrees below a deacon, and yet be counted a cleric and belonging to the clergy; and even though Peter Romayn may not have been a priest or a deacon when he came back to Rougham he was certainly in holy orders, and as such he was a privileged person in many ways, but a very unprivileged person in one way: he might never marry. If a young fellow who had once been admitted a member of the clerical body took to himself a wife, he was, to all intents and purposes, a ruined man.

But when laws are pitted against human nature, they may be forced upon people by the strong hand of power, but they are sure to be evaded where they are not broken legally; and this law of forbidding clergymen to marry *was* evaded in many ways. Clergymen took to themselves wives, and had families. Again and again their consciences justified them in their course, whatever the Canon Law might forbid or denounce. They married on the sly—if that may be called marriage which neither the Church nor the State recognised as a binding contract, and which was ratified by no formality or ceremony civil or religious: but public opinion was lenient; and where a clergyman was living otherwise a blameless life, his people did not think the worse of him for having a wife and children, however much the Canon Law and certain bigoted people might give the wife a bad name. And so it came to pass that Peter Romayn of Rougham, cleric though he was, lost his heart one fine day to a young lady at Rougham, and marry he would. The young lady's name was Matilda. Her father, though born at Rougham, appears to have gone away from there when very young, and made money somehow at Leicester. He had married a Norfolk lady, one Agatha of Cringleford; and he seems to have died, leaving his widow and daughter fairly provided for; and they lived in a house at Rougham, which I dare say Richard of Leicester had bought. I have no doubt that young Peter Romayn was a young gentleman of means, and it is clear that Matilda was a very desirable bride. But then Peter *couldn't* marry! How was

it to be managed? I think it almost certain that no religious ceremony was performed, but I have no doubt that the two plighted their troth either to each, and that somehow they did become man and wife, if not in the eyes of the Canon Law, yet by the sanction of a higher law to which the consciences of honourable men and women appeal against all the immoral enactments of human legislation.

Among the charters at Rougham I find eighteen or twenty which were executed by Peter Romayn and Matilda. In no one of them is she called his wife; in all of them it is stipulated that the property shall descend to whomsoever they shall leave it, and in only one instance, and there I believe by a mistake of the scribe, is there any mention of their *lawful* heirs. They buy land and sell it, sometimes separately, more often conjointly, but in all cases the interests of both are kept in view; the charters are witnessed by the principal people in the place, including Sir Richard Butler himself, more than once; and in one of the later charters Peter Romayn, as if to provide against the contingency of his own death, makes over all his property in Rougham without reserve to Matilda, and constitutes her the mistress of it all.³ Some year or two after this, Matilda executes her last conveyance, and executes it alone. She sells her whole interest in Rougham—the house in which she lives and all that it contains—lands and ground-rents, and everything else, for money down, and we hear of her no more. It is a curious fact that Peter Romayn was not the only clergyman in Rougham whom we know to have been married.

I said that the two prosperous men in Rougham six hundred years ago were Peter Romayn and Thomas the Lucky, or, as his name appears in the Latin Charters, Thomas Felix. When Archdeacon Middleton gave up living at Rougham, Thomas Felix bought his estate, called the Lyng House; and shortly after he bought another estate, which, in fact, was a manor of its own, and comprehended thirteen free tenants and five villeins; and, as though this were not enough, on the 24th of September 1292 he took a lease of another manor in Rougham for six years, of one of the daughters of Sir Richard le Butler, whose husband, I suppose, wanted to go elsewhere. Before the lease expired, he died, leaving behind him a widow named Sara and three little daughters, the eldest of whom cannot have been more than eight or nine years old. This was in the year 1294. Sara, the widow, was for the time a rich woman, and she made up her mind never to marry again, and she kept her resolve. When her eldest daughter Alice came to the mature age of fifteen or sixteen, a young man named John of Thyrsoford wooed and won her. Mistress Alice was by no means a portionless damsel, and Mr. John seems himself to have been a man of substance. How long they were married I know not; but it could not

* By the constitutions of Bishop Woodloke, any legacies left by a clergyman to his 'concubine' were to be handed over to the bishop's official, and distributed to the poor.—Wilkins' *Conc.* vol. ii. p. 296 b.

have been more than a year or two, for less than five years after Mr. Felix's death, a great event happened, which produced very momentous effects upon Rougham and its inhabitants, in more ways than one. Up to this time there had been a rector at Rougham, and apparently a good rectory-house and some acres of glebe land—how many I cannot say. But the canons of Westacre Priory cast their eyes upon the rectory of Rougham, and they made up their minds they would have it. I dare not stop to explain how the job was managed—that would lead me a great deal too far—but it *was* managed, and accordingly, a year or two after the marriage of little Alice, they got possession of all the tithes and the glebe, and the good rectory-house at Rougham, and they left the parson of the parish with a smaller house on the other side of the road, and *not* contiguous to the church, an allowance of two quarters of wheat and two quarters of barley a year, and certain small dues which might suffice to keep body and soul together and little more. And here let me observe, in passing, that there is no greater delusion than that of people who believe that the monks were the friends of the parsons. Whatever else they may have been, at their best, or at their worst, the monks were always the great robbers of the country parsons, and never lost an opportunity of pillaging them. But on the subject of the monasteries and their influence I dare not speak now; possibly another opportunity may occur for considering that subject.

John of Thyrsford had not been married more than a year or two when he had had enough of it. Whether at the time of his marriage he was already a *cleric*, I cannot tell, but I know that on the 10th of October, 1301, he was a priest, and that on that day he was instituted to the vicarage of Rougham, having been already divorced from poor little Alice. As for Alice—if I understand the case, she never could marry, however much she may have wished it; she had no children to comfort her; she became by-and-by the great lady of Rougham, and there she lived on for nearly fifty years. Her husband the vicar lived on too—on what terms of intimacy I am unable to say. The vicar died some ten years before the lady. When old age was creeping on her she made over all her houses and lands in Rougham to feoffees, and I have a suspicion that she went into a nunnery and there died.

In dealing with the two cases of Peter Romayn and John of Thyrsford I have used the term *cleric* more than once. These two men were, at the end of their career at any rate, what we now understand by clergymen; but there were hosts of men six hundred years ago in Norfolk who were *clerics*, and yet who were by no means what we now understand by clergymen. The *clerics* of six hundred years ago comprehended all those whom we now call the professional classes; all, *i.e.*, who lived by their brains, as distinct from those who lived by trade or the labour of their hands. Six hundred years ago

it may be said that there were two kinds of law in England ; the one was the law of the land, the other was the law of the Church. The law of the land was hideously cruel and merciless, and the gallows and the pillory, never far from any man's door, were seldom allowed to remain long out of use. The ghastly frequency of the punishment by death tended to make people savage and bloodthirsty.⁴ It tended, too, to make men absolutely reckless of consequences when once their passions were roused. 'As well be hung for a sheep as a lamb' was a saying that had a grim truth in it. When a violent ruffian knew that if he robbed his host in the night he would be sure to be hung for it, and if he killed him he could be no more than hung, he had nothing to gain by letting him live, and nothing to lose if he cut his throat. Where another knew that by tampering with the coin of the realm he was sure to go to the gallows for it, he might as well make a good fight before he was taken, and murder any one who stood in the way of his escape. Hanging went on at a pace which we cannot conceive, for in those days the criminal law of the land was not, as it is now, a strangely devised machinery for protecting the wrongdoer, but it was an awful and tremendous power for slaying all who were dangerous to the persons or the property of the community. The law of the Church, on the other hand, was much more lenient. To hurry a man to death with his sins and crimes fresh upon him, to slaughter men wholesale for acts that could not be regarded as enormously wicked, shocked such as had learnt that the Gospel taught such virtues as mercy and longsuffering, and gave men hopes of forgiveness on repentance. The Church set itself against the atrocious mangling, and branding, and hanging that was being dealt out blindly, hastily, and indiscriminately, to every kind of transgressor ; and inasmuch as the Church law and the law of the land six hundred years ago were often in conflict, the Church law acted to a great extent as a check upon the shocking ferocity of the criminal code. And this is how the check was exercised. A man who was a *cleric* was only half amenable to the law of the land. He was a citizen of the realm, and a subject of the king, but he was *more* ; he owed allegiance to the Church, and claimed the Church's protection also. Accordingly, whenever a *cleric* got into trouble, and there was only too good cause to believe that if he were brought to his trial he would have a short shrift and no favour, scant justice and the inevitable gallows within twenty-four hours at the longest, he proclaimed himself a *cleric*, and demanded the protection of the Church, and was forthwith handed over to the custody of the ordinary or bishop. The process was a clumsy one, and led, of course, to great abuses, but it had a good side. As a natural and inevitable

⁴ In 1298 a case is recorded of three men, one of them a goldsmith, who had their right hands chopped off in the middle of the street in London.—*Chron. of Edward I. and Edward II.*, vol. i. p. 102. Ed. Stubbs. Rolls series.

consequence of such a privilege accorded to a class, there was a very strong inducement to become a member of that class, and as the Church made it easy for any fairly educated man to be admitted at any rate to the lower orders of the ministry, any one who preferred a professional career, or desired to give himself up to a life of study, enrolled himself among the *clerics*, and was henceforth reckoned as belonging to the clergy.

The country swarmed with these *clerics*. Only a small proportion of them ever became ministers of religion; they were lawyers, or even lawyers' clerks; they were secretaries; some few were quacks with nostrums; and these all were just as much *clerics* as the chaplains, who occupied pretty much the same position as our curates do now—clergymen, strictly so called, who were on the look-out for employment, and who earned a very precarious livelihood—or the rectors and vicars who were the beneficed clergy, and who were the parsons of parishes occupying almost exactly the same position that they do at this moment, and who were almost exactly in the same social position as they are now. Six hundred years ago there were at least seven of these *clerics* in Rougham, all living in the place at the same time, besides John of Thyrsford, the vicar. If there were *seven* of these clerical gentlemen whom I happen to have met with in my examination of the Rougham Charters, there must have been others who were not people of sufficient note to witness the execution of important legal instruments, nor with the means to buy land or houses in the parish. It can hardly be putting the number too high if we allow that there must have been at least ten or a dozen *clerics* of one sort or another in Rougham six hundred years ago. How did they all get a livelihood? is a question not easy to answer; but there were many ways of picking up a livelihood by these gentlemen. To begin with, they could take an engagement as tutor in a gentleman's family; or they could keep a small school; or earn a trifle by drawing up conveyances or by keeping the accounts of the lord of the manor. In some cases they acted as private chaplains, getting their victuals for their remuneration; and sometimes they were merely loafing about, and living upon their friends, and taking the place of the country parson if he were sick or past work.

But besides the clerics and the chaplains and the rector or vicar, there was another class, the members of which just at this time were playing a very important part indeed in the religious life of the people, and not in the religious life alone; these were the Friars. If the monks looked down upon the parsons, and stole their endowments from them whenever they could, and if in return the parsons hated the monks and regarded them with profound suspicion and jealousy, both parsons and monks were united in their common dislike of the Friars. Six hundred years ago the Friars had been established in

England about sixty years, and they were now by far the most influential Religionists in the country. It will not be far from the truth, and will give you the best notion of the real state of the case that I can offer, if I say that the Friars were the Primitive Methodists of six hundred years ago. The Friars gave out that their mission was to bring back Primitive Christianity, and to reform the Church by Primitive Christian methods; they were not the first people who have proclaimed themselves the reformers of their age, not the first nor by any means the last. The Friars, when they began their work in England, were literally beggars; they went from place to place, preaching Christ the sinner's Saviour and the poor man's Friend; but they preached almost exclusively in the large towns—in Yarmouth, in Lynn, in Norwich. In the towns far more than in the country the monks had mercilessly fleeced the clergy; the town clergy, as a rule, were needy, hungry, and dispirited; and because they were so, the poorer inhabitants of the towns were dreadfully neglected by the clergy, and were fast slipping back into mere heathenism. The Friars went among the miserable townsmen in their filthy reeking dens and cellars, visited them, ministered to them, preached to them, but they would take no money from them; they would not even touch it with the tips of their fingers. As to accepting houses and lands by way of endowment, they lifted up their voices against the whole system of endowments, and declared it to be hateful and antichristian. They tried to carry out to the letter our Lord's directions to His disciples when He sent them out two and two without silver, or gold, or brass in their purses, without shoes or staves, and with a single garment; they lived on what people chose to give them, food and shelter from day to day. They were the earnest and enthusiastic apostles of the voluntary system, and for the three hundred years that they were tolerated in England they were much more true to their great principle than has been generally supposed; six hundred years ago they were by far the most influential and powerful evangelists in England—in fact, they were almost the only evangelists. The Friars, though always stationed in the towns, and by this time occupying large establishments which were built for them in Lynn, Yarmouth, Norwich, and elsewhere, were always acting the part of itinerant preachers, and travelled their circuits on foot, supported by alms. Sometimes the parson lent them the church, sometimes they held a camp meeting in spite of him, and just as often as not they left behind them a feeling of great soreness, irritation, and discontent; but six hundred years ago the preaching of the Friars was an immense and incalculable blessing to the country, and if it had not been for the wonderful reformation wrought by their activity and burning enthusiasm, it is difficult to see what we should have come to, or what corruption might have prevailed in Church and State.

When the Friars came into a village, and it was known that they

were going to preach, you may be sure that the whole population would turn out to listen. Sermons in those days in the country were very rarely delivered. As I have said, there were no pulpits in the churches then. A parson might hold a benefice for fifty years, and never once have written or composed a sermon. A preaching parson, one who regularly exhorted his people or expounded to them the Scriptures, would have been a wonder indeed, and thus the coming of the Friars and the revival of pulpit oratory was all the more welcome because the people had not become wearied by the too frequent iteration of truths which may be repeated so frequently as to lose their vital force. A sermon was an event in those days, and the preacher with any real gifts of oratory was looked upon as a prophet sent by God.

Six hundred years ago no parish in Norfolk had more than a part of its land under tillage. As a rule, the town or village, with its houses, great and small, consisted of a long street, the church and parsonage being situated about the middle of the parish. Not far off stood the manor house, with its hall where the manor courts were held, and its farm-buildings, dovecote, and usually its mill for grinding the corn of the tenants. No tenant of the manor might take his corn to be ground anywhere except at the lord's mill; and it is easy to see what a grievance this would be felt to be at times, and how the lord of the manor, if he were needy, unscrupulous, or extortionate, might grind the faces of the poor while he ground their corn. Behind most of the houses in the village might be seen a croft or paddock, an orchard or a small garden. But the contents of the gardens were very different from the vegetables we see now; there were, perhaps, a few cabbages, onions, parsnips, or carrots, and apparently some kind of beet or turnip. The potato had never been heard of. As for the houses themselves, they were squalid enough for the most part. The manor house was often built of stone, when stone was to be had, or where, as in Norfolk, no stone was to be had, then of flint, as in so many of our church towers. Sometimes, too, the manor house was built in great part of timber. The poorer houses were dirty hovels, run up 'anyhow,' sometimes covered with turf, sometimes with thatch. None of them had chimneys. Six hundred years ago houses with chimneys were at least as rare as houses heated by hot-water pipes are now. Moreover, there were no brick houses. It is a curious fact that the art of making bricks seems to have been lost in England for some hundreds of years. The labourer's dwelling had no windows; the hole in the roof which let out the smoke rendered windows unnecessary, and, even in the houses of the well-to-do, glass windows were rare. In many cases oiled linen cloth served to admit a feeble semblance of light, and to keep out the rain. The labourer's fire was in the middle of his house; he and his wife and children huddled round it, sometimes grovelling in the ashes; and

going to bed meant flinging themselves down upon the straw which served them as mattress and feather bed, exactly as it does to the present day in the gipsy's tent in our byways. The labourer's only light by night was the smouldering fire. Why should he burn a rush-light when there was nothing to look at? and reading was an accomplishment which as few labouring men were masters of as now are masters of the art of painting a picture. As to the food of the majority, it was of the coarsest. The fathers of many a man and woman in every village in Norfolk can remember the time when the labourer looked upon wheat-bread as a rare delicacy; and those legacies which were left by kindly people a century or two ago, providing for the weekly distribution of so many *white* loaves to the poor, tell us of a time when the poor man's loaf was as dark as mud, and as tough as his shoe-leather. In the winter-time things went very hard indeed with all classes. There was no lack of fuel, for the brakes and waste afforded turf which all might cut, and kindling which all had a right to carry away; but the poor horses and sheep and cattle were half starved for at least four months in the year, and one and all were much smaller than they are now. I doubt whether people ever fattened their hogs as we do. When the corn was reaped, the swine were turned into the stubble and roamed about the underwood; and when they had increased their weight by the feast of roots and mast and acorns, they were slaughtered and salted for the winter fare, only so many being kept alive as might not prove burdensome to the scanty resources of the people.⁵ Salting down the animals for the winter consumption was a very serious expense. All the salt used was produced by evaporation in *pans* near the sea-side, and a couple of bushels of salt often cost as much as a sheep. This must have compelled the people to spare the salt as much as possible, and it must have been only too common to find the bacon more than rancid, and the ham alive again with maggots. If the salt was dear and scarce, sugar was unknown except to the very rich. The poor man had little to sweeten his lot. The bees gave him honey; and long after the time I am dealing with, people left not only their hives to their children by will, but actually bequeathed a summer flight of bees to their friends; while the hive was claimed by one, the next swarm would become the property of another. As for the drink, it was almost exclusively water, beer, and cider.⁶ Any one who pleased might brew beer without tax or license, and everybody who was at all before the world did brew his own beer according to his own taste. But in those days the beer was very different stuff from that which you are

⁵ I take this statement from Mr. Rogers' *History of Prices*, but I am not sure that he has taken sufficiently into account the reserve of fodder which the *bracken* and even the gorse would afford. In some parts of Cornwall and Devon to this day, animals are kept throughout the winter wholly upon this food.

⁶ On a court roll of the manor of Whissonsete, of the date 22 July 1355, I find William Wate fined 'iiij botell cideri quia fecit dampnum in bladis domini.'

familiar with. To begin with, people did not use hops. Hops were not put into beer till long after the time we are concerned with. I dare say they flavoured their beer with horehound and other herbs, but they did not understand those tricks which brewers are said to practise now-a-days for making the beer 'heady' and sticky and poisonous. I am not prepared to say the beer was better, or that you would have liked it; but I am pretty sure that in those days it was easier to get pure beer in a country village than it is now, and if a man chose to drink bad beer he had only himself to thank for it. There was no such monopoly as there is now. I am inclined to think that there were a very great many more people who sold beer in the country parishes than sell it now, and I am sorry to say that the beer-sellers in those days had the reputation of being rather a bad lot.⁷ It is quite certain that they were very often in trouble, and of all the offences punished by fine at the manor courts none is more common than that of selling beer in false measures. Tobacco was quite unknown; it was first brought into England about three hundred years after the days we are dealing with. When a man once sat himself down with his pot, he had nothing to do but drink. He had no pipe to take off his attention from his liquor. If such a portentous sight could have been seen in those days as that of a man vomiting forth clouds of smoke from his mouth and nostrils, the beholders would have undoubtedly taken to their heels and run for their lives, protesting that the devil himself had appeared to them, breathing forth fire and flames. Tea and coffee, too, were absolutely unknown, unheard of; and wine was the rich man's beverage, as it is now. The fire-waters of our own time—the gin and the rum, which have wrought us all such incalculable mischief—were not discovered then. Some little ardent spirits, known under the name of *cordials*, were to be found in the better-appointed establishments, and were kept by the lady of the house among her simples, and on special occasions dealt out in thimblefuls; but the vile grog, that maddens people now, our forefathers of six hundred years ago had never tasted. The absence of vegetable food for the greater part of the year, the personal dirt of the people, the sleeping at night in the clothes worn in the day, and other causes, made skin diseases frightfully common. At the outskirts of every

⁷ The presentments of the beer-sellers seem to point to the existence of something like a licensing system among the lords of manors. I know not how otherwise to explain the frequency of the fines laid upon the whole class. Thus in a court leet of the manor of Hockham, held the 20th of October 1377, no less than fourteen women were fined in the aggregate 30s. 8d., who being *brassatores vendidere servisiām* (sic) *contra assisiam*, one of these brewsters was fined as much as four shillings.

The earliest attempt to introduce uniformity in the measures of ale, &c., is the assize of Richard I., bearing date the 20th of November 1197. It is to be found in *Walter of Corentry*, vol. ii. p. 114 (Rolls series). On the importance of this document see Stubbs' *Const. Hist.* vol. i. pp. 509, 573. On the *tasters* of bread and ale cf. *Dep. Keeper's 43rd Report*, p. 207.

town in England of any size there were crawling about emaciated creatures covered with loathsome sores, living heaven knows how. They were called by the common name of lepers, and probably the leprosy strictly so called was awfully common. But the children must have swarmed with vermin; and the itch, and the scurvy, and the ringworm, with other hideous eruptions, must have played fearful havoc with the weak and sickly. As for the dress of the working classes, it was hardly dress at all. I doubt whether the great mass of the labourers in Norfolk had more than a single garment—a kind of tunic leaving the arms and legs bare, with a girdle of rope or leather round the waist, in which a man's knife was stuck, to use sometimes for hacking his bread, sometimes for stabbing an enemy in a quarrel. As for any cotton goods, such as are familiar to you all, they had never been dreamt of, and I suspect that no more people in Norfolk wore linen habitually than now wear silk. Money was almost inconceivably scarce. The labourer's wages were paid partly in rations of food, partly in other allowances, and only partly in money; he had to take what he could get. Even the quit-rent, or what I have called the ground-rent, was frequently compounded for by the tenant being required to find a pair of gloves, or a pound of cummin, or some other acknowledgment in lieu of a money payment; and one instance occurs among the Rougham charters of a man buying as much as $11\frac{1}{2}$ acres, and paying for them partly in money and partly in barley.⁸ Nothing shows more plainly the scarcity of money than the enormous interest that was paid for a loan. The only bankers were the Jews;⁹ and when a man was once in their hands he was never likely to get out of their clutches again. But six hundred years ago the Jews had almost come to the end of their tether; and in the year 1290 they were driven out of the country, men, women, and children, with unutterable barbarity, only to be replaced by other bloodsuckers who were not a whit less mercenary, perhaps, but only less pushing and successful in their usury.

It is often said that the monasteries were the great supporters of the poor, and fed them in times of scarcity. It may be so, but I should like to see the evidence for the statement. At present I doubt

⁸ In the year 1276 halfpence and farthings were coined for the first time. This must have been a great boon to the poorer classes, and it evidently was felt to be a matter of great importance, insomuch that it was said to be the fulfilment of an ancient prophecy by the great seer Merlin, who had once foretold in mysterious language, that 'there shall be half of the round.' In the next century it appears that the want of small change had again made itself felt: for in the 2nd Richard II. we find the Commons setting forth in a petition to the King, that '*... les ditz coës n'ou petit monnoye pur paier pur les petites mesures a grant damage des dites coës,*' and they beg '*Que plesse a dit S. le Roi et a son sage conseil de faire ordeiner Mayles et farthinges pur paier pur les petites mesures . . . et en corre de charité.*'—*Rolls of Parl.* vol. iii. p. 65.

⁹ I am speaking of Norfolk and Suffolk, where the Jews, as far as I have seen, had it all their own way.

the fact, at any rate as far as Norfolk goes.¹⁰ On the contrary, I am strongly impressed with the belief that six hundred years ago the poor had no friends. The parsons were needy themselves. In too many cases one clergyman held two or three livings, took his tithes and spent them in the town, and left a chaplain with a bare subsistence to fill his place in the country. There was no parson's wife to drop in and speak a kind word—no clergyman's daughter to give a friendly nod, or teach the little ones at Sunday school—no softening influences, no sympathy, no kindness. What could you expect of people with such dreary surroundings?—what but that which we know actually was the condition of affairs? The records of crime and outrage in Norfolk six hundred years ago are still preserved, and may be read by any one who knows how to decipher them. I had intended to examine carefully the entries of crime for this neighbourhood for the year 1286, and to give you the result this evening, but I have not had an opportunity of doing so. The work has been done for the hundred of North Erpingham by my friend Mr. Rye, and what is true for one part of Norfolk during any single year is not likely to be very different from what was going on in another.

The picture we get of the utter lawlessness of the whole county, however, at the beginning of King Edward's reign is quite dreadful enough. Nobody seems to have resorted to the law to maintain a right or redress a wrong, till every other method had been tried. . . . It really looks as if nothing was more easy than to collect a band of people who could be let loose anywhere to work any mischief. One man had a claim upon another for a debt, or a piece of land, or a right which was denied—had the claim, or fancied he had—and he seems to have had no difficulty in getting together a score or two of roughs to back him in taking the law into his own hands. As when John de la Wade in 1270 persuaded a band of men to help him in invading the manor of Hamon de Cleure, in this very parish of Tittleshall, seizing the corn and threshing it, and, more wonderful still, cutting down timber, and *carrying it off*. But there are actually two other cases of a precisely similar kind recorded this same year—one where a gang of fellows in broad day seems to have looted the manors of Dunton and Mileham; the other case was where a mob, under the leadership of three men, who are named, entered by force into the manor of Dunham, laid hands on a quantity of timber fit for building purposes, and took it away bodily! A much more serious case, however, occurred some years after this, when two gentlemen of position in Norfolk, with twenty-five followers, who appear to have been their regular retainers, and a great multitude on foot and horse, came to Little Barningham, where in the Hall there lived an old lady, Petronilla de Gros; they set fire to the house in five places, dragged out the old lady, treated her

¹⁰ The returns of the number of poor people supported by the monasteries, which are to be found in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, are somewhat startling. Certainly the monasteries did not return less than they expended in alms.

with the most brutal violence, and so worked upon her fears that they compelled her to tell them where her money and jewels were, and, having seized them, I conclude that they left her to warm herself at the smouldering ruins of her mansion.

On another occasion there was a fierce riot at Rainham. There the manor had become divided into three portions, as we have seen was the case at Rougham. One Thomas de Hanville had one portion, and Thomas de Ingoldesthorp and Robert de Seales held the other two portions. Thomas de Hanville, peradventure, felt aggrieved because some rogue had not been whipped or tortured cruelly enough to suit his notions of salutary justice, whereupon he went to the expense of erecting a brand new pillory, and apparently a gallows too, to strike terror into the minds of the disorderly. The other parceners of the manor were indignant at the act, and, collecting nearly sixty of the people of Rainham, they pulled down the new pillory, and utterly destroyed the same. When the case came before the judges, the defendants pleaded in effect that if Thomas de Hanville had put up his pillory on his own domain they would have had no objection, but that he had invaded their rights in setting up his gallows without their permission.

If the gentry, and they who ought to have known better, set such an example, and gave their sanction to outrage and savagery, it was only natural that the lower orders should be quick to take pattern by their superiors, and should be only too ready to break and defy the law. And so it is clear enough that they were. In a single year, the year 1285, in the hundred of North Erpingham, containing thirty-two parishes, the catalogue of crime is so ghastly as positively to stagger one. Without taking any account of what in those days must have been looked upon as quite minor offences—such as simple theft, sheep-stealing, fraud, extortion, or harbouring felons—there were eleven men and five women put upon their trial for burglary; eight men and four women were murdered; there were five fatal fights, three men and two women being killed in the frays; and, saddest of all, there were five cases of suicide, among them two women, one of whom hanged herself, the other cut her throat with a razor. We have in the roll recording these horrors very minute particulars of the several cases, and we know too that, not many months before the roll was drawn up, at least eleven desperate wretches had been hanged for various offences, and one had been torn to pieces by horses for the crime of debasing the king's coin. It is impossible for us to realise the hideous ferocity of such a state of society as this; the women were as bad as the men, furious beldames, dangerous as wild beasts, without pity, without shame, without remorse; and finding life so cheerless, so hopeless, so very very dark and miserable, that when there was nothing to be gained by killing any one else they killed themselves.

Anywhere, anywhere out of the world!

Sentimental people who plaintively sigh for the good old times will do well to ponder upon these facts. Think, twelve poor creatures butchered in cold blood in a single year within a circuit of ten miles from your own door ! Two of these unhappy victims were a couple of lonely women, apparently living together in their poverty, gashed and battered in the dead of the night, and left in their blood, stripped of their little all. The motive, too, for all this horrible housebreaking and bloodshed, being a lump of cheese or a side of bacon, and the shuddering creatures cowering in the corner of a hovel, being too paralysed with terror to utter a cry, and never dreaming of making resistance to the wild-eyed assassins, who came to slay rather than to steal.

Let us turn from these scenes, which are too painful to dwell on ; and, before I close, let me try and point to some bright spots in the village life of six hundred years ago. If the hovels of the labourer were squalid, and dirty, and dark, yet there was not—no, there was not—as much difference between them and the dwellings of the farmer class, the employers of labour. Every man who had any house at all had some direct interest in the land ; he always had some rood or two that he could call his own ; his allotment was not large, but then there were no large farmers. I cannot make out that there was any one in Rougham who farmed as much as two hundred acres all told. What we now understand by tenant farmers were a class that had not yet come into existence. Where a landlord was non-resident he farmed his estate by a bailiff, and if any one wanted to give up an occupation for a time he let it with all that it contained. Thus, when Alice the divorced made up her mind in 1318 to go away from Rougham—perhaps on a pilgrimage—perhaps to Rome—who knows?—she let her house and land, and all that was upon it, live and dead stock, to her sister Juliana for three years. The inventory included not only the sheep and cattle, but the very hoes, and pitchforks, and sacks ; and everything, to the minutest particular, was to be returned without damage at the end of the term, or replaced by an equivalent. But this lady, a lady of birth and some position, certainly did not have two hundred acres under her hands, and would have been a very small personage indeed, side by side with a dozen of our West Norfolk farmers to-day. The difference between the labourer and the farmer was, I think, less six hundred years ago than it is now. Men climbed up the ladder by steps that were more gently graduated ; there was no great gulf fixed between the employer and the employed.

I can tell you very little of the amusements of the people in those days. Looking after the fowls or the geese, hunting for the hen's nest in the furze brake, and digging out a fox or a badger, gave them an hour's excitement or interest now and again. Now and then a wandering minstrel came by playing upon his rude instrument, and now and then somebody would come out from Lynn, or Yarmouth, or Norwich,

with some new batch of songs, for the most part scurrilous and coarse, and listened to much less for the sake of the music than for the words. Nor were books so rare as has been asserted. There were even story-books in some houses, as where John Senekworth, bailiff for Merton Collegē, at Gamlingay in Cambridgeshire, possessed, when he died in 1314, three books of romance; but then he was a thriving yeoman with carpets in his house, or hangings for the walls.¹¹

There was a great deal more coming and going in the country villages than there is now, a great deal more to talk about, a great deal more doing. The courts of the manor were held three or four times a year, and the free tenants were bound to attend and carry on a large amount of petty business. Then there were the periodical visitations by the Archdeacon, and the Rural Dean, and now and then more august personages might be seen with a host of mounted followers riding along the roads. The Bishop of Norwich was always on the move when he was in his diocese; his most favourite places of residence were North Elmham and Gaywood; at both of these places he had a palace and a park; that meant that there were deer there and hunting, and all the good and evil that seems to be inseparable from haunches of venison. Nay, at intervals, even the Archbishop of Canterbury himself, the second man in the kingdom, came down to hold a visitation in Norfolk, and exactly 602 years ago the great Archbishop Peckham spent some time in the county, and between the 10th and 15th of January 1281 he must have ridden through Rougham, with a huge train of attendants, on his way from Docking to Castle Acre. I have no doubt that his coming had very much to do with the separation of Peter Romayn from Matilda de Cringleford, and the divorce of poor Alice from John of Thyrsford.

The year, 1280, in which Archbishop Peckham began his visit to Norfolk, was a very disastrous year for the farmers. It was the beginning of a succession of bad seasons and floods even worse than any that we have known. The rain set in on the 1st of August, and we are told that it continued to fall for twenty-four hours, and then came a mighty wind such as men had never known the like of; the waters were out, and there was a great flood, and houses and windmills and bridges were swept away. Nay, we hear of a sad loss of life, and many poor people were drowned, and many lost their all; flocks and herds, and corn and hay being whelmed in the deluge. In November there was a frightful tempest, the lightning doing extensive damage; and just at Christmas-time the frost set in with such severity as no man had known before. The river Thames was frozen over above London Bridge, so that men crossed it with horses and carts; and when the frost broke up on the 2nd of February there was such an enormous accumulation of ice and snow that five of the arches of London Bridge blew up, and all over the country

¹¹ Rogers' *Hist. of Prices*, vol. i. p. 124.

the same destruction of bridges was heard of. Next year and the year after that, things went very badly with your forefathers, and one of the saddest events that we get from a Norfolk chronicler who was alive at the time is one in which he tells us that, owing to the continuous rain during these three years, there was an utter failure in garden produce, as well as of the people's hope of harvest. The bad seasons seem to have gone on for six or seven years; but by far the worst calamity which Norfolk ever knew was the awful flood of 1287, when by an incursion of the sea a large district was laid under water, and hundreds of unfortunate creatures were drowned in the dead of the night, without warning. Here, on the higher level, people were comparatively out of harm's way, but it is impossible to imagine the distress and agony that there must have been in other parts of the county not twenty miles from where we are this evening. After that dreadful year I think there was a change for the better, but it must have been a long time before the county recovered from the 'agricultural distress;' and I strongly suspect that the cruel and wicked persecution of the Jews, and the cancelling of all debts due to them by the landlords and the farmers, was in great measure owing to the general bankruptcy which the succession of bad seasons had brought about. Men found themselves hopelessly insolvent, and there was no other way of cancelling their obligations than by getting rid of their creditors. So when the king announced that all the Jews should be transported out of the realm, you may be sure that there were very few Christians who were sorry for them. There had been a time when the children of Israel had spoiled the Egyptians—was it not fitting that another time should have come when the children of Israel should themselves be spoiled?

The year of the great flood was the frequent talk, of course, of all your forefathers who overlived it, and here in this neighbourhood it must have acquired an additional interest from the fact that Bishop Middleton died the year after it, and his brothers then parted with their Rougham property. Nor was this all, for Bishop Middleton's successor in the see of Norwich came from this immediate neighbourhood also. This was Ralph Walpole, son of the lord of the manor of Houghton, in which parish the bishop himself had inherited a few acres of land. In less than forty years no less than three bishops had been born within five miles of where we are this evening: Roger de Wesenham,¹² who became Bishop of Lichfield in 1245; William Middleton, who had just died; and Ralph Walpole, who succeeded him. There must have been much stir in these parts when the news was known. The old people would tell how they had seen 'young master Ralph' many a time when he was a boy scampering over Massingham Heath, or coming to pay his respects to the Archdeacon at the Lyng House, or

¹² The names of several members of the bishop's family occur in the Rougham Charters as attesting witnesses, and a Roger de Wesenham is found among them more than once.

talking of foreign parts with old James de Ferentino or Peter Romayn. Now he had grown to be a very big man indeed, and there were many eyes watching him on both sides the water. He had a very difficult game to play during the eleven years he was Bishop of Norwich, for the king was dreadfully in need of money, and, being desperate, he resorted to outrageous methods of squeezing it from those whom he could frighten and force, and the time came at last when the bishops and the clergy had to put a bold face on and to resist the tyranny and lawless rapacity of the sovereign.

And this reminds me that though archdeacons, and bishops, and even an archbishop, in those days might be and were very important and very powerful personages, they were all very small and insignificant in comparison with the great King Edward, the king who at this time was looked upon as one of the most mighty and magnificent kings in all the world. He, too, paid many a visit to Norfolk six hundred years ago. He kept his Christmas at Burgh in 1280, and in 1284 he came down with the good Queen Eleanor and spent the whole of Lent in the county; and next year, again, they were in your immediate neighbourhood, making a pilgrimage to Walsingham. A few years after this the king seems to have spent a week or two within five miles of where we are; he came to Castle Acre, and there he stayed at the great priory whose ruins you all know. There a very stirring interview took place between the king and Bishop Walpole, and a number of other bishops, and great persons who had come as a deputation to expostulate with the king, and respectfully to protest against the way in which he was robbing his subjects, and especially the clergy, whom he had been for years plundering in the most outrageous manner. The king gave the deputation no smooth words to carry away, but he sent them off with threatening frowns and insults and in hot anger. Some days after this he was at Massingham, and one of his letters has been preserved, dated from Massingham, 30th of January 1296, so that it is almost certain the great king passed one night there at least. It is a little difficult to understand what the king was doing at Massingham, for there was no great man living there, and no great mansion. Sometimes I have thought that the king rode out from Castle Acre to see what state the Walpoles of those times were keeping up at Houghton. Had not that audacious Bishop Walpole dared to speak plainly to his Grace the week before? But the more probable explanation is that the king went to Massingham to visit a small religious house or monastery which had been recently founded there. I suspect it had already got into debt and was in difficulties, and it is possible that the king's visit was made in the interest of the foundation. At any rate, there the king stayed; but though he was in Norfolk more than once after this, he never was so near you again, and that visit was one which your forefathers were sure to talk about to the end of their lives.

And these were the days of old. But now that we have looked back upon them as they appear through the mists of centuries, the distance distorting some things, obscuring others, but leaving upon us, on the whole, an impression that, after all, these men and women of the past, whose circumstances were so different from our own, were perhaps not so very unlike what we should be if our surroundings were as theirs. Now that we have come to that conclusion, if indeed we have come to it, let me ask you all a question or two. Should we like to change with those forefathers of ours, whose lives were passed in this parish, in the way I have attempted to describe, six hundred years ago? Were the former times better than these? Has the world grown worse as it has grown older? Has there been no progress, but only decline?

My friends, the people who lived in this village six hundred years ago were living a life hugely below the level of yours. They were more wretched in their poverty, they were incomparably less prosperous in their prosperity, they were worse clad, worse fed, worse housed, worse taught, worse tended, worse governed; they were sufferers from loathsome diseases which you know nothing of; the very beasts of the field were dwarfed and stunted in their growth, and I do not believe there were any giants in the earth in those days. The death-rate among the children must have been tremendous. The disregard of human life was so callous that we can hardly conceive it. There was everything to harden, nothing to soften; everywhere oppression, greed, and fierceness. Judged by our modern standards, the people of our county village were beyond all doubt coarser, more brutal, and more wicked, than they are. Progress is slow, but there has been progress. The days that are, are not what they should be; we still want reforms, we need much reforming ourselves: but the former days were not better than these, whatever these may be; and if the next six hundred years exhibit as decided an advance as the last six centuries have brought about, and if your children's children of the coming time rise as much above your level in sentiment, material comfort, knowledge, intelligence, and refinement, as you have risen above the level which your ancestors attained to, though even then they will not cease to desire better things, they will nevertheless have cause for thankfulness such as you may well feel to-night as you look back upon what you have escaped from, and reflect upon what you are.

AUGUSTUS JESSOPP.

ELECTION PROSPECTS OF THE CONSERVATIVES.

THE Conservative party has recently taken to going to confession—not indeed to the priest, but to the public. In leading reviews and by some of its representative men (declared and anonymous) we have been humbly acknowledging our transgressions and owning our infirmities. The (alleged) defects of our leaders, the truant-like propensities of our rank and file, our want of cohesion, our defective organisation, the absence of definite ends and aims, the true intent and duty of oppositions in general and of our opposition in particular; these and numerous other subjects have thus been lately discussed in a philosophical, analytical, practical, and sometimes personal aspect and spirit.

It appears to me that a vast amount of inconsiderate reasoning has been emitted. We have not been adopting the advice of washing our soiled linen at home. But what, let me ask, is all this fuss and fume about? An Opposition working plainly and straightforwardly to its ultimate and legitimate end—the displacing of its opponents—should not be engaged in such discussions or be found in such a state. I must be permitted to say that I do not doubt that there is dissatisfaction felt by a large number of the Conservative portion of the House of Commons. It is not that we mistrust our leaders; but we, who recollect the exhilarating leadership of Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Gathorne Hardy, are not satisfied with the kid-gloveism of the leaders on our front bench. Putting all that aside, the question is, How will the reform and rectification of all the ills that Conservative flesh is now heir to place us any nearer the end sought—the capture of the citadel, the expulsion of the enemy?

In other words, what prospect has ‘the party’ of succeeding at a general election? What about a majority? How many seats will be lost or won should we have another Gladstone *coup d'état*, or have to wait wearily the expiry by old age of this obnoxious Parliament? It is indeed easy to generalise on such a subject; and to say that we should win many seats, or further, would secure an actual Conservative majority.

Expecting to be called a political Cassandra (it is not the first time I have had to assume that part with less satisfaction than success),

I simply say that, while I believe the former half of the prediction, I totally disbelieve the latter. This is a sad story for all Conservatives who are expectants or seekers of office, and I think it probable that I shall receive the usual amount of censure applied to men of the 'candid friend' class.

It is, however, disclosing no secrets, but merely collating and applying facts lying on the very surface, when I invite the attention of political friends and foes to Conservative election prospects. In my judgment *they hardly ever were worse than now.*

I am not in the least influenced by the result of the Liverpool election. Experienced men, acquainted with that city, and the circumstances of the case, could bring down much the jubilation of the Liberal party. But let that pass. They won a surprising victory, and are fully entitled to exult over it. On the other hand, that special case does not at all displace or destroy the effect or value of signs of change in the constituencies recently quite manifest.

An embarrassed merchant or tradesman usually dreads the approach of stocktaking; the prospect is frightening, horrible! He wants anything *but* the truth. Hopes, however illusory,—means of averting impending evil or ruin, however futile—are welcomed and hugged; assets are egregiously magnified, and debts are ridiculously minimised, all to keep up a good heart; while a resort to some intoxicating drink or opiate excludes for the time all care and anxiety.

Let the Conservative party, however, look the real state of matters fully in the face, *without shrinking and without evasion.*

In 1837, 1841, 1852, 1859, and 1874, the five general elections most favourable to the Conservative party since the passing of the great Reform Bill, the representation of Wales, Scotland, and Ireland was as follows¹:—

	1837		1841		1852		1859		1874	
	C.	L.	C.	L.	C.	L.	C.	L.	C.	L.
Wales . .	18	11	19	10	16	13	21	8	11	19
Scotland . .	20	33	22	31	20	33	15	38	20	40
Ireland . .	32	73	43	62	42	63	55	50	33	70
	70	117	84	103	78	109	91	96	64	129

What was the state of the case in 1880?

	C.	L.
Wales	2	28
Scotland	7	53
Ireland	26	77
	35	158

¹ I have omitted all reference to 1847, when the nominal Conservatives had nearly half the House, because parties were so confused, and it is not possible satisfactorily to classify.

In short, counting as I do, for all practical purposes, the Home Rulers as opposed to the Conservative party, the Liberal party had in the three smaller parts of the United Kingdom a majority of 123 at the last general election.

The first question is, Will this state of things be likely to improve? What is there in the state of the Land question and the Home Rule question in Ireland, of the Church and Land question in Scotland, and of the Church question in Wales to enable us to expect better things in either kingdom? It is dangerous to prophesy; but I will venture a suggestion that a general election now would result in a Liberal gain of 12, or at least of 10, in these constituencies. The figures would then stand 25 Conservatives and 168 Liberals, or a majority of 143 for our opponents. How is this to be overcome in the purely English constituencies? The very best of the above general elections for the Conservative party in purely English constituencies was that of 1874, when the English returns were as follows:—

Conservatives	.	.	.	.	286
Liberals	.	.	.	.	163
					<hr/>
Conservative majority	.	.	.	.	123

In other words, if the party were now as strong in England as it was in 1874, it would not even then have a real majority!

The worst position (that in 1880) was as follows:—

Conservatives	.	.	.	.	193
Liberals	.	.	.	.	266
					<hr/>
Liberal majority	.	.	.	.	63

There is only now a very slight improvement in England, Scotland, and Ireland combined.

Will any credulous Conservative friend point out how a working Conservative majority of (even) ten is to be got out of these materials? If he can extract many crumbs of comfort from these figures I envy him his capacity of hopefulness. Let it be noted how marked the change after the passing of the Ballot Act, although in 1874 we had so many advantages in our favour. Few people have the least idea of the great political change which has secretly and quietly been worked in the three smaller kingdoms, and it can never be retraced.

I shall be asked, Are there no alternatives? Has the Conservative party no trump card to play to defeat its opponents with, and to turn a minority into a majority? I have heard of two:—

1. An alliance or treaty, arrangement, or understanding with, or 'receiving information' from, the Home Rule party.

2. The taking up the County Franchise question, and 'running' it in the interests of the Conservative party, hoping that the agricultural democracy may be as grateful as the urban democrats were in 1874.

As to the *first*, I will simply say that not one Irish Conservative member whom I know would have a part in so disgraceful an alliance, and that a Conservative party, so called, that would proceed one step in such a direction, would deserve, as I believe it would receive, the loathing and contempt of every loyal subject of the Queen!

Let such arrangements be reserved, if at all, for those representatives of Her Majesty and of the law and order of the United Kingdom, who announced to the House of Commons that a certain person was 'steeped to the lips in treason,' and yet within two or three weeks arranged to release that person on certain terms as to the legislation and government of the country *and the party support of that person and his followers to be rendered the Government in the House of Commons.*

As to the *second* specific, I believe in it as little as in the first. It is impossible it could overbear the certain results of the elections of Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, even if it left the Conservative party as strong in England. But is it likely to do so? 'That magnificent Bill of Sir Henry James,' as Sir Charles Dilke, in a moment of Shepherd's Bush enthusiasm, described it, is designed chiefly to break down the power of the Conservative party in the English counties, even before the flooding of the county constituencies; and though the net has been ostentatiously spread in the very sight of many Conservative birds, they appear quite anxious to walk into it. Notably Sir Richard Cross and Sir William Dyke (who ought to know) hail it with pleasure, and the latter especially received it with gushing admiration.

Those who, like myself, never believed in the propriety or safety of the Disraeli Reform Act, accept without surprise the reversal of 1874 by 1880.

Violent gusts of popular feeling may, under an equal borough and county franchise, now and then land the so-called Conservative party in Downing Street; but it will be followed with the same results as we have seen in France during the last few years—great fickleness and change among the electoral and elected bodies.

He that depends
Upon your favours swims with fins of lead,
And hews down oaks with rushes. Trust ye?
With every minute, you do change a mind,
And call him noble that was now your hate,
Him vile, that was your garland!

It is painful to see the tortuous efforts of Liberal speakers and writers to try and persuade themselves and the public that it would be honest as well as practicable to carry, first, the measure of enfranchisement and disfranchisement—for it must be both, if we are to have a spick-and-span equal franchise in town and country:—the dead level of democratic formation, with its 'molehill' and 'moun-

tain' and 'thistle' and 'forest tree' all levelled down. Thereafter, it is hoped that, by the leverage and power of the newly enfranchised, a truly Liberal redistribution will a second time be arranged, to 'dish' the small remaining chance of the Tories! Methinks these gentlemen are reckoning on a too easy victory! If the House of Lords is to remain worthy of support as a second Chamber, it must resolutely upset such a policy of political chicane, and insist on the precedents of 1832 and 1867 being honestly and logically followed. In all probability, two or three Ministers will rise and fall in attempting to cope with the monster,—Redistribution.

The most serious part of the case remains to be considered. It follows from what I have said, that I have not the least expectation at a general election (occur when it may) of the Conservative party doing more than reducing (substantially) the Liberal majority. It will probably see the extreme party of representatives from Ireland greatly increased in number and made literally masters of the situation. No Liberal Ministry will be able to stand against their desertion and opposition. How intensely this grave danger to the State and to the cause of good government will be increased, if we have an extended and equalised franchise in Ireland! The extreme party would probably return 95 out of the 105 members still, I suppose, to be retained by Ireland. The Liberal Protestants would be entirely obliterated, and a few seats only would be left (unless in isolated cases the extreme party quarrelled over two or three candidates) to the Conservatives, in the case of Dublin University and a few towns and cities, if still left directly enfranchised. The Liberal Protestants of Ulster know full well the fate in store for them at the hands of their own party; but when the time comes they will still humbly

Lick the hand that's raised to shed their blood.

At present they are terrified with the prospect. The recent county elections of Tyrone and Derry have opened their eyes, as the Lord Chancellor and Attorney-General of Ireland and their Liberal Protestant supporters well know.

What, then, are we Conservatives to do? Give up in despair? By no means. Cease organisation? Never. Despair of the State and of our principles? Not at all! The power of the Liberal party is in the *present*; that of the Conservative party in the *future*. If we cannot reign, let us at least try and govern. There are many like myself more contented in Opposition than in office, if only we are strong enough to keep the enemy in check.

The Liberal party is in full swing just now; the breezes from 'Arabi the Blest,' the hopes of disestablishment, the further degradation of the franchise, the hints of large concessions to the English farmers at the expense of owners, and other prominent Liberal

nostrums, may keep a Liberal Ministry in full sail. The strenuous political Dissenters of England, and the United Presbyterians of Scotland, the utterly inconsistent Free Churchmen (who prate about Establishment *principles* and support disestablishment *practice and agitation*) will stick through thick and thin to a Government which, while forsaking the principles on which it ascended to power, is still the blessed hope of the Liberation Society, and one which its members would keep in power, despite all its grievous departures from the faith of Mid-Lothian (1880), in order to effect or approach nearer but a little to,—disestablishment.

That the Liberal party, as a whole, will make an end of destroying I doubt. But that a large section of the Liberal party will ultimately get sick of a Ministry earnestly supported by the two members for Northampton and others of that ilk, I feel perfectly sure. We may have a long and perilous period of waiting, but I confess I look to the future revival and rule of moderate Conservative principles; not in the resuscitation of a party led by Lord Salisbury or Sir S. Northcote, or both (able and experienced though they are), but in the formation of a new party, the basis of which will be preservation and building up instead of destruction and pulling down. In this respect England will be humbly, and at a distance, following the earnest aspirations and efforts of the best and worthiest of our American cousins, who really look with astonishment and dismay at the wilfully downward course of English statesmen—in endeavouring to establish *Government by mere numbers*.

CHARLES E. LEWIS.

CONCERNING THE UNKNOWN PUBLIC.

THE Unknown Public was the term which some twenty-five years ago was invented by Mr. Wilkie Collins as a generic name for readers of what he styles the 'Penny Novel Journals.' The phrase was, in its way, a happy thought. It was well turned, well sounding, it struck clearly the key-note of the article to which it gave title, and it was harped upon cleverly, and not unkindly. From these causes it has 'stuck;' and, as I propose to deal with the subject to which it refers, I will adopt the expression, and take it for granted that practically it has become a proverbial one. Taking the estimated circulation of the 'five successful and well-established' penny serials published in 1858 as a basis of calculation, Mr. Collins puts the numbers of the 'lost literary tribes' at three millions. I believe the estimate was a modest one even for that day. Since that date the number of successful and well-established penny serials has increased, and it would probably be under the mark to count their aggregate of readers at five millions. Such an army of readers outside what is usually accounted the reading world is of course something of a social phenomenon. They are a host in themselves, but they are also a host by themselves. To most others they are veritably the great unknown; their very existence being merely a logical assumption based upon the proposition that there *must* be such a body of unknown readers standing in the relation of cause to the known effect of penny serialism. Since the author of the *Woman in White* wrote upon the unknown public and their reading, various other writers have had their say upon the subject; and recently another eminent novelist, Mr. James Payn, has favoured the world with 'some private views' upon the subject of penny fiction. That under his treatment the witless journals become a cause of wit, that with his steel (pen) he strikes sparks from their stony dulness, need scarcely be said. Still, like his brother novelist, he does his spiriting gently; writes rather in sorrow for, than anger against, the unknown public. From the internal evidence afforded by the contents of the serials, both Mr. Collins and Mr. Payn, as well as critics of lesser note, have attempted to deduce some answer to the question, Who are the unknown public? Going upon the exhaustive system, they show pretty clearly who are *not* of

that mysterious public. General probabilities and special inquiries alike lead the writers to the conclusion that this great unknown is not to be found in the ranks of the upper or middle classes. It follows therefore, they reason, that it must be looked for among the many-headed multitude; and this latter inference is more or less correct according to the limit of inclusion assigned to the many-headed multitude. Beyond this the critics have not progressed in the path of discovery. They confess that they have never been able to discover a living specimen of the unknown public, and express themselves curious to know who and what manner of people the members of such a public can be. Apart from the feeling of curiosity legitimately associated with it, this question is an interesting and even important one. It presents social and ethical aspects for consideration; bears directly upon the state of intelligence and culture existing among a considerable section of the community. That I am able to throw light upon it, that I am in a position to speak as to who constitute the unknown public, not from conjecture or any process of evolution from an inner consciousness, but from personal knowledge of many of its members, and a lifelong acquaintance with the classes to which they belong—that I am in a position to do this must be my apology and justification for wishing to add another chapter to the discussion of an already tolerably well-worn topic.

The principle upon which the unknown public has hitherto been judged is that which underlies the saying, 'Let me make the ballads of a nation, and I care not who makes its laws.' The application of this principle may easily be widened, and there was nothing unjust or far-fetched in extending it to the reading of the unknown public in seeking by its light to reason inductively from the known reading to the unknown readers. Briefly and broadly put, the 'argument' of the induction in this case has run thus:—No reader personally known to the investigating critics has ever pleaded guilty to reading penny fiction journals. The readers of these journals are unknown; their reading, however, is abundantly on hand to testify, not only to their existence, but to their taste—and by their reading we shall know them. 'Here,' have said the critics in effect, 'is a distinctive literature of which the literary and cultured classes know nothing, and which must, as a material necessity of its existence, have a large body of supporters. Its chief feature consists of fiction—and, ye gods, such fiction! dull and dreary unspeakably, and reading like tales told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing. Of their authors it may be said, as was said of the painter of unrecognisable portraits, that they are godly artists in so far as they obey the Commandments, and in drawing their men and women do not make unto themselves (or their readers) the likeness of anything that is in heaven above or in the earth beneath, or that is in the waters under the earth.

These fictions, though "running" by scores at a time, are practically unvarying in their pattern; they are stale, flat, and unprofitable, dreary and long-winded, unreal and unexciting. Yet with all their glaring and too-numerous-to-be-mentioned imperfections, they content and probably delight millions of readers. Now what kind of readers are they who can be thus delighted? They must be a "peculiar" people." Having seen their reading, one is curious to know something of themselves; of their special tribal attributes; to know who and what they are; whether they have manners, and what are their customs; what are their habits of life and modes of thought—supposing, that is, they are capable of thought. The desire for information upon these points is, however, a case of the pursuit of knowledge under difficulties, seeing that living examples of the readers of penny fiction cannot be found by the would-be students of their characteristics.'

Thus reason and write the critics and censors of the unknown public and its journals. The writing is sufficiently bright without being bitter, and the reasoning—especially if supported by selected quotations from the fictions—looks sound. As a matter of fact, it is not. It is true the conclusion follows from the premisses, but the premisses are unsound and misleading. Underlying the whole body of the reasoning is a vitiating assumption. It is assumed both expressly and by implication that the penny novel journals constitute the sole reading of the unknown public. If such were the case, that public would indeed be a curious race, and students of mental phenomena might well be anxious to discover specimens of it. That there may be individual members of the unknown public whose reading is confined to the penny journals I do not doubt. They are, however, the exceptions. As a rule the assumption here in question is an altogether mistaken one. That the unknown public are not a discriminating body of readers, that they are very easily pleased, goes without saying. Their appetite in the matter of light reading, however, though not discriminative—perhaps *because* not discriminative—is omnivorous. In the way of novels they will read almost anything, and, as a matter of fact, do read a great many others besides those they find in their own journals.

But before going at large into the question of what they read, it will be well to show who are the readers to lay bare the mystery—which, after all, is a very prosaic mystery—of the unknown public. The general conclusion that it is among the masses of the people that this great public exists, is, as I have said, broadly correct. Further than this premisses are lacking. The criticism becomes speculative; and the more express conclusion, or rather guess—to which Mr. Collins commits himself by implication, and Mr. Payn expressly—to the effect that the unknown public is practically synonymous with the domestic-servant class, is *not* correct. Thousands of domestic

servants are to be found among the millions of the unknown public; but they are comparatively outsiders and of little account. The bulk of this great body of readers comes from classes that, in their own estimation at any rate, are several 'cuts' above the domestic class. They belong to the 'young lady' classes—the young ladies of the counters, of the more genteel female handicrafts generally, and the dressmaking and millinery professions in particular. To these are added a numerous section of young ladies unattached—young ladies whose parents consider them, or who consider themselves, too genteel to go out to work. They live at home in such ease as the family struggle to maintain a 'real genteel' appearance upon an insufficient income will permit. Though they have the will they lack the means of indulging in expensive amusements. Accepting the situation on this head, with more or less of philosophy, they adapt themselves to their environment, and fall back upon the luxury (to them) of penny fiction. By a system of 'exchanges' with friends and acquaintances they can—and do—manage to obtain a practically unlimited supply of this reading at an outlay of two or three pence per week; for, whatever may be its quality, the penny fiction journal is a big pennyworth in point of quantity. As the young ladies carry their tastes into married life, the unknown public also includes numbers of wives of clerks, shopkeepers, and well-to-do artisans. Many youths of the classes here spoken of read the penny journals, and they are not without men readers in the same grades of society. The latter, however, can be scarcely accounted supporters of these journals. They rarely subscribe to them, and are only led to read them from the circumstances—accidental so far as they are concerned—of their being brought into their homes by their women folk. Moreover, the men do not, as a rule, read the stories. Fiction's the thing wherewith these journals chiefly catch their hosts of subscribers. Still, though principally, they are not wholly made up of fiction. They have their pages or columns of random readings, varieties, odds and ends, or the like, and, to crown all, the wonderful answers to correspondents. These are the parts that the men read; and in their way they are more or less readable. Except for a passing perusal, no value is set upon the papers. There is no hesitation about thrusting them into the pockets of 'working clothes,' no compunction over fingering them with work-stained hands. They can be read at times and under conditions that books cannot; and this, coupled with the fact that they are ready to hand, leads to their being the odd-time reading of many working men. Penny fiction journals are no uncommon sight in the workshop world, especially among hands who stay in the shop to their meals. Nor is the reading in this case altogether without results. I have known more than one workman, who, having a fairly retentive memory, and a ready sense of appositeness, has founded and maintained a reputation as a story-teller,

and wit of the 'that reminds me' order, solely upon his recollections of the 'Jokes and Jottings columns' of the penny serials. Others, though they may fail to remember those selected witticisms, or to perceive opportunities for using them in the way of joke-capping, yet get an occasional laugh out of them when reading them for the first time. Many a time and oft, too, I have heard such working-men readers—as I am here speaking of get as hearty amusement out of the folly suggested by some of the answers to correspondents, as any that could have been extracted from them by more polished critics.

Though the ranks of the unknown public are mainly recruited from the classes indicated above, it by no means follows that all members of those classes, or even a majority of them, are readers of the penny fiction journals. Many of them would consider a charge of indulging in such reading as an insult to their taste and intelligence, and some of these may be disposed to deny that their classes do furnish any considerable contingents of the great army of readers in question. But I speak of what I know, of what I have seen and heard, and am daily seeing and hearing. I have seen the penny fiction journals in the cottages of gentility. I have seen 'fashionably attired' young ladies sitting embayed in the front windows of genteel residences, reading the penny journals in sight of every passer-by. I have seen the journals in parlours that were dignified with the name of drawing-rooms, sometimes in the hands of the ladies of the establishment, sometimes lying on drawing-room tables among the more permanent ornaments of which were—strange as the assertion may sound to those holding the hitherto prevailing views concerning the unknown public—such books as handsomely got up editions of Shakespeare's Works, the Doré edition of *Don Quixote*, and Farrar's *Life of Christ*. I have seen these same journals in the houses of highly-respectable tradesmen and of highly-paid artisans. As already said, I have seen them in the workshops, and not only in the hands of apprentices, but also in those of grown and bearded men. I have heard young ladies, both married and single, varying their discussions on dress—their staple topic of conversation—with discussions of the plots of the stories in their favourite penny journals. I have seen young ladies buying the journals, not in by-streets or small shops, but from the largest booksellers or newsagents of leading thoroughfares. I have observed the newsboys on genteel rounds disposing of them by armfuls. Independently of personal testimony the journals themselves can be examined 'to witness if I lie.' An examination of their contents directed to this point will, I think, conclusively demonstrate that they cater not for the domestic-servant class, but for the lower, middle, or let-us-be-genteel-or-die classes, the classes whose young ladies can—in the language of a once greatly popular music-hall ditty—

Sing and dance,
And parlez-vous France,
And play on the grand piano.

Several of the leading penny fiction journals publish each week a page of original music. Most of these pieces are musically on a par with the average of the stories, and to hear them 'tried over' on an indifferent piano by an indifferent, even if genteel, performer is—and I speak from auricular demonstration—no small affliction. Nevertheless, the fact of the publication of the music, not as an experiment but as a long-established and therefore presumably successful feature, bears out what I have been saying as to the classes who support the penny journals. Again, several of the most largely circulating of these periodicals publish illustrated dress and fashion articles of a technical character. It may be said that no class think more about dress and fashion than do servants; and this is true, but with a difference. The domestic has rarely either the time, opportunity, or skill to be her own dressmaker. She must employ such professional costumiers as she can afford to pay, and 'leave it' to them to make her as fashionable as their talent and her money—the former generally even more limited than the latter—will run to. With genteel young ladies the case is widely different. Many of them, as I have previously remarked, are actively engaged in the dressmaking or millinery professions, and most of them have some greater or lesser degree of skill in these crafts, though they may only apply it for private and personal purposes. Those of them who 'go to business' have, generally speaking, 'their evenings to themselves,' while those who are not in business have their days as well as evenings. They are all bound—or believe themselves bound, on the principle that it is better to be out of the world than out of the fashion—to keep up an appearance, however small their means. To do so it is in the great majority of instances absolutely necessary that they should be to a considerable extent, if not wholly, their own dressmakers and milliners. To them, therefore, a weekly contribution towards the solution of the problem, 'How to dress fashionably on 5*l.* (more or less) a year,' is a decided attraction. The fashion article is often the point which determines subscribers to the publications of the unknown public. It contains sufficient information in its way for the purpose of young ladies who only make 'for themselves;' and to have it 'thrown in' with two or three 'To-be-continued' stories, the lot for a penny, is a consideration. The penny is invested in the combination journal rather than in a journal wholly devoted to dress and fashion—and there are penny fashion journals now-a-days—or one giving stories only, even though those stories might be better of their kind. Again a comic—and even plain-looking—maid-servant or a manservant who is either a butt, a coward, or a criminal of some despicable order, is a character

that frequently figures in the stories of these journals, and high life below stairs is one of their stock subjects of ridicule. Their poor-but-virtuous maidens who divide with Lady Clare Vere de Vere the heroine rôle are always of the young lady type. Poor they may be, virtuous they are even to insipidity, but *menial* never! Perish the thought, and in this connection even the word! They are emphatically nothing if not genteel. They are accomplished, can play and sing, and discuss the passing equivalent for Shakespeare and the musical glasses. They are 'up' in the usages of good society and society small talk as set forth in the manuals upon those important subjects furnished to a lower world by the 'Duchess of Dash' or 'Lord Three Stars.' Their conversation is fearfully and wonderfully polite—and dull. Altogether they are very superior young persons, and calculated above most others to put up the backs of servants. Apart from all this, domestics are not a reading class. The 'generals' have neither taste nor time for reading, and the more favourably placed members of the sisterhood usually prefer other forms of amusement. Moreover, the prevailing flavour of the stories, a flavour of high life, would not have the same attraction for servants that it has for young ladies. The point of the saying, 'No man is a hero to his valet,' extends in practice to all servanthood. A general knowledge of the life of the drawing-room world cannot be kept from the world of pantry and kitchen. Servants know—few better perhaps—that titled and 'swell' people are not the mere puppet-like and one-patterned creatures that the class of stories here spoken of figure them as being. Young ladies have not the same opportunities for judging on the point. To use the old simile, they are not the rose, neither do they live near it. Distance lends enchantment to their view. They see no thorn or canker, suspect no worm i' th' bud, are willing and wishful to believe that the flower is all that the fancy of the penny novelists—not to speak of *some* guinea-and-a-half novelists—paint it. Genteel themselves, they look upon aristocracy as the apotheosis of gentility, and regard the individual aristocrat as a being socially enskied and sainted. Therefore it is that the stories of the penny fiction journals are made so greatly abounding in aristocratic characters and scenes. To sum up on this head, the lines on which these stories are designed, and their build throughout—so to speak—show conclusively that they specially seek to suit the tastes and imaginings not of servant girls but genteel young ladies. *Quod erat demonstrandum.*

I have remarked that in speaking of the unknown public I speak with knowledge. I may add that the knowledge is not of observation only, but of experience also. In my green and salad days, when I was young in judgment and was, moreover, very often but a one-pennied boy in the matter of 'spending-money,' I belonged to the unknown

public. I was an enthusiastic member of the body then, and even now I do not feel the humiliation which I suppose I ought to experience in making this confession. At the time I am referring to, the *London Journal* was the leading penny serial, and its chief novelist and the favourite author of the unknown public of the period was one J. F. or F. J. (I am not quite sure about the initials) Smith, author of *Stanfield Hall*, *Minnie Gray*, &c., &c. As they came out week by week, I read both of the stories named and several of the etceteras, and I remember I thought them very pretty stories as they stood. One feature of the tales was that each chapter—and there were two or three chapters in each weekly portion—was headed by a quotation in verse. Some of these headings were of considerable length; most of them were ‘good bits’ in themselves, and were from poets who could be ‘understood’ of the people. When I had devoured the weekly modicum of fiction I would re-read and sometimes learn by heart these headings in verse, and my impression still is that I got my first liking for poetry from them. So that indirectly, at any rate, I profited by my reading of penny serials. J. F. Smith was, in his time, the Eclipse novelist of the unknown public. When he was in the race it was a case of Smith first, the rest nowhere; and the announcement of a forthcoming novel from his pen always created a sensation among the great unknown. No succeeding writer in his line has been anything like so generally popular with the penny public, nor, I fancy, has any other author, who has written exclusively for that public, written so well. As a matter of curiosity, I have often been desirous to read a J. F. Smith novel again in these latter days; but, though sufficient unto their day and immediate purpose, I suppose they had not enough vitality to keep them from putrefaction. At any rate I have never been able to meet with any of them in volume form. Judging him now from recollection, I am afraid the great Smith was a very mechanical novelist with practically only one plot and one set of characters, but with a fair degree of skill in ringing the changes upon them. A favourite portrait in his gallery was that of a secret poisoner of very pronounced principles. Poisoning was the profession of this person; and if he did not exactly work *con amore* in his profession, he had, at any rate, no compunction in exercising it. He was of

Such as do murder for a meed;

and he could and would smile, and murder while he smiled. His office in the action of the plot was to ‘remove’ such of the other characters as were ‘in the path’ of himself or the bold, bad—and rich—men who employed him to do their murdering for hire or on commission. He went about constantly prepared for business, had always in his bosom an elegant little phial filled with the colourless, odourless, tasteless distillation, the administration of a few drops of which in a

cup of tea or coffee, a glass of wine or medicine, was guaranteed to effect 'removals in town or country.' He manufactured his own drugs and 'potions,' worked in a weirdly furnished laboratory, was given to oriental fashions of dress, and altogether made a tolerably picturesque villain. Another prominent personage—under varying names and costumes—was a Mephistophelian 'foreigner' of no specified nationality. He was handsome, luxurious, mysterious, and more or less murderous. His riches

Outshone the wealth of Ormus and of Ind ;

his palatial residence or magnificent chambers were as the halls of dazzling light, with display of barbaric pearl and gold ; and his attire and nicknackery were to match. His 'steeds' were fleetier than all others ; his skill with pistol and sword 'a thing to shudder at, not to see.' He owned beautiful yachts and beautiful slaves ; and, in short, was several young gentlemen of the Monte Cristo and the Conrad the Corsair types rolled into one. Among the other stock characters of the novels were village ruffians who figure sometimes as game-keepers, sometimes as poachers ; 'ancient retainers' after—of course a long way after—the Caleb Balderstone pattern ; centenarian-like old crones possessed of the secrets of great families ; pert and intriguing maidservants, and low comedy manservants. That all these revolved around lords and ladies of high degree need scarcely be said. If I remember aright, the author was stronger in bad characters than in good, and in men than in women. His dialogue was decidedly stilted. Thus—and that the passage should still be in my mind after many years is a curiosity of memory—a character in one of his stories says of the statement made by another that it is 'a lie, a base mean lie, the coward's shield, the shuffling trickster's last resource.' As a set-off to their shortcomings, however, the tales had a certain amount of 'go' and incident in them. Though judged by severe canons of criticism the style was made up of faults, the writer had grasped the golden rule of the great Sir Walter, 'be interesting.' His manner might be inartistic, nevertheless he contrived to make his matter interesting to young readers and the uncritical—and of such are the unknown public.

During the period in which I was a reader of the great Smith and the lesser writers for the unknown public of his day, I was also a reader of infinitely greater works. It was during that period that I first read the *Pilgrim's Progress*, *Robinson Crusoe*, *Gulliver's Travels*, *Arabian Nights*, *Gil Blas*, the 'Leather Stocking' stories of Fenimore Cooper, *Ivanhoe*, *Quentin Durward*, and some others of Scott's, and *Peter Simple*, *Midshipman Easy*, and others of Marryat's. And this is the point ! This is the motive and justification for the introduction here of the above little chapter of autobiography. The personal statement is generally illustrative. In

thus mixing my reading I was a representative member of the unknown public as its characteristics remain even unto this day. This public simply consists of the less and least critical sections of general readers of the light brigade. There is no special brand or badge of all their tribe to mark them off from other general readers, and thus it is that those who have reasoned themselves into the belief that the patrons of the penny fiction journals must be a race apart, have failed in their search for such a race. They have looked for or indulged in speculations as to the probable attributes of a community that, as a matter of fact, had no existence. The so-called unknown public are great readers, while, speaking broadly, they are neither book-buyers nor subscribers to libraries. This is the position that has called into existence the penny fiction journals. Of those publications, it may be truthfully said that they 'meet a want.' The members of the unknown public are willing to spend a penny or twopence per week on their reading, but they are not capable of habitually exercising the self-control necessary for saving the weekly pence until they amount to the two shillings or three-and-sixpence which would purchase a popular novel of the ordinary stamp. If it were not for the penny journals they would often be without reading at all, and being 'constant readers' they prefer penny fiction serials to being novel-less. Should better light reading come in their way—and by one means or another a good deal of it does come in their way—they avail themselves of it rejoicingly, and can appreciate its stronger, if not its more subtle, points of superiority. Fathers, brothers, or lovers of the young ladies may be members of mechanics' or literary institutions, or work for firms having their own lending libraries, or be entitled to borrow from free libraries. They may be haunters of second-hand bookstalls, or occasional buyers of new books. By all or any of these circumstances the young ladies benefit to the fullest extent, and they are very free-handed in lending books to each other, or in borrowing them from acquaintances whom they know to be possessed of them. Though they have not a constant supply as to quantity and have to take them as they come, with respect to quality they manage to get hold of a good many books. There are few adults among them who have not read some of Dickens's novels and a few of Scott's, while Bulwer Lytton is an established favourite with them. With the leading living novelists whose works run into fancy boards editions they are well acquainted. Familiar as household words among them are *It is Never Too Late to Mend*, *Hard Cash*, the *Woman in White*, *No Name*, and the earlier works in the Braddon series. Of recognised novelists, Miss Braddon was until within the last few years first favourite with the unknown public, but now she is but one of three. James Payn's novels, and in a lesser though still considerable degree those of Besant and Rice, are dividing

favour with the works of the author of *Lady Audley's Secret*. Combined with the strong plot interest of the former novels is a literary excellence not to be found in the Braddon novels—a literary excellence which the unknown public can feel and enjoy in a general way, though they may not be able to analyse it, and may be incapable of realising some of its finer touches. A leading London daily, reviewing one of Mr. Payn's novels, remarked :—

The plot was necessary to hang the story on, and keep the characters moving, but the story is not read for the plot. It is read for the author's way of telling it, for his fun, for his side comments, full of experience, humour, and sense, and for the lively and natural talk he keeps up amongst his people.

I can understand a professional reviewer who has supped full of novelistic sensations, good and bad—especially bad—writing in this strain, but I am very much disposed to doubt whether his observations are applicable to any public of novel-readers. They certainly do not apply to the unknown public. It is distinctively due to the strength and ingenuity of his plots, their sustained as well as thrilling interest, and the skilful and telling manner in which the process of their weaving picks up every thread of detail, however loose or detached it may for the moment appear—it is distinctively due to these features of his workmanship that Mr. Payn's novels, while favourites with polished and critical readers, are making more way with the many-headed than those of any other contemporary writer. That in developing his plot and keeping his characters moving he is 'full of experience, humour, and sense,' is an added charm to his work. Coupled as it is with story-telling powers of the first order, the unknown public are quite conscious of the charm. It influences and improves their taste in novel-reading. They may not be qualified to understand every subtle indication or suggestion of character, every aptly humorous, illustrative, or parenthetical epigram. But they quite appreciate the pervading lightness and brightness of touch. It is fully if only generally brought home to them that the whole work, style as well as plot, is that not merely of a finished craftsman, but of a keen though kindly student of poor humanity—one wisely worldly but not worldly wise. The humour of the *Ready Money Mortiboy* books may be as bright and genial as that which characterises Mr. Payn's fictions, their individual characters may be as striking and as well drawn as his, and their incidents to the full as thrilling; but these points are not in this case so neatly compacted into the plots. Perhaps brilliant 'point' and startling episode are relied upon rather than strength and finish of plot; and where polished or *blasé* readers are concerned, such reliance would no doubt be justified. A novel, however, to give the greatest pleasure to the greatest number, to 'fetch' the commonalty equally with the polished, must depend as much upon brilliancy of finish in plot as in point. The better the plot the better the novel, is axiomatic with the unknown public, and

thus it comes that the Besant and Rice novels are lesser, though still great, favourites with them than those of James Payn. One (presumably) favourite novelist of the Known Public there is who holds a place apart in relation to the unknown public. And that novelist is Ouida! Great in the opinion of the class of 'real genteel' young ladies spoken of in the present article is Ouida. With them she does prevail. They quite agree with herself that she is a woman of genius. Their belief in her is not a matter of reason but of faith. They do not understand her writings in anything like detail, but they read them with effusion. She is their literary prophet. In her they recognise the embodiment of their own high and inexpressible (by themselves) imaginings of aristocratic people and things. They believe in her Byronic characters, and their *Arabian Nights*-like wealth and power; in her Titanic and delightfully wicked guardsmen, in her erratic or ferocious but always gorgeous princes, her surpassingly lovely but more or less immoral grand dames, and her wonderful Bohemians of both sexes. In the same way they believe and delight in the manner in which their own Ouida lays it on with a trowel in the matter of properties, in the dream-like splendour of the abodes, and the no less resplendent dress and jewellery of her puppets—including, of course, the silken smoking-robcs and gem-bedecked nerghils and lethal weapons of the male characters. In all these characteristics of Ouida's work do the young lady members of the unknown public—and they constitute a majority of the body—steadfastly believe. They believe, too, in her sheer 'fine writing.' Its jingle is pleasant to their senses, even though they fail to catch its meaning. Not only in this case is there community of feeling between author and readers, but the latter have unconsciously been trained to admiration. Their penny serial reading leads them up to it. Though it does not appear in penny serials, Ouida's writing is essentially the acme of penny serial style. The novelists of the penny prints toil after her in vain, but they do toil after her. They aim at the same gorgeousness of effect with her, though they lack her powers to produce it, to impress it vividly upon readers. The difference between the serials and Ouida's works, though great, is one of degree only, not of kind. The transition from the one to the other is easily made, and the writings of the author of *Moths* do the State some service in that they materially help to bridge the gulf between the generally inane fictions of the penny serials and the better classes of fiction. The unknown public cross the bridge and make occasional incursions beyond it. But they have not burned it behind them. They fall back again and are most frequently to be found on the serial side of it. To drop metaphor, they have not, as novel-readers, got beyond preferring poor novels to none at all, and it is only of the poorer kinds that they can command such a supply as fully meets their demand for reading. They are

pretty much in the same position as those subscribers to Mudie's who, when they cannot immediately obtain the books they want, take what they can get.

Mentioning Mudie's reminds me that the critics who have hitherto dealt with the novels of the penny serials have judged them absolutely. That generally speaking they are absolutely bad no one can gainsay; but put in comparison with some of the novels that come before the public in more pretentious form, the judgments against them would have to be materially modified. When a critic of a well-known review, the verdicts of which in literary matters justly carry great weight, said that the stories of a certain one of the serials of the unknown public were 'equal to the best works of fiction to be got at the circulating libraries' he gave a splendid advertisement, but wrote sheer nonsense. Nevertheless, had he qualified his statement—had he said that the stories not only of that particular serial, but of the leading penny serials generally, were *better* than numbers of the works of fiction to be got at the circulating libraries—had he said this he would have stated a simple fact. A by no means insignificant percentage of the three-volume novels which are to be found in 'all the libraries'—and which never get beyond the libraries or the three-volume form—are more flat and more unprofitable reading than even the stories of the penny serials. Yet, unless publishers' advertisements are habitually garbled, there are professional critics who speak of such novels in terms of superlative approbation and recommendation. We are told of some work of this kind that it 'places its author in the first rank of novelists,' that it 'displays exceptional ability,' is destined to 'prove one of the chief successes of the season,' and so forth. Whether the press writers who provide these advertising 'bits of fat' are dishonest or simply incompetent, is a question which need not be discussed here. Such critics and criticisms have been from of old, and never more abundantly than in the present day. It is therefore consoling to think that whatever their intention may be, their power is small. Macaulay's slashing hit at 'this sort of thing,' though written more than fifty years ago, still holds good.

At present (said the great reviewer, writing in 1830), however contemptible a novel may be, there is not the least difficulty in procuring favourable notices of it from all sorts of publications. The author and publisher are interested in crying up the book. Nobody has any interest in crying it down. . . . Some of the well-puffed fashionable novels of 1829 hold the pastry of 1830, and others which are now extolled in language almost too high-flown for the merits of Don Quixote, will, we have no doubt, line the trunk of 1831.

With a change of date this would fitly apply to hosts of well-puffed novels of to-day. In comparing the lower types of three-volume novels with the stories which appear in the more largely

circulating penny journals, no high or critical standard can be used. We may therefore take a 'market value' standard. I have heard a story of a member of a negro congregation being asked, 'How much do you people pay your preacher?' 'Sometimes one dollar a week, and sometimes two,' was the answer. 'That is mighty poor pay, Pete,' was the comment. 'Well yes, massa,' admitted the darkie, 'and it's mighty poor preaching.' Thus it probably is with the novelists of the penny serials. That their work is mighty poor we know, and so, in all likelihood, is their pay. Still they are paid; and as their work is of a kind of which quantities may be rapidly turned out, it may readily be believed that the regular hands make a living income by their journeywork. On the other hand, many writers of three-volume novels not only do not make money by their work, they have to pay to get it brought out. And they ought to be made to pay! There ought to be some manner of fine for such an offence as theirs. 'When people write for nothing, that is generally the value of their work,' a well-known editor once said to me; and applied to the popular forms of literature, the saying is undoubtedly true. Judging by this criterion, the lowest deep of novel-reading is to be found not among the unknown, but the known public. Nor should it be forgotten that the reader of a dull story in a penny fiction journal has a chance which the reader of a trashy three-volume novel has not—the chance, namely, of finding in the miscellaneous columns of the journal some extracted gem of poetry, interesting piece of information, or neat stroke of wit.

As a rule, the novel-writers of the penny serials are, like their readers, unknown; but, like other rules, this has its exceptions. Some novelists who have in a greater or lesser degree found favour with the known public, have contributed to the more prominent penny fiction journals. Miss Braddon has written in them, and so have Harrison Ainsworth, George Manville Fenn, Mary Cecil Hay, Mrs. Pender Cudlip, and the author of *Olive Varcoe*. So, likewise, has a much greater writer than any of these—George Augustus Sala; and that not only in the days when his fame as journalist and *littérateur* were yet a-making, but in later times, when his name had become famous among readers of current literature, and his special admirers were a public in themselves.

An article upon the unknown public would scarcely be considered complete without some reference to the oft-cited fact, that an attempt upon the part of the proprietors of one of the favourite serials of that public to 'run' Sir Walter Scott's *Kenilworth* and Charles Reade's *White Lies*—afterwards republished as the *Double Marriage*—resulted in a decreased circulation. Broadly, this argued an almost inconceivable want of taste upon the part of the unknown public. Still there were extenuating circumstances in the case.

Before this particular attempt to publish it in serial form was made, *Kenilworth*, as one of the most generally popular of the Waverleys, must have passed through literally hundreds of editions. It had circulated by tens and hundreds of thousands, and penetrated into every grade of society that could or did read. It could be bought new at two shillings, and old but perfectly readable copies of dearer and earlier editions were for sale on every second-hand bookseller's shelves or old book-hawker's barrow. It was to be found in thousands of homes of the artisan class, and from such homes was freely lent to friends and neighbours. Among the classes who chiefly support the penny serials, the story of Amy Robsart has for more than a generation been a standing favourite, and it is known to them not from the histories but from Scott's novel. A chief reason, therefore, why *Kenilworth* failed to draw in a penny fiction journal, was that hosts of the readers of such journals had already read the novel in its complete form. The idea of running it was a mistake upon the part of the proprietary of the serial concerned. It was as though one of the shilling magazines should in the present day give *Tom Jones* as its leading story instead of the usual novel by some living writer. The point in this connection that really told against the unknown public, was their failure to justify the bold and well-intentioned attempt to enlist Charles Reade in their service. But even here I think it must be admitted that the novel selected for the experiment was scarcely the best that could have been chosen. In its book form, it is by no means the most popular of its author's works, and its being so Frenchified weighed heavily against it with the unknown public. It was a powerful and dramatic story, and dealt with passions common to all nations; but the characters, incidents, local colour, and in a measure even the style, were French, and this served to make it more caviare to the general than it might otherwise have been. Such a novel as *Hard Cash* or *Put Yourself in His Place* would undoubtedly have proved more attractive to the penny serial readers. Fully a generation has, however, elapsed since these experiments were made, and in the interval the tendency of the literary taste of the unknown public has been towards improvement. It can scarcely be said, indeed, that any decided or general improvement is visible in their own especial journals, but the range of their reading outside of those journals has greatly extended. They have benefited, in their degree, by the enormous increase in cheaper literature of a higher kind, which these later years have witnessed. They can get any of Scott's, some of Dickens's, and most of Bulwer Lytton's novels for sixpence each. Of works of less famous though still well-known novelists that they can obtain at the same moderate outlay, the name is legion. The bulk of the best fiction of the day speedily comes to popular editions, in which it is get-at-able (and got at) by many members of the unknown

public. As a whole, that public has availed itself to a large extent of the opportunities for novel-reading which an era of cheap literature has afforded, and as a consequence is much better qualified to appreciate a fairly high class of fiction than was formerly the case. If the experiment were again made of producing the work of some leading contemporary novelist in a penny fiction journal, I feel confident it would prove successful, provided it were made 'judgmatically : ' provided, that is to say, that the story selected had, in addition to its literary merits, the 'thrilling interest' in plot of such novels as, say, *Foul Play*, *The Moonstone*, *The Best of Husbands*, *A Life's Atonement*, or *Lady Audley's Secret*; and further (as a special concession to the particular class of readers aimed at) the development of a plot involving a fair share of love interest and a happy ending. Such an experiment would not after all be any very great leap in the dark. Within the present generation Charles Dickens, Bulwer Lytton, Charles Lever, Mrs. Gaskell, Charles Reade, and Anthony Trollope have written for a twopenny weekly public, and James Payn and Christie D. Murray for a three-halfpenny weekly public. As between these and the mighty penny public it may be said that at the present time but thin partitions do the bounds divide. The taste of the penny public has been and is being educated. The worthlessness of their serial stories is now their misfortune as well as their fault. Though, from lack of a sufficient quantity of equally accessible literature of a better kind, they still read their serials as at present constituted, they do so knowing that the stories in them are more or less 'duffing,' even though there may be good and bad among them relatively to each other. They read each one hoping that it may improve as it goes on, or that each next one will prove superior to the last. They have become desirous of having better work and are capable of appreciating it. The penny-serial proprietor who is wise enough and bold enough in his generation to once more try the plan of giving his subscribers stories by leading and well-known novelists, will, I feel certain, do a good thing for himself as well as for the unknown public, while the novelist who gains the ear of that public will have such a following of readers as no writer has ever had before. To this complexion it must come at last, and at no very distant date, if the serials are to continue a profitable existence as magazines of fiction. The penny public will not move up in price; nor is there any reason why they should, seeing that it has been abundantly shown that serials can be made to pay at the popular penny. They will not—generally speaking they cannot—go to the mountain while it is imbedded in high-priced magazines. The mountain must be brought to them. As I have just said, the demand for and appreciation of a better class of fiction than is at present furnished to them by their serials, already exists among the unknown public and is steadily increasing. In the provinces the improvement in popular

taste is now to some extent catered for by certain weekly newspapers of a more or less family type. If the existing serials continue to disregard this demand they will find themselves gradually superseded either by such newspapers or by a new class of serials run by more enterprising and signs-of-the-times-discerning proprietors. Even now the serials which depend chiefly upon fiction for their attraction are those which most frequently call in the assistance of novelists not altogether unknown to the general reading public. Among the others there is an increasing tendency to become less journals of fiction and more mere miscellanies of answers to correspondents, columns of *facetiæ* or chit-chat, scraps of poetry, household recipes, and, lastly, though not leastly, fashion plates and fashion articles. As collections of such matters, and counting their wretched running stories as simply waste, they are fairly good pennyworths. By the aid of that very numerous section of young ladies who wish to dress fashionably and must dress cheaply, or inexperienced or experiment-making housewives in search of instructions for making beef-tea out of paving stones or the like, and of others who have only the time or the inclination for scrappy reading—by the aid of these classes some of the present-day serials, by strengthening their miscellaneous character, may continue to live. But those of them which put their trust in to-be-continued-in-our-next novels will have to move with the improving taste of the penny-headed or suffer extinction.

To conclude: the so-called unknown public, as imagined by writers compelled to evolve it from an inner consciousness, has been unknown chiefly upon the principle that the Spanish fleet could not be seen because it was not in sight. They were unknown because, as imagined, they were practically non-existent. Who the readers of penny fiction journals really are I have endeavoured to demonstrate, not merely by induction from internal evidence, but from personal knowledge. They are essentially a reading public, but the special literature they have hitherto supported has been a curious and pitiful spectacle. They are, however, being delivered from their literary bondage, and I believe we are within a measurable distance of the time when the deliverance will be complete; when without having ceased to be a penny public they will have become a known public; a public whose taste in reading may still—as is the case with other readers—be open to criticism, but not to any special contempt, and for whom novelists of reputation will find it pleasant and profitable to write. That it should be so is a consummation devoutly to be wished, and all the circumstances of the case seem to point to its accomplishment. On the one hand, the penny serial reading public have become and are still becoming more cultured; on the other hand, there is a constantly increasing tendency for the better classes of light reading to be brought within the reach of the most modest

expenditure. Popular education and cheap literature are tunnelling the depths of ignorance from either end ; and, whatever may be the direct line of their operation, it can scarcely fail that one result of their joint action must be to effect a material, permanent, and progressive improvement in our most largely circulating form of cheap literature.

•
THOMAS WRIGHT.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

I.

At a late hour and with much difficulty attention has been directed to the defects and abuses of Local Government and the unfair incidence and rapid growth of local taxation. Even now the public seems hardly to realise the magnitude and dangerous consequences of these evils. Their importance may well excuse the attempt made in this paper to show how fatal would be any protracted neglect in dealing with the question of Local Government, to examine the defects of our present system, and to point out the mischief to which those defects give issue. In a second paper I hope to suggest the direction which it appears to me that a scheme for the reconstruction of Local Government should take.

It is easy to understand how the topic of Local Government has not, until lately, excited a very wide or very lively interest. We have always been tolerant of abuses which do not palpably hamper our individual liberty. Since the repeal of the Corn Laws we have been an eminently busy and prosperous people; too prosperous to feel the innumerable but obscure evils which arise from a weak or unintelligent administration of local affairs, and too busy to spare the time, talent, and energy needed to remedy those evils. Moreover, this period of wonderful private prosperity has also been a period of intense political excitement. All the attention which our citizens could give to anything beyond their personal concerns was fixed on the stirring and memorable events which, within this generation, have transformed the United Kingdom and the whole of Europe. Abroad the rise and fall of great States, at home a series of vast political and social changes, left few Englishmen inquisitive enough to scrutinise the machinery which provides, or is supposed to provide, for our vulgar wants; which makes sewers and macadamises roads; which furnishes schools for the children of the poor, asylums for lunatics, and graves for all. Finally, our system of Local Government was, by its own exceeding complexity, guarded from criticism and condemnation. So gradual in its development that its history

could not be fully given without also giving the whole political and social history of our country; so often amended that the Acts of Parliament relating thereto would compose a very respectable library; so intricate that the local taxation of this realm is raised by no less than three-and-twenty distinct kinds of local authority; yet so rudely constructed that to trace out the relations, the powers, duties, and liabilities of the twenty-three might tax the best-trained legal intellect; so mysterious in its workings that we might safely challenge the most practised man of business to tell even the names of the various local bodies by whom he is taxed and ruled, our Local Government has eluded the general censure, because very few of us could spare time and trouble to find out what it did or where it resided. It has hitherto escaped the fate which must at length overtake every bad government, because it was so bad as scarcely to be a government at all. That rates have to be paid is a familiar and not very pleasant fact; but more than this our average citizen scarcely knows, or even hopes to know.

Yet an intelligent and vigorous local administration is of immeasurable consequence to a free, busy, and highly-civilised country like our own. However petty the isolated action of any one local authority may seem, the combined result of all the operations of Local Government is enormous. For the year 1880-81 the total receipts of the various local authorities throughout England and Wales, including the metropolis, amounted to upwards of fifty-five millions, and their total expenditure to upwards of fifty-three millions; and at the close of that year their total indebtedness had risen to upwards of one hundred and forty-four millions. As compared with the Imperial, the Local Government works everywhere and works always. The Imperial authority legislates, but the local authority administers. The work of legislation is limited, but the work of administration is endless. The work of legislation must be undertaken by the few; but the work of administration ought to be shared by the many. To the Local Government is confided the regulation of police, the care of the public health, the relief of the distressed poor, and the working of the system of popular education; in short, everything that most deeply affects the internal welfare of the community. In a society like ours—a society ever assuming more complicated forms—a society in which we feel more and more the need of joint action—the Local Government finds its labours grow with the growth of its capacity. Numerous as are our local authorities, immense as is our local expenditure, much that Local Government should do is either not done at all, or done very imperfectly.

Further, the local administration is the political school and forming discipline of all citizens of a free country. It is a political truism that local is the only permanent basis of national self-

government. It is an historical truism that everywhere in ancient and mediæval Europe, the free civic body was the centre of political development, of intellectual expansion, of all the higher forms of civilised life. And although in England local self-government never assumed those large proportions, or glowed with that intense life which distinguished the municipal freedom of Italy, Germany, or Flanders, yet none the less has the humble organisation of counties and boroughs proved to be the germ of those institutions which have made our country the mighty mother of free nations, destined to fill half the surface of the globe. A wise and honest local administration bears witness to the diffusion of political intelligence and morality. A clumsy and divided local administration disheartens those who are desirous of serving their countrymen.

It is a matter of common complaint in our time that London absorbs every day a larger proportion of those who possess some knowledge and some leisure. We often hear it said that the provincial cities and rural districts are dispeopled of their wealth and intelligence to swell the already monstrous growth of the capital. Nor must we look upon this change as the merely natural and inevitable result of railways, steamships, and telegraphs, which tend to centralise numbers and riches in a few great cities. Men of the highest ability or of the most restless ambition will generally resort to the capital. But to the ordinary man of education and leisure—well off, but not wealthy—London life offers very little satisfying occupation. He comes up to town because doing nothing in town is a trifle less dreary than doing nothing in the provinces. Provincial life is unbearable to such men, because it affords no objects of interest and no scope for action. But under a good system of Local Government, men who in London are absolutely insignificant, might in their own county or in their own city feel the pride of power and enjoy the consciousness of doing good. This result has been attained elsewhere: why should it not be attainable here? A friend of mine on his travels recently met a Frenchman who appeared to be a person of wealth and consequence, but who valued himself most on being ‘*membre du Conseil Générale*,’ a member of the governing body of his department. Under a simple and dignified system of Local Government, one of our historic counties or one of our gigantic cities should offer at least as wide a field to local patriotism or to administrative ability as can be found in any department of bureaucratic France. Such a system would do more than anything else could do to combine in one common work the different classes of society, and thereby extinguish their mutual jealousies and animosities. And if the leisured classes do not justify their existence by taking part in the local government, not only will their strength be at an end, but their wealth and privilege will be imperilled in a country where power has been given to the people.

Local administration, if corrupt and unjust, carries into every

class, every town, and every district those vices which the worst imperial government can only teach to a few courtiers and statesmen. Any one who has studied with interest the effects of taxation on the political, moral, and material welfare of nations, both in the Old and New Worlds, must have been struck with the fact that taxation, unjust in any particular direction, even when it seems to make amends by indulgence in some other direction, brings with it waste in expenditure and inefficiency, or worse, in administration. It does all this in ways often utterly unforeseen and unnoticed, but not surprising to those who have learnt from history that unsound principles invariably work out evil results. If we wish to know to what lengths waste and demoralisation can go, we have only to look at the extravagant local taxation prevalent in New York and other American cities where our own vices have developed themselves with the energy of youth. Such extravagance can be borne out of the unlimited resources of the United States in its youth; but it would be fatal to the constitution of an 'old country' like England. Thus, within my own experience, local taxation in New York has risen from 12s. 6d. per cent. to 2l. 12s. 6d. per cent. on the capital of its citizens—a charge which would more than absorb the whole income of an average English landlord. Yet in all this there is nothing inexplicable. Whenever the Local Government of a democratic State is not so constituted as to attract the interest of those citizens who possess wealth, leisure, and information, the same causes are at work; the same results will surely follow. As a most potent instrument of social welfare, as a most effectual school of political virtue, an intelligent, thrifty, and spirited Local Government is indispensable to the health and strength of a great democratic community.

The vices of our present system of Local Government are ultimately reducible to three; and these may be stated as follows:—

- I. The needless multiplication of local authorities and of the areas under their control; of authorities sometimes ill-constituted for, and of areas often ill-suited to, their respective purposes.
- II. The excessive and unsystematic subdivision of the functions of Local Government.
- III. The disorder in local finance and the unfair incidence of local taxation.

Let us consider each of these defects by itself, and somewhat more in detail.

I. Areas and authorities devised for the purpose of Local Government fall into two principal classes. The entire kingdom is distributed into parishes, into poor-law unions, and into counties respectively. But the borough, the local board district, the Improvement Act district, and the highway district, are only found here and there. It is convenient to bear this distinction in mind, but it must not be supposed

to rest upon remote historic causes or upon wide legal principles. Neither the one class nor the other has any true unity. Areas have been marked out, authorities have been established or reformed at various dates and for different purposes, without any regular plan of connection or subordination. But in the attempt to make intelligible a system so complex, the slightest resemblances may be of use. And for some purposes an organisation which is to be found in every part of the kingdom is more important than an organisation confined to certain towns or districts.

These reasons will justify us in beginning our survey of Local Government with the parish, the union, the county, and their several governing bodies; and then proceeding to consider the borough and other areas more or less exceptional.

The parish as defined for poor-law purposes, that is to say the place for which a separate poor-rate can be made or a separate overseer appointed, does not always coincide either with the ancient civil, or with the modern ecclesiastical parish. When the ancient civil parish proved too unwieldy separate overseers were appointed for each township within its bounds. When the parish church could no longer contain an increasing population, portions of the old parish were formed into new ecclesiastical parishes. Some parishes lie in more counties than one. Many hundred parishes are broken up into isolated fragments. Parishes of an area less than 50 acres and containing less than 50 inhabitants are not uncommon. Some parishes are governed by a common vestry consisting of all the rated inhabitants, and some by an elected body known as the select vestry.

The union respects the boundaries of the poor-law parish, because the union is an aggregate of parishes. Under the Poor-Law Amendment Act of 1834 it was formed on the general idea of taking a market town as the centre and uniting the parishes whose inhabitants resorted to its market. It was designed to be so small as to allow every guardian to have a personal familiarity with all the details of its management. In some cases its limits were determined by the situation of workhouses already existing; in others they were modified to suit a variety of local circumstances and feelings. Unions under the former Acts were left untouched and have disappeared only by degrees. Single parishes sometimes claimed to be treated as unions. Extra-parochial places could not be included in unions until later legislation had made them parochial. All these causes have helped to make the unions of the present day unequal in size and irregular in form. In 1873, out of 647 unions then existing, there were 181 which extended into two or more counties, and of these 32 were each in three counties, and three each in four counties. Unions do not respect municipal boundaries and are not respected by the boundaries of Local Government districts.

Besides the county proper, certain liberties, such as Ely, Peter-
Vol. XIII.—No. 72. X.

borough, and the Cinque Ports, as well as eighteen boroughs styled counties of cities or counties of towns, are for many purposes treated as separate counties. But the county in the ordinary sense of the term is distributed into petty sessional divisions. Each petty sessional division may consist of any number of parishes or parts of parishes, and seldom corresponds with any other area. Besides justices, the county has a lord-lieutenant, a sheriff, and other officers. But the lord-lieutenant and the sheriff represent the Crown, and the others exercise a very limited influence on the administration of the county. This is practically in the hands of the justices, who are appointed by the Crown upon the recommendation of the lord-lieutenant. But some hold their seats *ex officio* or by virtue of an Act of Parliament. All the justices of the county sit in the Court of Quarter Sessions. A Petty Sessions may consist of one or more justices of the county acting in a petty sessional division. A Special Sessions is a Petty Sessions summoned for a special purpose, by notice to all the justices of the petty sessional division. In these various sessions the county business is transacted. All other areas defined for the purpose of Local Government are administered by bodies chosen on some scheme of representation. But the county is administered by persons almost exclusively of one rank in society and nominated by the Crown.

Of the areas which we have ventured to call exceptional the principal are the borough, the local board district, the Improvement Act district, and the highway district. In every respect the borough is much the most important of these. Many boroughs continue upon their ancient footing, but the majority have been remodelled under the Municipal Corporations Acts. Some of the unreformed boroughs are mere villages. They concern us here only as an anomaly and an abuse. But all the great cities of the kingdom, except the metropolis, are to be found in the list of the reformed boroughs. These boroughs vary in population from upwards of 500,000 to less than 3,000, and in rateable value from upwards of 3,000,000*l.* to less than 10,000*l.* Their limits have not been fixed upon any general principle. They are not always conterminous with the parliamentary boroughs or with the urban sanitary districts bearing the same names. Their boundaries intersect the boundaries of parishes and counties and are intersected by the boundaries of unions. But the boroughs have been generally adopted as units by the Acts of Parliament which provide for public health and elementary education. They are governed by corporations composed of a mayor and aldermen, and of burgesses acting by a town council, which varies in number from twelve to forty-eight councillors.

In every borough the mayor and last ex-mayor are justices of the peace for the time being. A separate commission of the peace granted to any borough empowers its justices to act within the limits of the borough, as if they were county justices. No qualifica-

tion by estate is required for their office. Moreover, the Crown may grant to a borough a separate Court of Quarter Sessions, held not as in a county, by the justices, but by the recorder as sole judge. We shall afterwards have to consider the effect of this privilege upon the finances of the borough.

The Local Government District has been constituted under the Public Health Act of 1875, or under the Acts which it repealed. At the present day there are about 700 such districts in England and Wales. Some of them are also municipal boroughs. Their origin, their extent, their outline are very various. In some instances the people of the neighbourhood wished to escape highway expenditure; in others they needed an effective sanitary regulation; and they availed themselves of the above Acts. Owners of particular properties have opposed the establishment and modified the boundaries of Local Government Districts. How well they harmonise with other local areas, one example will serve to show. The Local Government District of Mossley, in Lancashire, comprises parts of four townships, of two unions, and of three counties. Many of these districts have less than 2,000, some less than 500 inhabitants. They are governed by incorporated local boards, whose numbers depend on the decision of the Local Government Board. Any owner or ratepayer in the district is an elector, and possesses a number of votes proportioned to his rating; but none can have more than six votes.

Improvement Act Districts have been constituted under local Acts of Parliament for purposes similar to those of the Local Government Districts. They are governed by trustees or commissioners, elected in various ways according to the provisions of the special Acts.

The Highway District is the chief but not the only area charged with the maintenance of highways. For this purpose the law recognises three distinct kinds of area and authority. The first is the rural parish. Some thousands of rural parishes in England and North Wales are still highway areas; but, inasmuch as many hamlets, villages, and tithings, which are not poor-law parishes, are, in virtue of local custom, highway parishes, it results that the parish is one thing for poor-law purposes and another for highway purposes. If the parish contains more than 5,000 inhabitants, the vestry may elect a highway board, otherwise a parish surveyor is entrusted with the whole care of the highways within the parish. In the year 1880 nearly 40,000 miles of road were under the control of this primitive organisation. The second highway area is the urban sanitary district, and this again may be either the borough, the Local Government district, or the Improvement Act district, each under its appropriate authority. The total mileage subject to such authorities cannot be ascertained. The third and most important highway area is the highway district formed under the District Highways Acts, by the

aggregation of rural parishes. The District Highway Board consists of the justices who reside within the district, and of waywardens elected by its several parishes. District Highway Boards have charge of more than 67,000 miles of road in England and Wales. Finally, and in addition to all these areas and authorities, Turnpike Trusts still subsist in considerable though rapidly diminishing numbers.

Such, then, are the principal areas and authorities now existing for the purposes of Local Government. Although the enumeration may not be exhaustive, their number is sufficiently striking. But it is not their number which is most remarkable or which most calls for censure. What is most extraordinary and most to be condemned is the chance medley of often overlapping areas and authorities, and the random way in which areas have been defined and authorities have been constituted. Mr. Goschen rightly described such a state of things as chaos. I have not hitherto stated the various functions exercised by each of these authorities. Where the governing bodies are very numerous, the functions of government must be very much subdivided. But in our present system of Local Government we should vainly endeavour to trace any methodic distribution of the several functions to the several authorities. For this reason I have distinguished under separate heads the needless multiplication of bodies to do the work and the needless parcelling out of work to be done. It seemed most conducive to clearness to state, on the one hand, what are the principal organs, and, on the other hand, what are the principal duties of our Local Government.

II. The excessive and unsystematic subdivision of the functions of Local Government.

Of these functions the most important are the relief of the poor, the enforcement of the laws relating to public health, the providing of public places of interment, the maintenance of police, of highways, of elementary schools, and of asylums for lunatics. In the attempt to make intelligible the distribution of these tasks among the authorities above enumerated, I must entreat the reader's patience. For only in one instance can we give a simple and universal rule. The union is everywhere the area, and the board of guardians everywhere the authority charged with the relief of the poor.

The sanitary administration provides for one set of objects in town and for another in country. In both town and country it includes the regulation of the water supply, the maintenance of sewers and drains, and the inspection and prevention of nuisances. But in town it also comprises all such improvements as the laying out of new streets and of parks and gardens, or the erection of public baths and wash-houses. The rural sanitary district is usually the union with its board of guardians. But the urban sanitary district may be either the borough governed by the town council, the Local Government district subject to a local board, or the Improvement Act district

under its commissioners. For sanitary purposes, a smaller urban district contained in a larger and an Improvement Act district coinciding with a local board district are merged in the larger urban district and in the local board district respectively. Oxford and Cambridge and several other towns have an organisation of their own. Sometimes the limits of a sanitary area of one class intersect those of a sanitary area of another class, and thus give rise to complexities which space will not allow me to unravel here.

The first of the Burial Acts, passed some thirty years ago, may be regarded as the earliest statutory provision for public places of interment. Under these Acts the burial area is primarily the common-law parish, and the burial authority a board of ratepayers nominated by the vestry. But the board, once appointed, is independent of the vestry, since it has power to fill up its own vacancies. And the Burial Acts may also be adopted by any poor-law parish, or by any ecclesiastical parish, or by any township or district, although embraced in a common-law parish which has already a burial board of its own. And when any portion of a common-law parish has acquired a separate burial board, the remnant of that parish is entitled to have a similar board. An Order in Council may confer the powers and duties of a burial board upon the town council of a borough, or upon the local board or improvement commissioners of a local board district or Improvement Act district. And the burial board for any area comprised within the area of any urban sanitary authority may transfer their powers and duties to that authority.

The modern police organisation consists of the county police, the borough police, the canal and river police, and special constables. For police purposes the county includes liberties, but excludes all municipal boroughs in which a separate force has been established. Detached fragments of a county are merged in the county within which they lie. Adjoining counties may adjust their boundaries for police purposes, so as to include in one area the whole of any divided town or place, or to obviate the bad effect of other irregularities; so that the county for purposes of police, and the county for other purposes, may be two different areas. The police force of the county consists of a number of men and officers fixed by the Quarter Sessions, and of a superintendent for every Petty Sessional Division. The Quarter Sessions appoint and remove the chief constable, who is charged with the direction, control, appointment and dismissal of the superintendents, inferior officers, and men. But in respect of their police jurisdiction, the Quarter Sessions are subject to the control of the Secretary of State.

The watch committee of the council of every municipal borough must provide a number of police sufficient for the borough. Subject to the approval of the council, the watch committee also fix the salaries of the municipal police, and they or any two justices can

exercise the power of dismissal. A municipal borough, however, may agree with a county for consolidation of police on the terms that the chief constable of the county shall have the direction and dismissal of the borough police. Canal and river police are appointed by two justices or by the watch committee of a borough to act as constables along such canal or river on the application and at the cost of the company of proprietors. Although their powers are defined, they do not appear to be subject to any special authority. There are also river police forces established under local Acts. The special constable needs no description.

The remaining objects of local administration may be more briefly dealt with. Under the first head of my indictment against our system of Local Government I have already sketched the organisation charged with the maintenance of highways; the several areas of the parish, the highway district, and the urban sanitary district and their corresponding authorities; the turnpike trusts which have not yet wholly disappeared; the number of miles of road maintained on each of these methods, and the inconveniences attending each. I have only to add that the duty of repairing bridges falls usually on the county or hundred. The educational authorities of the country have no distinct area for the exercise of their function. For the purposes of elementary education the borough or the poor-law parish is the area. When a parish lies partly without a borough, the excluded part is treated as a distinct parish. The authority is a school board or else a school attendance committee of the board of guardians or of the town council. In the borough the school board is elected for the whole borough; elsewhere it is elected for the parish. So for the purposes of the Lunacy Acts the areas are the county and the borough. But neither of these terms is used in the strict sense. In this instance every county, riding, or division of a county is reckoned a separate county. So likewise is every county of a city or county of a town which has a separate court of quarter sessions. Most boroughs, again, are merged in their respective counties. In county and borough alike, a committee of visitors appointed by the justices is the acting authority in lunacy. Finally, the prisons have been transferred within the last few years from the control of the justices of the peace to that of the central government. To have left to the magistrates an active part in the management of prisons would have been far better. But in this, as in other departments of Local Government, the bad habit of altering piece by piece, without any comprehensive survey of our wants, has given us a change but no improvement.

Before quitting this part of my subject, let me give two illustrations of the extent to which the functions of Local Government are subdivided. In the year 1875 a single parliamentary borough comprising 40 square miles and inhabited by 158,000 souls was divided

for poor-law purposes into three parishes and two unions; for purposes of Local Government into three municipal boroughs and six local board districts, and for sanitary purposes into nine urban and two rural sanitary districts. The administration of local affairs throughout the district employed three mayors, about sixty aldermen and councillors, at least as many commissioners or members of local boards, nine separate staffs of surveyors, clerks, and auditors, two boards of guardians and two sets of clerks to guardians, besides overseers, collectors, chief officers of police, and members of school boards. Again, take Liverpool as described in 1877 in a paper read before the annual Poor-law Conference by Mr. Hagger, one of the ablest members of our Local Government Civil Service:—

By Liverpool I mean the continuous succession of buildings constituting what would be properly called the town. It comprises or extends into three poor-law areas—the parish of Liverpool, the West Derby Union, and the extra-parochial township of Toxteth Park.

When the county was divided into unions, the parish of Liverpool, which was then conterminous with the municipal borough of Liverpool, was formed into a separate poor-law district as a single parish, and twenty-three of the surrounding townships were formed into the West Derby Union. Subsequently, the municipal borough was extended, so as to include two of the adjacent townships and portions of two others. Then the township of Toxteth Park was separated from the West Derby Union, and formed into a distinct poor-law area, under a separate board of guardians. There have been also formed within the same area eleven local board districts and a second municipal borough, that of Bootle. Thus, there are within this area—which is practically that of the West Derby Union—two municipal councils, three boards of guardians, eleven local boards of health, twenty-four bodies of overseers; and there are besides five burial boards, two school boards, and one highway board, making a total of forty-eight local authorities acting in complete independence of each other; the complication being increased by the fact that a single board exercises its different functions over different areas. Thus, the West Derby Board of Guardians have control over the whole twenty-two townships in the union for poor-law purposes, whilst they are the rural sanitary authority in only ten of them, and the educational authority in eighteen and a half.

Now, consider for a moment what this means. Think of the number of elections, of the varied qualifications required of the candidates, of the various franchises, and of the numerous modes of exercising them, of the superfluous machinery employed in the actual performance of many portions of the work and in the collection of different rates, of the friction—saying nothing of occasional ruptures—which must inevitably be felt in the working of so many independent authorities in such matters as drainage, highways, settlement of paupers, acquisition of lands, assessment, &c., and you will have some idea of the waste of energy, time, and resources, which the present state of things entails.

Under such circumstances as these we can appreciate the force of Mr. Hagger's observations a little further on in the same paper:—

An ordinary ratepayer finds it almost impossible to understand how he is governed; he feels that he knows little or nothing about it, and he avows this as his reason for taking no part in it. I venture to say there are few persons in this room who have not heard this reason assigned, over and over again, when they have been trying to induce others to take part in matters affecting their locality.

And how can it be otherwise? Elections take place at all times of the year; what qualifies a man for one office is no qualification for another; a ratepayer has a single vote in one case, in another a plural one; he has, when there is a vacancy in the burial board, double the voting power that he can exercise when he votes for a guardian or a member of a local board; but if he is fortunate enough to be an owner of property, he can, as such, vote in the latter case, but not in the former. He sees that the guardians must be elected annually, but that members of the local board sit for three years without re-election; that when he wants to serve his friend who is a candidate for the burial board by plumping for him, he can only indirectly help him by abstaining to vote for others; but that when the election is for a member of the school board, he can do so directly by cumulating all his votes upon him. Further, he finds that sometimes he can vote by filling up a paper, whilst at others he must attend at a polling station; sometimes he is qualified to vote without having taken any personal trouble in the matter, at others he finds that he cannot vote because he has not made a formal claim; and, although he may sometimes let all the world know how he votes, there are other occasions when to do so will invalidate his vote and get himself into trouble. Is it any wonder that he feels somewhat puzzled about it? There is probably not one in fifty of the fairly educated ratepayers in our large towns who can say offhand what his voting power really is, and when, and how he can exercise it. And if this be true of the fairly educated minority, what can be said of the majority?

III. The disorder in local finance and the unfair incidence of local taxation.

From what I have said respecting the present constitution of Local Government the reader will have already inferred something as to the present state of local finance. For the purpose of assessing rates the union makes one valuation and the county another. The borough, if it thinks fit, may make a third. There are almost as many distinct rates as there are independent authorities. There is the poor rate, the highway rate, the borough rate, the general district rate, and the county rate. A borough possessing its own Court of Quarter Sessions is not always liable to the county rate, but is liable to pay to the county the expense of prosecuting its prisoners at the county assize or Quarter Sessions. A separate machinery is or may be employed to collect every one of these rates. A separate series of accounts shows the amount received and spent by each authority in each area. Variations are naturally introduced from time to time in the modes of making up returns. All of these circumstances help to explain the too common ignorance and indifference as to local income and expenditure.

It is impossible to ascertain the total amount of local taxation at any given moment, because all the returns are much in arrear, and because the returns sent in by different authorities are not made up to the same date. It is impossible to compare with any certainty the expenditure in rural and in urban districts, because the boundaries of unions and parishes intersect the boundaries of boroughs and local board districts. It is impossible to determine the proportions in which the county expenditure is charged on boroughs, on local board districts, and on rural places, or the proportions in which the school

rate is charged upon local board districts and upon rural parishes partly included in them. It is impossible to furnish an accurate statement of ordinary income and expenditure within urban sanitary districts and for purposes merely urban, partly because the capital expenditure on sewers, on streets, on gasworks and waterworks, is not distinguished from the recurring annual expense of maintenance and supply, partly because places which provide their own gas and water are not distinguished from those in which they are supplied by private enterprise. Finally, it is altogether impossible from the accounts of twenty-three several kinds of local authority, all differently constituted, all presiding over areas which often overlap or interlace, using different periods of account and levying rates or contributions on different bases and on different valuations, to extract any clear budget of local finance, to know exactly the total annual income or expenditure or the total indebtedness of the Local Government of this kingdom, or to compute the proportion which these several sums bear to one another in the same year or to themselves in former years.

Under these circumstances statistics are not very trustworthy. But such information as they can afford justifies the forebodings excited by the first general view of the confusion of local finance. Upon comparing the admirable memoranda on the subject of Local Government drawn up in 1877 by my friend Mr. M. J. Wright with the later returns of local taxation prepared by the Local Government Board, I find that in the year 1870-71 the rateable value of England and Wales amounted to 107,398,000*l.*, and in the year 1880-81 to 135,645,000*l.*, an increase of not much more than 26 per cent. But during the same period the amount annually levied in rates rose from 17,405,000*l.* to 26,808,000*l.*, and the amount annually derived by local authorities from all other sources, including grants from the imperial treasury and loans, from 8,006,000*l.* to 28,538,000*l.* So that the total receipts of the local government in the space of ten years rose from 25,412,000*l.* to 55,346,000*l.* Within the same space of time the local expenditure advanced from 24,324,000*l.* for the year 1870-71 to 52,590,000*l.*, an increase of 116 per cent. At the close of the year 1870-71 our local indebtedness stood at the figure of 38,250,000*l.*, but at the close of the year 1880-81 it had attained to 144,335,000*l.*, an increase of 279 per cent. It would be unreasonable to suppose that this prodigious growth of expenditure represents a proportionate growth of negligence and dishonesty. One may freely admit that each successive year imposes fresh duties on our local government, and compels a larger outlay on local purposes. But the citizen who pays rates and taxes may fairly claim some assurance that he has value for the money so freely given. Such value he does not always receive, even in the large boroughs. And in the smaller districts his contributions are expended, often to no purpose, and sometimes with results positively mischievous.

All ordinary local rates are levied solely on real property. But in the assessment of the district rate and of rates levied in rural places for special sanitary purposes, agricultural land, tithes, railways, and canals are rated only to one-fourth the extent of their rateable value. The exemption is given on the ground that these kinds of property gain less than others by the outlay on sanitary improvement. I have not the means of estimating its justice or expediency. But I must dwell for a moment on the unfairness of not making personal property contribute its share to local taxation. This immunity is no concession to democratic prejudice. On the contrary, if we examine its results in a great city like Liverpool, we shall find that the wealthy banker, merchant, or shipowner contributes perhaps 1*l.* per cent. of his income to the rates; the labourer, say 4*l.* per cent. of his income; the struggling professional man, between 2*l.* and 3*l.* per cent.; and the retail tradesman, as much as 12*l.* per cent., or perhaps more. A more unjust imposition cannot easily be conceived.

As a rule, the occupier and not the owner is directly charged with the payment of rates, except where compounding is in force in relation to small tenements. Under this rule public improvements which raise the permanent value of the property often cost the landowner nothing. Under this rule all the burthen of a temporary rise in the rates is laid upon the occupier in those very seasons of distress when he finds it hardest to make ends meet. Whatever the landowner does contribute to the local revenue he contributes indirectly—that is, he appears to contribute nothing. In a democratic age he could not find himself more dangerously situated. Our present method of assessing local taxation gives to the owner of land, and to the owner of capital, a seeming preference which is not for the true interest of either. Because the landlord contributes nothing directly, because the capitalist contributes little, whether directly or indirectly, to the local revenue, neither landlord nor capitalist concerns himself as he ought in the local administration. Their indifference does harm both to themselves and to the public—to themselves, because the richest and most defenceless citizens cannot safely abandon to others the task of raising and expending the public money, or neglect any means of justifying the pre-eminence which they enjoy; to the public, because they leave local affairs to be managed by members of one class. Although in rural districts the farmers, and in urban districts the tradesmen, cottage owners, and others who carry on most of the work of local administration, often display a thrift, an ability, and a devotion to the public service for which their country owes them a deep debt of gratitude; yet she must necessarily lose much by not enlisting in the performance of that great work the varied experience and skill of every class, and especially of those classes which have the highest education and most leisure. If the whole body of landowners and capitalists felt the sting of wastefulness or

jobbery in local administration, then individuals among them would find it worth while to serve on local boards. Experience supports this view. For wherever the owner of cottages is directly rated he is active in local administration. In Scotland the owner and the occupier equally divide the burthen of most local rates, and both are equally industrious in the conduct of local affairs. It may be added that they manage local affairs very much better there than in England.

Large grants from the imperial treasury, unless carefully guarded by the terms and precautions under which they are given, will not sensibly mitigate the injustice, whilst they may seriously enhance the waste consequent on such a system of finance. Of what avail can it be to lavish the imperial revenue upon such a multitude of petty local bodies? They are too feeble to attract the service of the most competent administrators. They are too insignificant to feel the pressure of public opinion. They are too numerous and too remote to fear the supervision of the central government. The more such bodies receive, the more they spend. Subsidies out of the imperial revenue only stimulate the evils of their constitution. The point at which their prodigality must finally become intolerable is moved a little further off; but their prodigality is not thereby made less. Nor do these subsidies make amends for the injustice committed under the present system of levying the rates. Could any Chancellor of the Exchequer guess in what proportions the money granted in relief of local taxation has been derived from real and from personal property, or from owners and from occupiers respectively? Or could he tell what ratio in any particular district the diminution of local bears to the increase of imperial taxation? When the local taxation is fair, when the local authority is competent, when the grant is so given as to reward economy instead of making improvidence easy, then, and not until then, will it be wise to assist the local at the expense of the imperial treasury.

Such being the defects of our present system of Local Government, the mischiefs which they occasion are obvious. So long as the multitude of petty local bodies continues to exist, each local body will continue to elude the vigilance of public criticism. Whom can the ratepayer watch, on whom can he fasten any grave responsibility? If he inhabit a borough he may be governed by the town council, by the vestry, by the burial board, by the school board, by the board of guardians, and by the county quarter sessions, and his home is situated at once in a borough, a parish, a union, and a county. If he reside in a rural parish he may be subject at one and at the same time to a school board, a burial board, a highway board, the guardians of the poor and the justices of the peace, and his dwelling is probably comprised at once in a parish, a union, a highway district, and a county. In either case all the respective authorities and areas

may be complicated in ways previously suggested. Each has its separate rate and its separate debt. The aggregate of rates may be heavy and the aggregate of debt may be large; but no one body is responsible for either. The collective work may be ill-done; but no one body can be blamed for much of what goes wrong. If the rates happen to be low, the debt trifling, and all the work well done, there are so many to divide the honour that it is scarcely worth earning. No single local authority has much to hope from the public applause, or much to fear from the public censure.

Again, the present state of Local Government discourages many of the best and ablest citizens from taking any active part in local politics. However strong their desire to serve their fellows, they do not see that they have any fair scope for their powers. They can do nothing in the hope of appreciation. Their district has no true government. It would be inconvenient and disgusting, if not impossible, for them to undergo the trouble and vexation of half-a-dozen different elections, to take part in the meetings of as many different boards, and to find at last that all their sacrifices had brought no substantial result of honour to themselves or of advantage to others. From impotence they pass into despair, to end in selfish indifference. Where men have but little chance of serving the public, there men will feel but little will to serve.

If the present condition of Local Government offers protection to incompetence and idleness, whilst it puts obstacles in the way of ability and industry, it is natural that the local administration should be costly and inefficient. I do not mean to say that the work of Local Government is not often admirably performed. Thank God England has still many citizens whose goodwill in the service of their country needs to be stirred by no flourish of applause, and whose energy is only aroused by the obstacles in their path. But I do say that Local Government in England is so constituted as to effect the smallest possible result with the greatest possible friction. I do say that it affords opportunity for doing work ill and for spending wealth recklessly. I do say that it fosters to a luxuriant growth in all our citizens, in electors and elected alike, those faults which intensify its own inherent mischiefs. And I am prepared to justify all that I have said by numberless examples and illustrations drawn from the actual state of local affairs and of local finance.

So long as twenty boards or more have power to raise and spend the local revenue, so long will every improvement cost far more than it should. So long as we continue to violate the plainest rules of equity by making some citizens pay for what concerns the welfare of all, so long we must expect to see private interest conflicting with the public good. A thriftless local expenditure is to be deprecated, not so much for the actual loss which it occasions as for the possible good which it prevents. An unequal imposition of local burthens is

hateful, not so much for the pain which it causes as for the injustice of which it sets an example, and for the selfishness to which it lends an excuse. The value of fairness in the adjustment of public burthens, and of economy in the outlay of public wealth, is not to be measured by pounds, shillings, and pence, but by their happy effect in making government, whether local or imperial, the visible embodiment of good sense, of equity, of honesty, and of humanity, and in teaching every citizen to feel that the State is neither more nor less than the community organised for the attainment of the common good.

The foregoing criticism of Local Government as it now stands may suggest the extent and character of its needed reformation. An adequate measure of reform must select the areas most suitable for the purposes of local administration and abolish all the rest. It must constitute in a liberal and judicious spirit the authorities which are to preside in those areas, and it must centre in them the functions shared among the multitude of boards now in existence. It must make the incidence of taxation more just, consolidate the rates, rectify their assessment, and provide for a simple and uniform system of returns. In my second paper I shall attempt to develop with more fulness of detail the principles upon which I think that the amendment of our system of Local Government must proceed.

WILLIAM RATHBONE.

RELIGION AND THE RATES.

I.

THE grave and courteous answer of Mr. Dale in the *Nineteenth Century* for January to what I had written on the Education Act of 1870 in December last, lays upon me the duty of making reply. In doing so I hope that nothing will escape from me at variance with his good example.

My object is not contention but agreement: I desire to invite all who value Christianity and education in England to stand firmly together in defence of Christian education and to press onward steadily for its extension throughout English homes. I rejoice, therefore, to note many points of agreement in Mr. Dale's reply to my argument.

1. We are fully agreed in the desire that the whole population of the country should be duly educated.

2. And that those who are unable, by reason of poverty, to provide education for their children should be aided by the help of the public revenues.

3. Further, and most emphatically, I agree with him that to compel Nonconformists of any kind to go to an Anglican school, or to any school where their conscience can be tampered with, is a flagrant injustice.

4. Once more, that education is to be valued and promoted for its own sake, and not, as Mr. Dale puts it, for the sake of 'Churches.' Though Catholics desire all men to come to the knowledge of the truth, their work of education has their own flocks and their own children so emphatically in view that the presence of non-Catholic children in their schools is wholly unsought, and, if their number be great, it is a cause of difficulty to us.

5. Further, I am rejoiced to perceive in the cautious reserve of Mr. Dale that he distinguishes between the reading of the Bible and doctrinal Christianity. He denies that they are equivalent in phrase or in fact. This I read with great satisfaction. I would that it were more widely recognised.

6. Lastly, I agree with Mr. Dale in all he says as to the care that is due to the Nonconformists scattered throughout the villages and small towns of the country. I would support with all my heart his pleading for them before any Royal Commission. He takes as an example the Parish of Blackford, with a thousand people, of which he claims half as Nonconformists. By his theory in page 62 he would have one only school for the sake of efficiency. I would have two, for the sake both of conscience and of Christianity. To impose one only Anglican school on the five hundred Nonconformists would be unjust. To impose a Board School on the five hundred Anglicans would be equally unjust. I would oppose both schemes as tyrannous; and I would contend for the Christian liberty and Christian conscience of both Nonconformists and Anglicans. Thoroughly as I value the efficiency of schools, I value the liberty and conscience of Christian men far more. The Nonconformists of Blackford, being five hundred, could have their united school, and in five hundred there would be at least one hundred children: and a school of a hundred children, with proper care, may be made completely efficient. There are cases more difficult than that of Blackford. As you diminish the population so you increase the difficulty. But it is a still greater difficulty, not where there are thousands or hundreds, but where there are only tens. Such difficulties must always exist. Nobody knows them better than we. There are Catholics scattered in villages and in small towns by tens and by fives, or by single families here and there. We have too much common sense to demand of the majorities, be they Anglicans or Nonconformists, the breaking up not only of their schools but the sacrifice of their religious conscience, and the change of the legal status of their education to meet our objections. It would be like blowing up a town to clear the rooms of mosquitoes. There must always be residual difficulties which cannot be met by legislation. They must be treated by common sense, justice, and equity. The nearest approach to such a treatment would be what I have laid down: namely, a universal education rate, with proportionate participation, and separate schools for all who are willing to form them under the conditions of the statute: or, again, common schools on like terms for those who prefer them; or, finally, for all those who cannot form or maintain schools of their own, the amplest conscience clause, vigilantly guarded, and promptly vindicated.

But here begin our disagreements:—

1. I cannot think that the million of schoolless children in 1870 represented only poverty in their parents. First, because others equally poor had already founded and maintained their schools—witness the Wesleyans and the Catholics. These children were schoolless because, as I must believe, their parents looked on the education of the people as a matter belonging to the State, or at least not

belonging to private persons, either as Christians or as members of the Commonwealth. Religion they held to be one thing and education another. They built their chapel and paid their minister, as Mr. Dale says. Having done this, they were content. This I believe to be the chief cause why, outside of the Voluntary schools, there was no education in the country. Other causes, indeed, there were, such as vice, neglect, intemperance—all these contributed to the general desolation; but the main cause, I must believe, was apathy, an absence of zeal for education, and of a sense of responsibility to found or to build schools for themselves and for others. This belief is still further confirmed by the fact that the Nonconformists of this country, always excepting the Wesleyans, are to be found chiefly among the middle and lower middle class. But the middle class are above poverty. The population of England and Wales in 1870 was about 22,000,000. The Established Church had provided school-room for 1,765,944, that is, taking a sixth for the children who ought to be at school, for about 10,000,000 people. The Nonconformists had at that time school-room for 411,948, that is, by the same calculation, they had provided for about 2,500,000 people. It is clear, then, either that the Nonconformist population was greatly less than that of the Established Church, or that the Nonconformists were behindhand in the work of providing schools for their children. And this may be gathered from Mr. Dale's plea of poverty. They could not provide schools he says. Therefore it is not unreasonable to believe that they did not; and from this it follows that they who were chiefly responsible for the destitution complained of have now received the chief benefit and control of the Act of 1870 and of the Education Rates.

2. I must also disagree in Mr. Dale's statement that the Board Schools represent the kind of religious teaching desired by the people of this country.

First, because the people of this country as yet know little of what the religious teaching of Board Schools may be. 'They are attached to the Board Schools,' as Mr. Dale says, 'because they are larger, handsomer, better lighted, better warmed, more attractive than their own schools.' There is nothing of religion in all this. The people may be indifferent, or careless, or thoughtless about the religious teaching. But that is a long way from approving positively or knowingly of the religion taught in the Board Schools.

Further, if the people of this country had any zeal for the Act of 1870, or any care to promote its operation, they would go to the poll at the triennial elections. But the fact now comes out, that of the electors a very large proportion never vote at all. In the Metropolitan District, for instance, at the last election not one in four had zeal or care enough in the matter to go to the poll. There were weeks of

placarding and addressing and canvassing in public meetings, and by private agents, but not one in four voted. In each of the Metropolitan boroughs about three fourths, or even more, did not take the trouble to vote at all. This is a new revelation. Hitherto it has been thought and, because much vaunted, believed that the Act of 1870 was an Act demanded by the popular voice, and that it represents the popular mind. I agree with Mr. Dale in thinking that it was an Act carried by a Liberation Parliament, which began with the schools on its way to the Established Church.

It was so far a political measure. It disendowed religion in the schools as an approach to disendow religion in the Established Church. But, as I have said, the disendowment of religion is the endowment of secularism.

3. Here, again, is another point of disagreement. Mr. Dale thinks that I contradict myself because I have said that the Board Schools are secular schools, and also that the reading of the Bible in them has given them a religious character. These two things are perfectly consistent. There is no contradiction. At the outset the Bible was not read in them. The schools then were essentially secular. The desire of the people has forced the reading of the Bible into them, and now they have a religious semblance. This fact proves that whereas the schools are essentially secular the people have made them so far religious. I quoted this fact, not to commend the Board Schools, but to prove that the desire of the people of this country is decisively in favour of religious education.

4. Once more, I fear, I must disagree where I most wish to agree with Mr. Dale. He affirms broadly that doctrinal Christianity may be taught, and is taught, in the Board schools: and that not in contravention of the Act of 1870, but in conformity with it. He points out that the clause of the Act excludes only 'Formularies and Catechisms distinctive of any denomination.' If I rightly understand him, he says that this does not exclude the matter of such formularies but only the formularies themselves. He says, indeed, that Christian doctrines may be taught, and are taught, by Nonconformists without creeds or formularies. If I had so interpreted the Act of 1870, I am afraid—'pace Sancti Ignatii'—that I should have been called a Jesuit. But if the Act of 1870 permits Nonconformist schoolmasters to teach in Board schools the doctrines which Nonconformist ministers, without creeds or formularies, teach in chapels, what becomes of Clause 14? Are not these doctrines distinctive of any denominations? But they are taught without creeds or formularies. Yes, but doctrines are the mental conceptions of which creeds are only the verbal expression. Creeds are only the diagrams of the triangles, as I said. But Mr. Dale tells us that Nonconformists do not use creeds or formularies. Then Board schools are after all Nonconformist

and denominational. They are the endowment of the Nonconformist religion. I am not arguing to exclude the Nonconformist religion or Christianity, so far as it is true, from the Board schools. I thank God that so much of Christianity yet remains in the schools of the Act of 1870, and that the will of the people is forcing the Christianity of England, whatsoever it be, into the Board schools and through the clauses of the Act of 1870. This is to me clear gain, but it enormously strengthens my argument as to the inequality and injustice of the Act in its present application. For it results in this. The Anglican, the Catholic, and the Wesleyan schools are aided by the Privy Council grants only, and that for maintenance only, and not for the multiplication of schools. The Nonconformist schools are aided by Privy Council grants, and are exclusively endowed with the whole Education Rate, both for maintenance and for indefinite multiplication of Board schools. Indeed, Mr. Dale says that the friends of the Act of 1870 foresaw and desired that Board schools should 'displace' all others. This is the issue at stake: honestly avowed.

And here I must call attention to the incongruities of this Biblical instruction. The Bible may be read and explained, and explained doctrinally, but only in such words as the schoolmaster may select. The weighed and exact words of formularies and catechisms, which the highest and best minds have for ages pondered and fixed as the most adequate and exact expression of truth, are not statutable, but the extemporaneous, or haphazard, words of the schoolmaster are sanctioned by the Act of 1870. Surely this is a surpassing perversity. Let us go a step further, the schoolmaster may explain the Bible in the sense of doctrinal Christianity. But does the schoolmaster belong to one denomination? And does he so know the peculiarities of all denominations that he can teach a doctrinal Christianity which shall not coincide with any one of them? This unsectarian doctrinal Christianity should at once be stereotyped for the use of Board schools. It is an achievement, or even a miracle, of Biblical exegesis. But if, to exclude errors, variations, and contradictions, it were stereotyped and imposed on all Board schools, it would straightway become formulary. Mr. Dale says that the doctrines of our Lord's divinity, His atonement for the sin of man, the future judgment, may be taught without formularies in Board Schools. Are not these distinctive? But this is not all. If the people of England could be assured of the Biblical teaching of the schoolmasters in 1883, this would be no security for 1884. The schoolmasters, like other men, may change their minds. Lady Hewley's Charity is warning enough. The law has been changed to meet the lapse of endowments from Orthodoxy to Heterodoxy, from Trinitarianism to Unitarianism. A prescription of twenty years is enough, I believe, for any error in possession. Schoolmasters may be

gin to the satisfaction of Mr. Dale, but may end to the satisfaction of the Agnostics. Not only may schoolmasters change their minds, but schoolmasters may be changed themselves. They are here to-day and there to-morrow. And will the incoming doctrine agree with the outgoing? And the poor children of Christian parents, and the poor parents of Christian children, are to be tossed to and fro and carried about with every wind of doctrine as schoolmasters and School boards please. I do not know the English people if they will not one day rise up in anger against this trifling with all that is most precious to the poor, their children, and their conscience. Nine Conscience clauses will not be enough to protect them from this credulous Christianity. The next work for the Liberation Society will be to disestablish and disendow the Board schools.

There is, however, a still more preposterous result. With all their imperfections the ministers of religion are supposed to be qualified to teach by study, training, experience; and they teach with a sense of responsibility. They have been as much set apart to teach religion as schoolmasters are set apart to teach secular knowledge. But no minister is admitted to teach in a Board school. Of whatever colour he be, a minister is distinctive of a denomination. The schoolmaster is without colour or creed. No denomination owns him, nor he any. He is by the statute an unsectarian unattached. All trained ministers are excluded—only untrained schoolmasters may teach doctrinal Christianity by law. This exclusion of 'the fittest,' and the survival of the less fit, throws the religious teaching of our rising youth into the hands of the unfit. Could unreason more visibly betray itself? And can any considerate man wonder that all who hold dear as life the faith once delivered to the saints in all its integrity and in all its precision conscientiously refuse to send their children to Board Schools? And these schools are one day to 'isolate' and to 'displace' the voluntary and Christian schools of England. If Mr. Dale's account be accurate, the net result of all this would be that the Board school system has been turned into the endowment of a new religion. It is a Pan-Nonconformist Church concurrently endowed side by side with the Established Church. I must also take leave to call this new form of Christianity emphatically sectarian; and the system itself, a new sect of which schoolmasters are the pontiffs. It is also a propaganda of Christianity without a creed. And the first effect of it will be to break down in the minds of the English people the surviving belief that Christianity is a fixed and definite truth. As yet, I do not believe that it represents the religion with which the people are content, but in ten years more I can well believe that they will not only be content with the dispensation of schoolmasters, but with less. The managers of the 302 Church schools, and the 176 Nonconformist schools, already surrendered to

the School Boards, are content it seems with this shadow of their Christian inheritance.

5. Once more I must disagree on the statement that the Act of 1870 has done great things for the Voluntary schools. Mr. Dale says that by its committees, &c., it has enabled them 'to increase the number of their schools, and the number of children in average attendance; that the grant earned has been greatly increased, and the number of the children nearly doubled.' All this he sets down to the Act of 1870. I set down none of it. All might and ought to have been done without it. If he had set it down to the movement that produced the Act itself, I should agree with him. The facts are these. The destitute condition of so large a number of children, the inadequacy of the efforts, great as they had been, of the founders of voluntary schools, the niggardly parsimony of the annual vote for education of 600,000*l.* a year, with an irresistible impulse and a growing conviction throughout the country that we were behindhand in education—these and other like causes produced the Act of 1870. As soon as it became law, the Committee of Privy Council gave notice that after two years all grants in aid of building new schools would cease. This was, in fact, a declaration against the multiplication of Voluntary schools. And this at once roused the friends of religious education to a great effort. In the ten years from 1870 to 1880 the increase of schools and scholars was as follows:—

In 1869–70 there was school room for 1,765,944. In 1879–80, for 3,158,119; increase, 1,392,175. Average attendance in 1869–70, 1,062,999; in 1879–80, 1,981,684; increase, 918,665. Even Catholics out of their poverty raised a 'Crisis Fund'—so called because of the perils of the Act of 1870—with this result: they raised 390,000*l.*, and provided schoolroom for 71,518 additional children. There is no communion in England poorer than the Catholic Church. A few old and wealthy families there are, with a handful of the middle class and a million of labouring poor. What the Catholics and Wesleyans did, the Nonconformists might have done, and more abundantly.

Not a particle of this vast increase came directly from the Act of 1870. It did, indeed, give a menace and an alarm, followed by the refusal of building grants. All the machinery of committees and bye-laws, and boy-beadles, and school 'visitors,' might have been created without the Act of 1870 or the Board School system. Machinery is an accident which might have been created without the Act as it stands. All the 1,570,000*l.* which Mr. Dale says the Voluntary schools have earned has been earned since 1870, as before it, not by the Act or because of the Act, but under the minutes and inspection of the Committee of Privy Council. I must deny altogether that we owe to the Act of 1870 as such anything but alarm, and the energy which

alarm excites. For this I thank it; but for nothing more. We owe to it much privation, the loss of the building grants, the legal secularisation of our schools, and the exclusion of Christianity from our school hours and from our school books. To the Nonconformist schools, and to those who had not denied themselves to provide schools, the Act was indeed a profuse and an exclusive boon. To those who had laboured and toiled, spending and being spent for the education of England, it was, as one of its chief promoters was compelled to confess in Parliament, great discouragement to Voluntary schools.

6. Again, I fear, I must accept Mr. Dale's disagreement by affirming once more that the Statute of 1870 has reduced our schools to the condition of secular schools. During the four hours of the school day only secular matter can be taught. What is taught out of those hours is beyond the law, and, morally, as much out of the school as if it were taught under another roof. And as I said, it is taught *freely*: that is, so far as the Government is concerned, which pays nothing for it, and takes no cognisance of it—not freely indeed for the managers who bear the burden in the maintenance of the school, and in the teachers' stipend. Mr. Dale's comment, that if our schools are only secular, Government may dispense with them, is hardly well-weighed. Government is bound by every bond of equity and justice to recognise freedom of conscience; and if the Voluntary schools of England were 'displaced,' such a violation of conscience would be perpetrated as would convict all the agents, aiders, abettors, and comforters of such a policy of tyranny and simulation: of tyranny in violating conscience, of simulation in prating of religious liberty. Here is the inevitable alternative: the Legislature must either recognise liberty of conscience, and the schools freely founded on liberty of conscience; or, with the profession of civil and religious liberty in its mouth, it must force secular education upon a Christian people. Free denominational schools are the safeguards and depositories, the outworks and the bulwarks, of liberty of conscience. The world has gone right round the compass. If the Free Churches of England should in the nineteenth century make reprisals on the Court of High Commission and the Star Chamber in the seventeenth century, they would take away the liberty of conscience for which their fathers suffered all pain and loss, and make their name a perpetual reproach. The Voluntary or Christian schools give to the Government at an inadequate price a full secular teaching. This is all it requires, and all it recognises. To the Christian teaching of the school the Government contributes nothing, and has no pretext or plea to interfere. Nay more, it cannot interfere without a violation of the liberty of Englishmen to believe and to educate their children as their conscience dictates.

7. Again, I am unable to agree with Mr. Dale that in a population

of 1,500, howsoever divided in religion, there ought to be only one school, because small schools of sixty or seventy children are not efficient. Here we reach the truth. It is secular efficiency against religion and conscience. I would maintain that, whether the population be 15,000 or 1,500, Anglicans, Catholics, and Nonconformists ought to be free to found their own schools, and ought to be aided by the public revenues to do so. If in such a population any desire and are willing to deny themselves to found a secular school, I would at once say that in our mixed state they ought to be helped by public aid to do so. As to efficiency, the Government by its inspectors will take care. In three places Mr. Dale says that Nonconformists are 'unable,' 'are too poor,' and 'cannot' found schools for themselves. To this I answer again, the Wesleyans and Catholics of England out of their greater poverty have done so, and for the religious care of their children hold themselves bound to do so. Let others do the same. I cannot, therefore, accept the plea of inability, except in cases where the numbers are few and scattered. And these cases may be treated exceptionally. The rule is founded on a great law of equal justice, and it ought not to be abandoned because of a few residual difficulties.

8. I am sorry to add to the list of disagreements, but two remain which I cannot pass over. Mr. Dale asks, What will become of the 'moral power of the Voluntary system which no public money can create,' 'the unbought energy,' 'the free gift,' if the Voluntary schools receive a share in the school rates? Voluntaryism would then cease to be. Not so fast; I will tell him. I would give to the Board schools a share in the school rate in proportion to the voluntary contributions of those who desire to found such schools. This would at once spread the wholesome principle of voluntaryism all over the land. I would have no educational pauperism; and I would give to the Voluntary schools, in like manner, though not, perhaps, in like proportion, a share in the education rate. The effect of this measure would be universal equality, and therefore universal justice. The schools of the whole country would depend on four kinds of support: the Consolidated Fund, the school rate, the contributions of founders and managers, the school-pence paid by the parents. I have said that the proportion might vary. For denominational schools it may be equitable to require that the contributions should be larger and the school rate less than in the Board schools. Mr. Dale says that most people would prefer schools managed by boards. Let them have them. But more, I believe, would prefer their own management and their own schools. All who pay ought to share; no school ought to exist without voluntary contributions as well as State aid. Under the old Poor Law the people were pauperised, and the rates were intolerable, because all was done by the rate, and little was

required of the receiver. The amendment of the Poor Law revived profitable labour and restricted relief to helpless poverty. This combination of popular energy with public aid runs through all the healthiest and most vigorous activities of our commonwealth. It is being destroyed by the working of the Act of 1870. Mr. Dale desires the displacement of 'Voluntary schools' by Board schools. He says: 'the Board school system is certain to supersede the schools of the denominationalists' (p. 70). Here again we agree. He thinks it will be for good. I believe it will be a fatal and final evil. Time was when some would have agreed with me. 'Our object,' said Mr. Forster in 1870, 'is to complete the present Voluntary system, to fill up gaps, sparing the public money where it can be done without, procuring as much as we can the assistance of the parents, and welcoming as much as we rightly can the co-operation and aid of those benevolent men who desire to assist their neighbours.'¹ Mr. Dale's system of universal Board schools would abolish all Voluntary schools, and convert all voluntary contributions into school rates. Where would Voluntaryism be then? Education would be endowed as by tithes and Church rates levied upon the willing and unwilling alike. My desire would be to lighten the rates as much as possible, and to develop as much as possible the energy, generosity, zeal, self-respect, self-help of the people of England. Rate schools will kill all these highest qualities of a free people, and burden us with a mechanical, automatus, educational bureaucracy worked from a centre with clouds of paid officials. Germany and France are examples which no Christian Englishman—I will say no free Englishman—will desire to follow. There is only one adequate check to this tendency, and that is that conscience shall be free and that the choice of education shall be free throughout the whole people. Mr. Dale thinks that he has a larger faith in English Christianity than I have. I doubt it: as I will show before I have done. But I think I have a larger faith in free and voluntary education than he has. Before 1870, with the annual pittance of 600,000*l.* a year, the people of England were hardly encouraged to spontaneous effort, and yet they founded schools for nearly two million of children. Show them now that to honest effort on their part help sufficient for their need is offered, and the hands that hang down will be lifted to resolute work. But this will never be so long as the Act of 1870 is unequally and unjustly worked for the exclusive creation of schools for which no voluntary effort is demanded.

9. I will close this array of disagreements by one more, which is, I fear, very deep. Mr. Dale says, 'I have a larger faith than the Cardinal in the prospects of English Christianity. It is not dependent upon the success of his Eminence in getting a million a year from

¹ *Hansard*, vol. cxcix. p. 443.

the rates for the support of denominational schools. Let the secular education of the people be provided by secular authorities, and let the Churches, by whatever arrangements seem expedient to them, provide for religious education at their own cost, and out of school hours' (p. 75). I have already shown that we do provide religious instruction outside of the four school hours and without the State or public revenues, partly by the stipends paid to our teachers, and by the free personal work of our clergy. Therefore in what I add I have this always before me.

It is now fifty years since I began to work among the poor; and I think I know their state. The home ought to be the best school, but it is not so. A Christian people can only be perpetuated by Christian education; but Christian education is not to be given in the unaided homes of England—no, not even of the rich, or of the middle class, or of the poor. Where one home is full of Christian truth, a thousand are unable, by reason of toil or incapacity, to teach the children of the house. Christian education is to be perpetuated in England by Christian schools. It was Christian schools that made England; and it will be in the schools, Christian or deprived of Christianity, as it may be, that the future of England will be decided. Schools without Christianity will rear a people without Christianity. It is true that neither a million nor a myriad of millions of money will perpetuate Christianity. It will be sustained, as it was first diffused, by teaching, and by teaching all that the Divine Author of Christianity commanded us to believe and to do. Direct and certain evidence convinces me that the last ten years of the Act of 1870 have already done much to weaken the power of Christianity over the schools of this country. How can it be otherwise? Before 1870 the whole schoolday was pervaded by Christian faith. Every book presupposed its truth; in many it was explicitly recognised. It is not so now. I am aware that five hours a week of religious teaching, if well used, may do much, and if zealously employed may do enough at least for individuals. But who that knows the irregularity of attendance, the want of punctuality in the morning, the weariness and the wandering of children in the afternoon, can fail to see that Christianity is put to every disadvantage, and embarrassed by every discouraging circumstance? Who that knows the unequal, imperfect, and perfunctory working of any extensive system depending upon human agency can fail to know how, with all effort to tend upward, we are continually tending downward? I am a firm and fearless believer in the future of Christianity in England. Nothing but extermination of Christians and Christian teachers can extinguish it. But I have little confidence in doctrinal Christianity without creeds. The history of latitudinarianism since 1688, of freethinking since 1700, and of rationalism since 1840, is before us. The history of Presby-

terianism, as in *Lady Hewley's Charity*, and of other forms of religious thought, is also known. If the religious teaching of the Board schools be all that the people of England desire, as Mr. Dale says, then I need not add more proof that Christianity is already far in its decline. I am not insensible of the widespread and wonderful reviving of religion in individuals: but what is the state of the masses of the people? Thirty years of work and observation in London have taught me things that Mr. Dale cannot efface from my reason. The late Hugh James Rose, whose name is venerated in Cambridge and by many still surviving, if it be unknown to the younger men of this day, drew out with his wide knowledge of German literature the decline of Christianity in Germany. He traced its three periods—the first of rigorous dogma, from which men recoiled into a second stage of devout, indefinite pietism; which again issued in a third, the rationalistic rejection both of dogma and of pietism, and the reign of unbelief. I hope I may be deceived, but I believe that England passed from its dogmatic religion in the last century into its pietism in the time of Wesley, and that it is passing into its final period of rationalism and positivism in the educated, and of naturalism and materialism in the uneducated, classes. This downward tide no Board school education and no creedless Christianity can arrest. It is because I have a large faith in Christianity that I have no faith in education which deviates from the inheritance of Christian England. The schools of England were pervaded with Christianity down to the year 1870; their action may have been feeble upon the masses, and must have been feeble if the religion taught by schoolmasters in Board schools is all that they desire. I do not believe it: I have better hopes, and a large confidence, and I do not speak without experience. The clergy and people of the Anglican Church will judge between me and Mr. Dale. Nay, many among the Nonconformists with whom I have had correspondence will also be able to decide between us. A million of money will not touch the heart of the English people. I need no one to tell me that; and the phrase has a hollow sound. But the multiplication of Christian schools will touch and train both heart and will to the truth and life of our Divine Master. This is now at stake, and I impeach the unequal and unjust application or misapplication of the Act of 1870 as the peril which is impending over Christian England. Some men think that what was long ago has never been, and what is now far off will never come. But in my belief it is not more certain that two converging lines will intersect, though it be beyond the horizon, than that the steady elimination of Christianity from the schools of the people will rob England in the future of its Christian inheritance.

Though I would say much more, I must make an end. And my last word shall be the satisfaction with which I find that, in the

midst of so many and irreconcilable disagreements, Mr. Dale agrees fully with me in the main point of my contention. I affirmed that the Board schools would in the end crush or starve the Voluntary schools. Mr. Dale says: 'I think the [School Board] system is certain to supersede the schools of the Denominationalists' (p. 70). My contention, therefore, is not only admitted but supported by the whole weight of Mr. Dale's reasons as well as by my own.

What will be the result of this upon the Christian education, the national character, and the Christianity of England, I leave for the present to the conscience and to the common sense of Englishmen.

HENRY EDWARD, Cardinal Archbishop.

II.

THE question raised in these pages by Cardinal Manning is one that affects others besides the Roman Catholics. There are many members of the Church of England who are profoundly dissatisfied with the arrangement of which he complains; and I shall be glad to state the opinion held by a large proportion of them who have taken a strong practical interest in spreading education during the last thirty or forty years. If members of the Church of England were to hold their peace, it might be erroneously supposed that they have no sympathy with the principle for which Cardinal Manning contends, and that they are content to have it assumed that their opinions do not materially differ from those of Mr. Dale. In what I have to say I shall endeavour to be brief; and I shall best attain to brevity by not interfering with the controversy, except in regard to those points of principle about which there is an evident need to state the views of Churchmen interested in education.

The point to which I wish specially to call attention is the inequality of treatment which the various classes of elementary schools receive at the hands of the State; and I venture to say that such inequality amounts to an infringement of the principle of religious liberty. The Education Act of 1870 might have been strictly impartial about religious teaching, or it might have continued to maintain a religious basis as the rule for schools established under its provisions, and then have admitted exceptions to meet the wishes of those who desired schools of a different character. Instead of this, its directions about religious instruction in schools built out of the funds which it provided are uniformly prohibitory. Children whose parents wish them to have no religious instruction are to have none. On the other hand, there is no enactment to secure religious teaching of any kind for those who desire it. No religious teaching may be given except at the beginning or ending of the school hours. On the other hand, there is no requirement that any religious teaching shall be given at those hours. No catechism or formulary distinctive of any particular denomination may be used. Her Majesty's inspectors shall not inquire into instruction in religious subjects or examine therein. All is negative; certain religious teaching is prohibited, none of any kind is enjoined. The whole tendency of

the Act is to show that religion is a dangerous subject and to discourage instruction in it. Moreover, the manner of prohibition in some cases is such as to suggest a limitation of religious instruction of indefinite extent in such schools as may still desire it. This limitation managers and teachers are to learn to apply without very clear guidance; and experience shows that it is possible for them to take very different views from those which may eventually be insisted upon by authority to which they must bow. This is especially true of the Cowper-Temple clause. It directly forbids the employment of catechisms and formularies. Is this prohibition to be taken as applicable only to the exact words in which the catechisms and formularies are expressed? Or is it intended to include the substance of what they teach?

The presence of such a clause in the Act was certain to raise controversy; it could scarcely be doubtful in what way that controversy would be settled. The natural inference was that the insertion of the clause was designed to control the discretion of School Boards and to give a bias to their determinations. The old system of teaching religious truth was clearly forbidden, and a new system introduced, by the order that 'no religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught in the schools.' The best commentary upon this clause is the practical effect which it has had upon the religious instruction given in board schools. Cardinal Manning thus describes it:— 'The exclusive enjoyment and control of the education rate is given to one only class of schools, which represents one and only one form of opinion, and that form which is repugnant to the majority of the people of the United Kingdom—namely, that such schools should be only secular to the exclusion of religion.' Mr. Dale gives a very different version of what the clause was designed to effect, and of what it would effect if left to its own literal meaning. He says:—

When this clause was relied upon as a guarantee that the rate schools should not be made the denominational schools of the Church that happened to be dominant in any school district, it was replied that the clause placed no limitation on the power to give religious teaching; 'there was no provision to prevent any religion or any creed from being expounded and taught.' Mr. Jacob Bright's amendment on the clause, to the effect that 'in any such school in which the Holy Scriptures shall be taught, the teaching shall not be used or directed in favour of or against the distinctive tenets of any religious denomination,' was rejected by a majority of 251 to 180. Amendment after amendment was proposed with the object of excluding from the Board schools what the Cardinal describes as 'doctrinal Christianity,' but they were either withdrawn or rejected. Mr. Gladstone, Sir Roundell Palmer, and other ministerial speakers condemned them with warmth and vehemence.

If we turn from what might be to what is, if we examine the commentary furnished by the acts of School Boards, what shall we

find? Certainly, so far as I know, nothing that approaches to that perfect liberty of oral instruction which Mr. Dale contends that all are free to impart. Of this he is evidently aware, for he recognises the fact and gives reasons why it is so. 'It is the ratepayers acting through the School Boards who have excluded, or have done very much to exclude, "doctrinal Christianity." Using the powers conferred by the Act, they have adopted bye-laws imposing limitations on the teaching of the schoolmaster which are not imposed by the Act itself; they have tried to make the teaching undocrinal; they have aimed at being what is called "unsectarian."' Mr. Dale seems to me somewhat uncandid in alleging this reason, for he certainly omits all reference to the cause which has led them to do so, themselves being witnesses. The School Boards have invariably said that they were bound by the spirit of the Act and not by its letter only; that its spirit was to be judged by the general tendency of the Act and by the Cowper-Temple clause, and not by speeches uttered in the House of Commons which were not ordered by the Act to be taken as authoritative expositions, but which might have been spoken to silence opponents, to please constituents, or to put the requirements of the Act in a form which would make them more acceptable to the speaker's own conscience. And this statement of the requirements of the spirit of the Act is one of which all candid minds would instinctively feel the force. The idea of teaching orally what may not be taught from a catechism or formulary, might satisfy educated persons trained to understand niceties of language; it would certainly not approve itself to the average Englishman. If the denominationalists had insisted upon their right of action as expounded by Mr. Dale, and if, when they were in a majority, they had taught the distinctive doctrines of their several confessions, they would have been denounced in newspapers, in placards, in public speeches, as violating the principles and the spirit of the Act which they were bound to administer fairly and impartially; and there can be little doubt that to the average mind their conduct would seem indefensible. Though they might now plead Mr. Dale's authority for acting in the manner described, I fear they could scarcely expect to have him stand forth as their champion, prepared to justify them for doing what he asserts the Act authorises them to do. Throughout England the principle of religious liberty for which the denominationalists contend would have grievously suffered in popular estimation if they had ignored the bias which the Cowper-Temple clause gives to the Act; and which practically endows with the education rates of the country those who are satisfied with 'unsectarian religious teaching,' or with no religious teaching at all.

There is another consideration which also must have weight with thoughtful persons. Those who have taken part in the difficult task

of inculcating definite religious truth are alive to the great evil which perpetual controversy about that truth exercises on the children's minds. Now it lies open to every member of a School Board to bring before the Board for censure any teaching given by any of its masters or mistresses to which he objects. This is a liberty that is sometimes freely used. The religious teacher, therefore, who desires the spiritual welfare of the children under his charge shrinks from instructing them in subjects which might possibly lead to a controversy. While conscious of the importance of religious instruction, he feels that it is more important still that doubts concerning the truth of what he sets before the children should not be raised, lest they should be tempted to think that no reliance can be placed on any religious teaching. It would be an evil not to teach; it would be a still greater evil to raise a controversy. He chooses the lesser evil of the two; and thus religious truth, though felt to be most important, slips into the background in order to protect it from the irreverence with which it would be assailed if it were insisted upon.

A further difficulty arises from the possibility that the system of teaching religious truth actually adopted may be proscribed and a different one introduced upon any triennial election of the Board. Teaching that one Board might approve, its successor might disapprove; and as the Board controls the amount of religious teaching which may be given, and to a considerable extent its character, a thoughtful teacher would shrink from attempting definite teaching which, though patronised by the existing Board, might be snubbed by its successor. Practically, therefore, the religious teaching given in Board schools is of the character imputed to it by Mr. Dale: it is 'undocrinal' or 'unsectarian;' and, with the Education Act as it stands, it could not be otherwise. There are of course some who approve this method of teaching: there are others who dislike it to the uttermost. It is, at the best, the kind of teaching which was advocated long before the Act of 1870, by the British and Foreign School Society, as being what commended itself to several of the dissenting communities of the country when they acted together: it is what the Church of England, the Wesleyans, and the Roman Catholics opposed. Its adoption with respect to their children violates their liberty of conscience, as much as an opposite system might violate the liberty of conscience of those who uphold the present system. The Act of 1870, therefore, compelled those who desired more definite religious instruction to tax themselves if they would maintain the principles on which their schools had been built and hitherto sustained, and if they really valued for the rising generation that distinctive religious training which they had always declared to be essential to render Christianity a real and living factor in the formation of a child's moral and spiritual life.

This, Mr. Dale tells us, is no hardship to those for whose benefit elementary education is intended. He says:—'From what I know of the working people in different parts of England, I do not believe that any considerable number of them would desire to have any other kind of teaching than that which they suppose to be given in Board schools. They do not want a "doctrinal Christianity" for their children, at any rate on week days. The Roman Catholics of course I except: His Eminence has a right to speak for them.' I don't know, of course, the extent to which the working people of England have given Mr. Dale a brief to speak in their name, or what have been the opportunities he has possessed of knowing their views and preferences; but my experience would certainly not corroborate his assertion. I believe that most people wish their children to be brought up in the truths of religion as they themselves were taught them, or as they have come to hold them. They shrink from innovations; many of them are not sufficiently instructed to detect omissions or false statements; but their wish is that their children should be trained to walk in the old paths. Whilst this is, in my opinion, true of most persons, there is no inconsiderable number who do take a real and intelligent interest in the subject, and feel deeply aggrieved at their children being deprived of the religious instruction which they believe must be definite if it is to have any influence upon their life and conversation.

I have spoken generally on this point, because the actual knowledge possessed by any one person of the religious views of the masses of people must be incomplete. Mr. Dale speaks as he wishes to find the people; I might be tempted to do the same. But there is a test to which this question may be brought which admits of much stronger proof. For years before the Education Act of 1870 was passed, the country rang with appeals for a conscience clause. The need was vehemently urged in Parliament; the hardships suffered in numberless parishes from the want of it were trumpeted forth from platforms and by newspapers. It is true that the denunciations were for the most part general, not particular. There was a marked reticence about persons and places; and some of us, who thought we knew something about the opinions of the parents whose children attended Church schools, ventured to describe the agitation as factitious, and the grievances as all but imaginary. The 'conscience clause' became law; the need for it has been tested, and we have Mr. Dale's view of its importance and of the practical influence which it has exercised. He says:—

'But the children, it may be urged, have the protection of the conscience clause, and the parents can claim their exemption from religious teaching.' No doubt. The rural Nonconformist, however, has a sense of honour. The school to which he sends his children is the rector's school, partly supported by the rector, wholly managed by the rector; and to withdraw a child from the religious teaching seems

a graceless return for the obligation which the rector is conferring on him. He shrinks from doing it for another reason. He knows that his own attendance at the chapel is regarded with great disfavour by the principalities and powers of the parish, and that even among his neighbours he is a marked man. He is unwilling to subject his child to the annoyances which it would suffer if it were isolated from the rest of its schoolfellows—sent into a separate class-room—while the rest of the children are at prayers, or receiving a religious lesson from the rector.

And so it seems that the conscience clause is of little or no practical value in Mr. Dale's view; it is seldom or never taken advantage of. The shrinking delicacy and refined sense of honour of rural Nonconformity is too pronounced to be aided by it. But there is a further admission in the passage I have quoted. If a Nonconformist possessed of less honourable refinement and natural delicacy of feeling were to take advantage of it, his child would find himself 'isolated'; he would find all the other children in the school sitting about the rector's feet to be taught by him; he would find that his father was a 'marked man' among his neighbours, 'because of his attendance at the chapel.' I suppose he would become still more 'marked' if his child took advantage of the 'conscience clause.' Where, then, is the evidence of the general indifference about religious teaching which Mr. Dale has asserted? Is not his own illustration some answer to the accusation of apathy and disregard for doctrinal teaching which he has levelled against the working classes of the country?

But Mr. Dale has presented us with the picture of a rural parish which, he tells us, 'represents the actual condition of immense districts of England.' It is easy to draw upon the imagination. This was freely done when the conscience clause was the relief desired: it is not less easy now that a further opposition to definite religious education has to be defended. In Mr. Dale's imaginary village there are three dissenting chapels, supported by the small offerings of the many working people who attend them, all of whom are of course estranged from the Church; they have no sympathy with the worship carried on within its walls; they tax themselves to keep the roofs of their chapels watertight, and to supply them with what is required for their simple worship. Such is not my experience of the manner in which rural Nonconformity is sustained. It is the retired tradesman, the wealthy farmer, the thriving shopkeeper, who find most of the funds required. This is obviously reconcilable with what Mr. Dale tells us of the 'isolation' in which the child of a rural Nonconformist would find himself if his parents claimed exemption from the religious teaching, as secured by the 'conscience clause'; but it is not reconcilable with the supposed fact that the parents of these very children have made great sacrifices to secure for themselves worship and teaching adapted to their own peculiar views.

Mr. Dale offers himself as a witness to instruct a commission, if such a one should be appointed, as to the views and feelings of rural communities. I believe that Mr. Dale has long been a resident in

Birmingham ; why is it that he does not tell us something of the religious feelings and aspirations of its people, concerning which his evidence would carry more weight than it does about the religious habits and preferences of remote rustics? If evidence should be needed about the religious views of rural dissenters, I trust it will be sought from themselves, and not from those who, like Mr. Dale, are anxious to claim them as partisans of his own.

There is another argument which Mr. Dale employs in defence of the present system. By the Education Bill of 1870 as originally drawn, school boards were to be permitted to make grants towards the maintenance of voluntary schools within their districts. Great objections were raised to this proposal by more advanced members of the Liberal party. To meet these objections, Mr. Gladstone proposed, when the House of Commons was going into committee on the bill, to withdraw this clause, and to substitute other help, concerning which he said :—

We think that an addition to the present grant from the Privy Council to the voluntary schools, which may be taken at the maximum at 50 per cent., would fully gain that object. I do not know whether the House is aware of the computations generally current as to the expenses of schools, and the contributions to them. I believe that none of these computations can be said to be exact; but, speaking roughly, it is said that the expense of educating a child in an efficient secular school is thirty shillings, of which it may be said that one-third is provided by the Privy Council, one-third from voluntary sources, and one-third by payments from the children. We think that if to the third which is now dispensed the half of the second third were added, subject to the strict conditions which I have described with respect to secular education, the voluntary schools would have no reason to complain.¹

Mr. Dale refers to this promise as having been more than redeemed ; for 'in 1870 the average grant earned by voluntary schools was 9s. 9½d. on each child in average attendance. In 1881 the average grant earned by these same schools was 15s. 7½d. on each scholar in average attendance.'

These words are correct, but at the same time they are misleading. Mr. Gladstone's proposal was virtually to enlarge the Government grant, so that it should cover one-half of the cost of maintaining an efficient voluntary school, and thereby to reduce the amount to be provided from voluntary sources to one-sixth of the annual outlay. Has this been done? Last year the cost of the education of each child in a national school was 1l. 15s. 3d., of which the Government grant supplied only 15s. 0½d., not 17s. 7½d., as it should have done to fulfil Mr. Gladstone's promise ; the children's pence produced nearly 10s. 5d., whereas to agree with Mr. Gladstone's computation the amount should have been 11s. 9d. The managers had to furnish 9s. 9½d., whereas they ought properly to have supplied only 5s. 10½d. As there was an average attendance of 1,508,380 children in national

¹ *National Education Union's Report of Debates on Education Bill*, p. 154.

schools, this difference of 3s. 11d. per child involved a loss to the managers of Church schools to the amount of 295,391l.—not an inconsiderable sum.

The reason for this failure to keep Mr. Gladstone's promise is easily explained. The Education Department has been steadily increasing its demands. With the desire to make elementary education more efficient—a desire which is laudable in itself, though not so always the means adopted to further it—it multiplies its exactions—more teachers, more books, more school material of all kinds; and to these demands from the Department there has to be added the charge of rates to support board schools, and for other local objects. In 1870, 1l. 5s. 7½d. sufficed to educate each child in a national school, and of this the grant provided 8s. 8½d., and the children's pence 7s. 11½d.; in 1881 each child cost 1l. 15s. 3d., of which the grant supplied 15s. 0½d., and the children's pence 10s. 5d.

Mr. Dale repudiates the notion that 'the character of the board schools has been so raised that the poor children are thrown upon the voluntary schools;' and he evidently thinks that he has answered the objection by producing a tabulated statement of the fees paid at the various kinds of schools. If parents always paid for their children the exact amount they could afford, there might be some weight in this argument; but it is notorious that they do not. There are few board schools opened in London which are not chiefly filled by children drawn from the surrounding voluntary schools, where they paid, for the most part, higher fees. The magnificent buildings, the supply of school materials without payment, the low fees coupled with the love of novelty, and sometimes the transference to the board school at higher salaries of the most popular teachers in the denominational schools in the neighbourhood—naturally attract children from other schools, and leave a very small percentage of children, except infants, who are brought under instruction for the first time in such schools. Mr. Dale contends that the average attendance at denominational schools, in relation to the accommodation, is 9 per cent. better than it was in 1870. This is really a small addition, considering that in 1870 nearly 40 per cent. of the school accommodation was unused, the growth of population, and the increased interest felt in education throughout the country.

Mr. Dale, therefore, seems to me utterly to fail in his attempt to answer the demand made by Cardinal Manning for further help towards the maintenance of denominational schools. The sums levied upon their supporters to keep them in existence amounted to 726,676l. last year; besides 146,825l. received from endowments, more than one half of which has been obtained since 1870. These sums, it must be remembered, have to be raised solely because the managers of denominational schools recognise the importance of definite religious teaching for the children for whom they are in any way

responsible. The schools in which these children are taught are subject to precisely the same conditions as board schools; their scholars are instructed in the same subjects, examined by the same inspectors, tested under the same rules, professedly sent to school by the same law of compulsion, and set free from further attendance at school by the same attendance committee. Moreover, their scholars pass as good an examination as the children taught under the more costly system of school boards, and their teachers are permitted to give religious instruction only during certain prescribed times in each day. To taunt us with finding it difficult to sustain our schools in face of a rate-supported system is scarcely fair. Free us from the double responsibility, and we can support our schools without difficulty; let our subscriptions to our own schools count as so much payment towards the education rate, and then we shall have no fears. But when a clergyman of small means derives his income from tithe, and has to pay the twentieth part of it or more to sustain board schools, whilst other charities press heavily upon his slender purse, whence is he to derive the funds which he would fain give to support the only kind of education in which he believes? And what is true of the clergyman is equally true of many a pious layman who groans over the injustice of being compelled to part with the money he longs to give to his parish school which he loves, in order to sustain the board school which he dislikes.

If we would form a fair estimate of the importance of this question, we must look at the enormous sum voluntarily given to support denominational schools. It is now twelve years since the Education Act of 1870 came into operation, and we are still able to report that nearly a million is annually supplied by the benevolence of Christian people for erecting and sustaining denominational schools. Why should they be thus taxed, when those who do not value distinctive religious teaching can have all the schooling they require at the expense of the community? Churchmen and dissenters, Roman Catholics and unsectarians, agnostics and atheists, are all citizens of a country which professes to give perfect liberty to all in matters of religion, and yet by a law recently passed it compels one portion of the community to fine itself annually to the extent of more than three-quarters of a million in order to obtain that which the other portion of the community has secured to it without cost. The State can derive no benefit from its subjects being brought up with no distinctive religious convictions; it would be at least as well served if they had been trained in definite religious truths whenever such instruction is desired. Nothing can be alleged in favour of the present inequality but the will of the political majority. So far from getting rid of causes of difference, and heart-

burnings, and irritations, the present system deepens and intensifies them. Whenever denominational schools are overborne by pecuniary pressure, their supporters feel deeply aggrieved, the iron enters into their souls, and a sense of wrong will abide with them for the rest of their lives.

As to the exact manner by which some nearer approach to equal dealing—some closer approximation to religious liberty—may be secured, I do not wish to dogmatise. The Canadian system of allowing the ratepayers to select the kind of schools to which their payments shall be applied has the advantage of appropriating the rates levied to a purpose of which the payers of those rates would fully approve. If the practical difficulties of carrying out such a system appear to render it impracticable, then grant a certain sum per child out of the rates, in addition to the amount provided by the Privy Council. But whether either of these, or any other scheme, be adopted, let the denominational schools have fair play, and let those who believe in them be placed more nearly on a level with those who dislike them. Let the secular education imparted in them be paid for by those who are compelled to provide it, which now it is not. We do not object to finding our own school-buildings; to manage them is a labour of love; so that in any case the ratepayers would be benefited by the existence of our schools, and by what we are willing to do for them.

I feel that there are interests of untold importance at stake. If Christianity is to be preserved in the country, and especially in our large towns, the people must be educated in its truths; they will not imbibe them as a matter of course because this is nominally a Christian country. The extension of day-schools has seriously interfered with the growth of Sunday-schools. The children whose parents are most indifferent to religion are almost certain to be the first to cease attending schools on Sunday; as soon as they reach an age when they give no trouble in watching them, their parents will have no desire to send them. And now, as a matter of fact, a large percentage does not attend Sunday-schools. It is tolerably certain that, unless children or adults attach themselves to some form of Christianity, it will soon cease to have a real influence over them. The religious teaching given in board schools must be so guarded as not to give those who receive it a bias to any religious body in particular; whatever worth, therefore, it may have in itself, it will leave them unmoored to any particular form of faith, and therefore practically in a position where it is far from improbable that they will make no profession of Christianity in after life. It may happen that some will be attracted by the ordinary services of religion, and that others will be periodically drawn for a season by some novel or exciting religious enthusiasm; but the greatest number will remain outside of all religious profession, and possibly outside of all religious

influences.³ Believing as I do that 'this is life eternal to know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent,'⁴ and that, without real abiding faith in Him who is thus spoken of, neither an individual nor a nation can be morally or spiritually great, it is impossible to be indifferent about the religious training of the rising generation, and unconcernedly to leave it to accident or caprice. In the name of religious liberty I pray that, at all events, children may not be deprived of the existing schools in which they may be taught not only the words of revealed truth, but be led to value and to seek that supernatural help without which we are assured by Infallible Truth that 'we can do nothing.'⁴

ROBERT GREGORY.

³ If confirmation was needed for what seems to me a truism, it would be found in the recent examination in religious subjects of pupil teachers for Board Schools. Out of 646 who sought admission into Church training colleges, 198 failed to pass in the simplest elementary subjects of the Old and New Testament. If the teachers are thus ignorant of the Bible, what will their scholars be? and if they know so little of the Bible which is professedly taught, what will they know of the doctrines of the Christian faith which are not taught?

³ St. John xvii. 3.

⁴ St. John xv. 5.

THE UNMOUNTED BUCEPHALUS.

I.

WHEN the tidings of the almost sudden death of Gambetta spread throughout Europe, the first feeling it awakened in the minds of all was one of stupor; painful stupor with many, with French patriots and all those who love our country; joyful, though half dissembling, surprise with others. Then came a universal cry; one question was on every lip, be it of friend, of foe, or of indifferent bystanders: 'What will become of France? What will become of the Republic?' An English friend, writing to me on the subject, summed up this general feeling of uneasiness and curiosity in the fine metaphor I have printed above: 'What will become of *the unmounted Bucephalus*?'

An unmounted Bucephalus France seems indeed at the present hour; a bewildered steed deprived of its rider, and at a loss to know whither, east or west, it will next bend its forlorn course. The ideas and impressions of all foreign observers, however varied, seem to agree in this one point; and no evidence shows better than this unlooked-for consent of opinions, what the great citizen, whom death has seized upon in the prime of years, embodied in the eyes of the world at large. Gambetta identified the Republic; he was the highest expression of France itself.

No doubt other statesmen have, in other times, borne the same character in Europe; but what is extraordinary here, and almost unprecedented in history, is, that the man who had the privilege of incorporating, not only the present form of government in his country, but his country itself, this man had never, during the whole of his political career, which lasted fourteen years, been invested with power but for the short space of eight months! Eight months, not more: five during the war, when he strove to defend against the German invasion what remained of French territory and of French honour; three, not even three, last year when in the midst of endless intrigues he strove to organise, on broad and solid principles, the government of the Republic. He died less than a twelvemonth after his fall from the ministry—a fall brought about by the slanders and fears of an unnatural coalition, which flattered itself with having

overthrown him for ever ; a fall which was accompanied and greeted at first by extreme unpopularity, the reward of a life wholly devoted to the welfare of the people ; but it is well known that in our country, more than anywhere else since ancient Rome, the Tarpeian rock lies near the Capitol.

Be it as it may, that short stay in business, that heavy fall, those slanders—everything was washed down by the irresistible force of ideas. Gambetta, though the object of ceaseless defamation and raillery ever since the first explosion of the Baudin case, till the last breath he heaved at Ville d'Avray, though denounced to his country and to the world at large as everything but what he really was—as a demagogue, a raving madman, a brewer of cabals, an aspiring Cæsar, a *jouisseur*, a speculator, a man who wished for war at any price, an abettor of discord, I know not what else—though thousands of individuals may have been deceived concerning every phase of that brief existence which will ever appear as a meteor in the sky of our contemporaneous history—in spite of this, I say, Gambetta seemed to Europe and was indeed the soul of the Republic, the soul of modern France. Posterity will consider him as such ; his admirers throughout the world proclaim it ; and his traducers cannot conceal it, so palpable, so glaring is the truth.

To his death-bed came some who had been his bitterest enemies among the Republicans. I will not speak of their remorse ; but they really were more uneasy than we—the friends and devoted followers of him who is no more—about the prospects of the Republic. Yes, their doubts and fears overreached our own. They all felt that an incomparable force had just disappeared. That day the future looked fearfully dark to many eyes. The open grave seemed a yawning abyss, longing to engulf the country and its government. These men shuddered, and asked each other how great a part of the Republic, and of France, would go down with Gambetta.

And this is why we speak to-day, without delay, overcoming our grief, to show that Gambetta's teaching has not been lost upon us. As Tacitus says : ' Non hoc supremum munus amicorum est, prosequi defunctum ignavo fletu, sed, quæ voluerit, meminisse ; quæ mandaverit, exsequi.' No one has been more cruelly struck to the heart than the writer of these lines, by the untimely death of that great citizen, who was also the most invaluable friend. But if we are among those who know best all that our country has lost in losing him, we also know that he would have considered as unworthy of his affection and his esteem, whoever, on the morrow of his death, despaired of the future of France and of the Republic.

II.

That which Gambetta represented with the utmost grandeur in the Republican party, and that which in history, from a purely political point of view, will always be his honour, is the following :— His name meant, *par excellence*, the essentially democratic Republic, seated on the large and powerful basis of the new social strata ; but, at the same time, willing to embrace every species of patriotism, of intelligence, of capacity born in this country. The Republic, which was Gambetta's ideal, and towards which every effort of his life tended, was, indeed, not that same Republic which had for so many years been the dream of Radicals and advanced Liberals, and the terror of the Conservative party.

His Republic was that one which under some of its aspects had been desired by Vergniaud, Danton, Carnot, Condorcet and Hoche at the time of the first Revolution, by Manuel under the Restoration, by Armand Carrel under the monarchy of July, by Lamartine and Ledru-Rollin in 1848. Gambetta, who had always been a very great reader, and who knew, as no one else, the minutest detail of the history of modern France—his mother had taught him the alphabet in the political works of Carrel, and he had passed many months of his early youth in poring over the whole collection of *Le Moniteur*—Gambetta had collected with jealous care the conceptions which the great minds I have mentioned had formed of the Republic ; he tried all these conceptions, some of which were extremely chimerical, and sifted them with his own marvellous practical good sense ; he daily endeavoured to adapt them not only to the general wants of the age, but even to the particular requirements of each week and each day ; and he had also formed in his brain, afterwards expounded in the series of his numerous speeches, a new ideal for the Republic—the wisdom of which will be more and more appreciated as time goes by, as our politicians commit inevitable blunders, and as the enemies of our institutions temporarily profit by these mistakes.

The chief quality of Gambetta's Republic was that it made one with, and was inseparable from, France. To distinguish the greatness of the Republic and the greatness of France seemed revolting to his mind ; and though this appears quite natural to the many politicians who have been educated at his school, and have received from him his powerful inspiration, it is well to point out that Gambetta on this chapter severed himself radically from most of the older members of our party. Gambetta has never wished France to be forced to accept the Republic ; what he dreamed, what he had in part realised, and what he would have realised completely had he not been carried away by death at so early an age, was that the whole of France should of its own accord come to the Republic and be identified with it. There are two characteristic acts in his career inspired by this wish which,

in spite of the violent attacks which they called forth, cannot but appear to an equitable posterity as two of the highest and most generous suggestions of political genius. In the first place, the speeches at Grenoble in which, in distinct variance with the friends of Thiers who would have wished the Republic to belong, as it were, to the *bourgeois* and the rallying Orleanists, he called to the Government and the administration the 'new social stratum,' as he termed it—that is to say, the democracy itself—all those sons of working men, of peasants, and labourers, who by their wits and their acquirements had become worthy of serving their country. Secondly, the famous nominations of last year when, repelling with an almost brutal energy the exorbitant pretensions of many Republicans; he openly manifested that the Republic ought to be closed to nobody, and that the highest offices ought to be accessible to any one, whatever employment he may have held under the monarchy, as long as he was fit to render real service either in the organisation of the army (Miribel, Galiffet) or in foreign policy (Chaudordy, Courcel, J. J. Weiss). Exclusiveness was always repugnant to Gambetta's nature. He had reflected much upon the famous words which Beugnot attributes to the Comte d'Artois on his return to Paris after Napoleon's first abdication: 'Il n'y a qu'un Français de plus.' What he, Gambetta, would not admit was that through the substitution of the Republic for the monarchy France should *lose* a single Frenchman; of course, I mean a Frenchman capable, no matter in what sphere, of helping to revive his country.

Such was the first innovation Gambetta introduced into the Republican scheme of the *Elders* of 1848; but it was not the only one, nor the most radical one. These *Elders* were divided in two parties: some wanted a Jacobin Republic, tyrannical, inquisitorial, sectarian; the others, an ultra-liberal Republic, free from any kind of restraint, dividing France into an infinity of little agglomerations, each with its own administration, and having no bond between them; in short, they substituted a deleterious individualism for the strong and fruitful action of central government. Gambetta was equally adverse to both these schools; he repudiated Jacobinism, and for this he was often called 'reactionary;' he repudiated unlimited liberalism, and for this he was often, and especially lately, called an 'absolutist.' We cannot but think that in this, as in every case, he was right to keep equally from extremes. He was a passionate lover of liberty, but license appeared both odious and perilous to him. He was a friend to authority, but the sectarian spirit raised his indignation. He appreciated the advantages of administrative decentralisation, but he demanded (the word, a new one in our political language, is of his invention) governmental *centralité*. He was a thorough believer in, and a staunch advocate of, a parliamentary régime; but he thought that the executive power, as well as the legislative power,

had its mission, and a mission which it was necessary to respect and to inspire respect for. To sum up all in a still more concise manner, he wanted the Republican State in France to be a *State*, as well as every other State in Europe. The idea of *government* was deeply rooted in his mind, and he has always done his best to inculcate it on others. Even under the *régimes* which he fought against with the utmost energy—under that of the 24th of May 1873 and of the 16th of May 1877, even under the Empire—he never uttered a single word which could be interpreted as a denial of the essential prerogatives of government. On the contrary, the bitterest reproach he addressed either to M. Rouher or to M. de Broglie was their having brought into discredit with some Republicans the primordial rights of the Government by the misuse they had made of them.

In short, he wanted the Republic to be equally conservative and progressist, and to this aim he had, if not invented, at least quite revived, the political method which has been called by that barbarous term *opportunism*. As he denied, and rightly, that all which constituted the old political institutions of France was either absolutely bad or absolutely good, as the extreme parties would have it, he maintained that to renovate gradually and partially was the way to proceed, 'slowly and surely.' Ideas *à priori* were adverse to his just and harmonious mind. He was of opinion that metaphysics, which are absolute, are entirely different from politics, which are relative; and that it should be the same with a wise and prudent system of policy as with Nature herself, *quæ non facit saltus*. He had nothing to do with the absolute political systems of a Jean-Jacques Rousseau; and he thought, at variance with Descartes, in his *Discours de la Méthode*, that a sensible man should not throw down his house from the top to the bottom because it is badly built, for by so doing he would be reduced to sleeping for some time under the stars; the right way is to repair progressively and successively every imperfection in the building. This is what Gambetta called in his happy neologisms, '*sérier les questions*,' and '*faire de la politique de résultats*.'

When you cried up such and such a reform under the pretence that it was in conformity with transcendental logic, he used to answer that you should also see whether this reform was not premature, or of such a nature as to bring troubles into the State, and so delay its definitive application by the inevitable reaction. Thus, also, when any one used to propose such or such an institution under pretence that it worked well in England or in America, he used to reply that France is neither England nor America, but only France, and that if the requirements of the moment ought to be carefully weighed, the aptitudes and propensities peculiar to each people in its social and political sphere must also be taken into account. In short, he preferred advanc-

ing by slow degrees with the perfect certitude of not being obliged to go back an inch, than to take three giant's steps forward, to the great satisfaction of some *badards*, and then be obliged to retire six or seven steps, to the great detriment of the idea itself.

Such was, in its principal lines, Gambetta's conception of the Republic, and the political method he put to its service. He was an incomparable advocate of the conception. He applied the method admirably. And now, should we allow it to be said that this conception and this method died with Gambetta?

We reply unhesitatingly: No!

Oh! there is no doubt (how could one deny so obvious a fact?) that in consequence of the disappearance of so powerful, so ingenious, so persuasive a statesman as Gambetta the perfect realisation of his conception of the Republic is much delayed, and that his method cannot be applied by any surviving politicians with the same sureness and happiness as by himself. But still this conception has taken hold of all serious minds, and this method is no longer decried by any but fools or rogues. We even believe, we may predict, that the realisation of several of Gambetta's ideas will meet with fewer obstacles—at least among a certain fraction of public opinion—to-morrow than yesterday. For this is really what has been going on for some years—to confess the whole truth, ever since M. Jules Grévy's accession to the presidency of the Republic: the overwhelming glory and popularity of Gambetta had the result that many who in ordinary times would have resolutely stood up for his ideas, staunchly opposed them solely because they were extolled and defended by Gambetta. This avowal is not to the honour of the human species in general, nor to the honour of our democracy in particular. But it is the strict and simple truth—a truth which will have nothing surprising for attentive minds. Sentiments of justice, of disinterestedness, and of patriotism are not the only ones which occupy the heart of man; men for the most part are naturally envious of every striking superiority, be it of intelligence, position, or birth. And especially so in a democracy where all are proud of being equal. Ostracism seems to be the very foundation of every democracy, principally so when that democracy is, like our own, still young, inexperienced, and divided. Why did Athens banish Aristides? because she was tired of always hearing him called the *Just*. It was the same thing with our compatriots as regards Gambetta. The magnificent obsequies on the 6th of January prove assuredly that Gambetta had never lost the love of the nation at large, in spite of the unparalleled torrent of slander and outrage with which he had been assailed, and which his greatness of soul and immovable confidence in the final verdict enabled him to disdain and prevented him from answering. Nevertheless these calumnies, these monstrous outrages, were not wholly destitute of effect. Gambetta, who died almost poor in the mean cottage

which belonged to Balzac's gardener, was reputed a millionaire by thousands and thousands of Frenchmen. Gambetta, who had dreamed of France peacefully retaking possession of Alsace and Lorraine at some future time, passed among the same persons for a man who desired war at any price. In the same way he passed for a despotic, violent, turbulent, madly ambitious mind; and then his wisest, his most practical, and his grandest propositions got to be looked on with disfavour. And in Parliament, as well as among some centres of working men and among many modest *bourgeois*, a parcel of dwarfs jealous of this great man, of fools or rogues whom he had turned away, were believed on their simple word. I have related in this Review how the *scrutin de liste*, which had always figured at the head of the Republican programme, was—solely through hate and jealousy of Gambetta—successively thrown out by the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. It was the same in many other cases, and Gambetta was aware of it. One day in last July, when talking of Egyptian affairs, he said to me sadly: 'I see it is come to this, that I shall have henceforth to advocate wrong measures for these people to vote the right ones.'

Now Gambetta is dead, and since he is dead he can stand in no one's light. People will no longer fall foul of his ideas in order to hurt or harm him, to arrest his ascending march. His glory will no longer trouble the dreams of those little minds and those ungrateful hearts whom it is perhaps better not to name; their names are on every lip. Was there ever a more striking illustration of the truth of the Latin saying *Pascitur in vivis livor, post fata quiescit*? It sufficed for him to have ceased to breathe, and the cottage at Ville d'Avray became, during three days, a place of pilgrimage for all Paris; all the calumnies fell to nothing as by enchantment, and public contempt overwhelmed those professed slanderers who attacked him remorselessly even up to his very last minute. So also even among the most prejudiced minds—I might say especially among the most prejudiced, for those who have been the most deceived are always the most enraged against their deceivers—a formidable reaction in the opposite direction took place, a reaction in favour of the great statesman we weep, a reaction in favour of his theories and his principles. In short, we shall most likely witness the contrary of what has taken place for some years. It was enough that Gambetta should defend a theory for it to be attacked with fury. From henceforth it will often suffice that an idea was formerly held up by Gambetta for it to be enthusiastically acclaimed.

Now we do not mean to say that this change will be effected at once. We must keep in view the *amour-propre* of many politicians who would prefer to put off for ever the most urgent reforms rather than avow that they have ever been in the wrong; and also the incurable mediocrity of many deputies returned by the *scrutin d'arrondissement*.

ment system. But it *will* be, nevertheless, and sooner, much sooner, than might be supposed. Already his theories on the *scrutin de liste*, on the partial revision of the Constitution, on the necessity of governmental centrality, on the irremovability of magistrates, on securing the nomination of judges to the executive power, on the transportation of habitual criminals, on the regulation of military service, on the management of railways—all these theories of his, which but last year were so violently combated, now meet but with little more opposition than his general ideas on foreign policy. I know quite well that this change had already begun during the last months of our friend's life, and also—and this increases our grief—that Gambetta died almost in sight of the Promised Land, at the very hour when his ideas were about to triumph over vulgar resistance, and gratitude was about to take the place of injustice. Certainly this transformation will not be arrested in its progress, and the entire revolution will be accomplished. Yes, we affirm it: Gambetta's political conceptions and his method will triumph in the end; the date of the victory may be uncertain, but that they *will* triumph is sure. It seems—and a painful statement it is—that it could only be so after the tomb had closed for ever on him who advanced these ideas. As in the story of Cid Campeador, it is his corpse that leads his followers to victory. That he who sowed cannot have reaped is a hard trial for us, his friends; our consolation is that the interests of the Republic, his and our only aim, are about to be satisfied. And then, I am aware that Gambetta's fate is the fate of all great men, of all benefactors of their country and humanity at large. Look through the history of past ages and number the men of genius who have been living spectators of the triumph of their ideas. You cannot cite more than ten; whilst the others may be named by hundreds, from Socrates to St. Paul, from John Huss to Mirabeau, from Galileo to Denys Papin. We must resign ourselves to let things be so. We ought to esteem ourselves happy every time a just idea, even at the price of incomparable sacrifices, ends by winning the day. Which are the most fertile fields? Those which have been watered by streams of blood, and which have swallowed up many dead—the fields of battle. Those are the fields which on the following summer give the finest corn, corn of a golden hue. A poet when speaking of this once said that it is the dead who give life to the living. If this poet had been a philosopher, he would have added that in this respect intellectual life does not differ from physical life.

III.

No doubt, then, since Gambetta's ideas were just and wise, that they will survive him, and triumph. But the methods and theories

which spring up in a man's brain are not the whole of this man, especially if he be a statesman. What makes the force, the authority of a statesman is also his character, his heart, his eloquence; the confidence he inspires, the resources he is known to possess, the luck he is supposed to have, the glory he has won—and which always seems the token of future and still greater glory—the remembrance of past services, the feeling that he is always there, ready in the hour of danger to mount the breach, the most valiant and the most resolute of all. Gambetta possessed all these qualities in a supreme degree. His sole presence in his army, the loftiness of his aspirations, gave to the Republic a touch of grandeur, which has manifestly disappeared with him, for how many years we know not. As he had saved the honour of our fatherland under most terrible circumstances, he had around him a patriotic radiance which called upon him the sympathies of all those, even his political adversaries, who loved France. As, by dint of wisdom and ability, he had torn from a monarchical majority the vote for the establishment of the Republican Constitution, he inspired that confidence that a consummate strategist inspires even in the breast of soldiers totally ignorant of all the secrets of strategy. As it was his resolution, his tenacity, his courage, which, after the 16th of May, saved the Republic, threatened by a redoubtable coalition, he was felt to be strong against everything; capable of saving the Republic if it were again menaced. In one word, Gambetta was not merely a shield and an armour for the Republican party. This party, educated and disciplined by him for ten years, became strong enough to walk alone, and even sometimes against its former tutor, like those children spoken of by Montaigne who, having become robust and healthy by the milk of a hardy nurse, beat the breast which has nourished them. . . . Gambetta remained for the Republican party—that is to say, for the immense majority of the country—the *reserve*; something like what the Imperial Guard formerly was for Napoleon. The Guard, supreme hope, supreme trust, said Victor Hugo. In most of the battles which Napoleon fought throughout the world, he did not employ the Guard. He kept it precious in store for the critical hour. The rest of the army knew this. The Guard was there, that was enough. If the fight was about to prove contrary, the Guard arrived. It had the reputation of being invincible. It was sure to triumph. This idea, this confidence, enabled them to go forward, even at haphazard, even in disorder; mistakes might be committed, a thousand dangers might be run. What did it matter? The Guard was there.

To-day, the Guard is there no longer; Gambetta is dead.

Let not my readers look upon this as merely a poetical comparison. Nothing can be more real than the psychological fact just pointed out.

Some months ago, a deputy of the Extreme Left, a personal friend

of mine, was talking about Gambetta with some workmen. These workmen had fallen into the snare, and believed in the calumnies which had been spread abroad concerning him; they inveighed against him in passionate terms. The deputy said to them, 'But remember the Sixteenth of May!' And then these workmen answered in chorus, immediately, 'That is a different thing. *Billy await encore un coup de chien à donner*—he's the one, the only one.' I have done nothing but express this trivial and energetic exclamation.

Certain it is, and not to be contested, that of late years a certain part of the people fell away from Gambetta, and applauded the attacks directed against him. But in the inmost mind of these men the sentiment that Gambetta was necessary to the Republic still lived. They knew that he was the sentinel who kept guard day and night for the safety of all, that allowed others to sleep.

Gambetta was not only the glory of the Republic by his talent, his past, and his character. He was yet more; he was one of the principal causes of the confidence the Republic had in itself. He was the principal cause which rendered the reactionary and the revolutionary factions prudent and reserved.

Now that Gambetta is dead, it would be childish to deny that the Republican party is less confident than yesterday, or that the reactionaries and anarchists have taken courage. His defeat on the 26th of January produced an analogous effect—many Republicans felt dejected at the overthrow of so many fine hopes, the triumph of so vulgar a coalition; the Bonapartist, monarchical, and clerical reaction raised its head, and carried off elections in towns and *arrondissements*, where, for fifteen years, they had always been routed by the Republicans; and lastly, the *intransigent*, anarchical, and socialist parties had audaciously commenced a criminal agitation in the meetings of working men; they brought about the strikes at Bessèges, the acts of vandalism at Monceaux, the Nihilist exploits at Lyons. As might be expected, such a recrudescence had given food for reflection to a number of those who had overthrown Gambetta. The democracy and the *bourgeoisie* were alike frightened—the former for the Republic, and the latter for social order; they turned again to Gambetta. In the month of November last, such a sudden and powerful change took place in his favour, that revolutionists and reactionists stopped short of their own accord, simply out of hatred for Gambetta, because they perceived that their Fenianism and their red or white flags only and above all served the cause of their great adversary. Such was the morrow of Gambetta's political fall. One may easily guess, under these conditions, what must have been the morrow of his death.

It is not even necessary to take the trouble of guessing. Facts speak for themselves. Gambetta's defeat had reanimated all extin-

guished hopes. His death has caused them to burst forth. The morrow of the terrible *dénouement* at Ville d'Avray there was one and the same explosion throughout the whole of the reactionary press—'Gambetta is dead! The Republic is dying!' And on all sides—in the Legitimist, the Orleanist, the Bonapartist press—they began openly to conspire against the Republic, left a widow. Such was the prestige of Gambetta; he dead, it seemed to all the friends of the Comte de Chambord, the Comte de Paris, and the Prince Jerome Bonaparte, that the Republic was defenceless, and that it would suffice to stretch out their hand in order to grasp the ripe fruit. It seemed so incontestable that even as early as January 5th and 6th the enemies of the Republic had each on their side but a single thought: Who would arrive the first? Therein lay the whole question. The Republic was dying; this was settled. But who would have her succession? It was a real steeplechase between people who did not know, or who had forgotten, the celebrated tale about the bear and the two fellow-hunters. The Comte de Chambord prepared a manifesto at Frohsdorf, the way for which was paved by many articles in the *Union*, the *Monde*, and the *Figaro*. The zeal of the princes of Orleans was stimulated by the *Gazette de France*. The Prince Jerome Bonaparte was the first to start off, January 16th. But he was not the first to arrive at the Louvre. He was the first to arrive at the *Conciergerie*.

Prince Jerome to write a manifesto declaring the Republic to be morally collapsed and to claim for himself the throne of the Bonapartes; Prince Jerome to sign 'Napoléon' for the first time, and to have his proclamation posted upon the walls of Paris and those of the principal towns in the provinces—had such a thing been even hinted at fifteen months, nay, six weeks ago, it would have been greeted with bursts of laughter. The Republic had Gambetta: it could jest at all pretenders. Gambetta dies; and directly, almost before his coffin has been sealed in the tomb, this supposition which would have been ridiculous becomes a reality. Now, how will the Republic act? She has no longer Gambetta. So she can no longer, as formerly, disdainfully shrug her shoulders even at the most odious or foolish pretenders. A part of her faith has gone down with Gambetta to his grave. It was impossible for the Government of the Republic to hesitate; they were obliged to arrest Prince Jerome Bonaparte and to put him in prison. Even more than this: a hundred and fifty Republicans of the Chamber, feeling too well that Gambetta's death gave new strength to the reaction, pressing close together like a flock which has lost its shepherd and which is surprised by a tempest, rather too nervously and too rashly as I think, have proposed to banish all the members of ancient families which have reigned over France.

Whether this ought to be voted by Parliament just as it was drawn up on the 16th of January is a question which it is not for me to examine to-day. For my part, I would advocate a less radical and fairer

measure of precaution, and at the same time a more political one. Rising above the exaggerated fears of the moment, I am of opinion that it would be enough to give the President of the Republic the right of exiling, temporarily or forever, any members of former dynasties who may be suspected of conspiring, or whose presence on French territory might, at a certain moment, appear dangerous. The kings of France and the Emperor Napoleon had this right. It is, indeed, a necessary defence of the executive power, and still it does not confound the innocent with the guilty—princes who know how to live as simple citizens, and princes who plot and dream of *coups d'état*. It is sufficient to protect the Republic, and it can hurt nobody's conscience. But, however it may be with this secondary question, what is now plainly seen is that Gambetta's death so extravagantly revived monarchical ambitions, that very severe defensive measures have become indispensable to the safety of the Republic. The menaces of the Royalists, the manifesto of the Jeromists, the arrest of Napoleon's nephew, the proposition of exile—all this is but a consummation of the 'funeral rites of Achilles.'

Such is the extent of the immense void which Gambetta's disappearance has made amongst the Republicans! 'De quelle immense proie la mort vient de se saisir!' cried Desmoulins before the death-bed of Mirabeau. Every one knows what happened on the morrow of Mirabeau's death. Deprived of him who had been the motive power, and who was also its regulator, the Revolution grew less wise, less just, more violent and more agitated, because it had become less confident in itself. Something similar will, no doubt, take place with the Republic on this the morrow of Gambetta's death; but with the capital difference, that the Revolution was struggling in the midst of the most troubled times and against a most terrible coalition of kings, whilst the Republic has been solidly seated for twelve years, has been prepared and acclimatised by a century of efforts and struggles, and, lastly, that war has not yet again broken out in Europe. In consequence, it would be absurd to believe that the Republic will need to have recourse to tyrannical measures to hold its own against reviving reaction; that it will have to go through frightful crises, &c. Nothing of the sort will take place; but for having to take some preventive and defensive measures, perhaps to revise the laws relating to the press, to public meetings, &c., the march of democratic progress and the grand national reconciliation will be impeded but for a time. The Republic, like the Revolution, will triumph in the end.

Indeed, now that Prince Jerome is under lock and key, I may say it frankly. The prince started too soon; his intemperate ardour has too clearly revealed the danger to the whole of France; considering it from the pretender's point of view, insight into what might be feared was gained too promptly and too completely. It is easy to understand why the Orleanist and Legitimist papers are much more

enraged against the prince than the Republicans are ; the Bonapartist prince has spoilt the game of the princes of Bourbon. After all, Prince Jerome meant what he said, when in 1876, as deputy for Corsica, he loudly proclaimed himself to be devoted to the Republic. He has just proved it by his manifesto ; in posting up the statement of his case on our walls he has rendered the Republic an inestimable service.

This service is as follows :—However easy to foretell a raising of shields on the part of the emboldened Monarchists, on the morrow of Gambetta's death, and also a recoil of the Republican side, still the bulk of Republicans in the Chamber feigned not to have perceived this danger. They gave ear to some imbecile Jacobins who proclaimed that, Gambetta being dead, the Republic would do without great men (these simpletons pleaded for their saints, as Monsieur Josse in *Molière*), and their fatal divisions were not done away with. In spite of the national grief and the time of mourning, people openly and fluently talked about who was to succeed Gambetta ; as if such a thing could be ! Here, one brought forward serious names—names worthy of esteem and respect—M. Léon Say, M. Jules Ferry, M. Duclerc, M. Henri Brisson, M. Le Royer. There, absurdly vain persons, of indifferent talent, noisy individuals, of no consequence, came forward of themselves, gesticulating, crying, speechifying, and adding yet more to the disturbances and wrangling. In short, disunion continued. Now this disunion has received a serious warning from Prince Jerome's rash attempt. On all sides the danger has been understood, the gulf has become visible. On all sides it was felt that disunion among the Republicans was an error even during Gambetta's lifetime ; it became a veritable crime after his death. However ridiculous the Napoleonic placards were, it has been guessed that behind the curtain many elements hostile to the Republic, and redoubtable for it, are busy at work in the dark. It has become clear that if all these mistakes, interior slanders, personal hates and petty rivalries continued, the future of the Republic herself might, at a not very distant day, be brought into question. Every one has reflected on this, and stopped in time. I do not say that at this very hour all sincere, honest, and patriotic Republicans are no longer disunited, that they are banded together against the reactionists and the revolutionists, against intransigents and intriguers. But this union will be ; its dawn has already appeared.

Bucephalus remains unmounted. But he no longer rushes about at hazard, with disordered trappings, through woods and plains, without a traced path. He has himself wisely composed his steps. He follows, slowly and cautiously, the main road.

We will not affirm that he will take no more false steps for the future ; we are very much afraid he will do so. We will not affirm that in future he will no more run away occasionally, with regrettable

impetuosity; we imagine, on the contrary, that Gambetta's death has put off for years the system of national conciliation which the great patriot so ardently desired to inaugurate during his ministry, and with this system that large and comprehensive policy which he hoped would prevail by means of the *scrutin de liste*; 'a policy,' as our friend Weiss justly remarked, 'composed at the same time of legitimate force and of persuasion, of governmental energy and of liberty, of attentive respect for all that ought to be maintained, and thus embodying ancient French traditions, and also the bold initiative for everything now required by the new *régime*, the profound love of peace and pride in the name of France.' Neither will we affirm that Bucephalus will have none but honest and upright riders; we are afraid, on the contrary, that quacks, and sometimes even worse, may succeed from time to time in mounting him for an hour or so. But these are unavoidable vicissitudes in the life of a people, and especially of a democracy; vicissitudes against which we should be armed and doubly armed by a great love of our country, and an immovable confidence in the definitive triumph of justice, for persistent optimism is the true characteristic of a statesman.

And then, what I will boldly assert is that the Republic will grow and become more solid in spite of Gambetta's death; that, thanks to her having been well disciplined during the past twelve years, and thanks to the virtues of our nation, she has enough 'backbone' to enable her to prosper marvellously well at a future and not far distant date, and to fill up the immense void made on the 31st of December, to enable her valiantly to resist all attempts at reaction; though Gambetta's death has fanned into flame the slumbering hopes of the adversaries of the Republic, which hopes have just received a sharp warning that will not be soon forgotten. The intransigent and anarchical revolutionists, who have also, and not less, picked up courage during the last month, may also expect, in their turn, to receive a not less rude and not less merited blow.

IV.

Gambetta said to me one day: 'It never came into the mind of any man of the Convention simply to say he was a Republican. They above all professed to be patriots. All our countrymen of the present day ought to bear this in mind.'

Indeed, Gambetta was essentially a patriot before being a Republican. He undoubtedly was convinced that France could be great and prosperous only through the Republic. But it was really and chiefly out of patriotism that he was so ardent a Republican. As soon as a man put France before all other interest, the sympathies of Gambetta were enlisted in his favour. In 1870 he, the very partisan of the most advanced democracy, made the Vendéens,

Charette and Cathelineau, generals; he it was who invested the Bonapartist Bourbaki and the Orleanist Aurelles de Paladine with high command. And afterwards, as leader of the Republican party, as president of the Commission of the Budget, as president of the Chamber, as president of the Council of Ministers, he never ceased to inculcate that '*Tout pour la France*' was his motto. That is what made him so wonderful a position in France, and before all Europe. In France, Gambetta was the incarnation of patriotism, even to the reactionists (I mean, of course, reactionary patriots). During his last illness the pontifical soldiers who had served during the national defence wrote to M. Veillot, director of the ultra-legitimist and ultra-clerical paper *L'Univers*, to beg him to have masses said for Gambetta. Throughout Alsace and Lorraine, of which he had been the unanimously acclaimed deputy in February 1871, he was looked upon as the incarnation of the *Revanche*, or, to speak more correctly, of the Deliverance. For Europe and the world, he it was who personified the politics and the delicate diplomacy of France since M. Thiers' death. He was a stranger to no French interest, wherever placed. The cosmopolitanism and internationalism of demagogues he looked upon as odious and criminal. When it was a question of developing the influence and increasing the glory of France, for him there existed neither party nor sect. On the morrow of that day when he uttered the memorable words, '*Le cléricalisme, c'est l'ennemi*,' it was he who the first, since the bold politicians of the Convention, proclaimed the necessity for protecting the French Catholics in the East. And one knows how he protected them. Let M. Waddington be asked in how far the powerful help and the energetic support of Gambetta enabled him to keep that dignified and wise attitude at the Congress of Berlin. Throughout the East, in Greece, in Syria, in Palestine, in Egypt, no name rang with more splendour than Gambetta's. He, for the whole Eastern world, was France. He it was who advised the war in Tunis, and he was the most valiant defender of those ministers who were responsible for the war, M. Jules Ferry and General Farre. I have expounded the wisdom and the elevation of his views concerning Egyptian affairs but so lately in this Review that it will be unnecessary to recur to that again here. He either read or had translated to him all foreign journals. He knew most of the politicians of other countries personally; and when he did not, he had always been able, thanks to a prodigious accumulation of information from all sides, to have an extremely just psychologic notion of them. In short, he was one of those rare statesmen who knew Europe and the world; and Europe and the world recognised in him the personification of France, and hated or admired him accordingly. When he died, all the friends of France mourned for him, and all our enemies, Prince Bismarck first of all, rejoiced openly.

What will become of this vast heritage of patriotic influence? It can easily be understood how painful and how difficult it is to expand on such a topic. Nevertheless, after due reflection, it will be, I believe, to the real interest of my country that I express what I think. I will do so.

To begin, then, I make the avowal that the *Standard* was right in saying, about the 25th of December, 'If M. Gambetta dies, France will lose half its prestige abroad.' Gambetta is no more, and this is manifest: the political prestige of France has diminished, *momentarily* at least, and very considerably diminished. The exterior prestige of a people is measured by the wholesome fear in which it is held by other nations. This fear of France has diminished since Gambetta's death, one cannot exactly define how much. From the moment of his death the inner enemies of the Republic took advantage of this cruel loss openly to set forth their pretensions, and, following the lead of Jerome Bonaparte, the traces of the Comte de Chambord and the princes of Orleans, foreign diplomatists grew arrogant and audacious against France; our ambassador at Berlin was treated coldly by Prince Bismarck, and Lord Granville drew up his circular on the affairs of Egypt.

It is beyond discussion; this was logically to be expected; but was it prudent or wise? We think not. Since M. Jerome Bonaparte is actually in prison, and the princes of Orleans are under the threat of being exiled for imagining they might take whatever liberties they liked now Gambetta is dead, it is certain their calculations were erroneous. I dare believe that Lord Granville and Prince Bismarck are gravely mistaken when they think they may act so unjustly towards France, because death has seized the valiant organiser of the national defence.

It is indeed a too common error with political men of all countries, when thinking of foreign statesmen, to confound these statesmen absolutely and completely with the country of which they are the head; behind these statesmen they do not see, short-sighted as they are, the people by whose breath the said statesmen are animated, and of which they are in reality but the outward sign and expression. Certainly I am not of those who think a people can be great of itself alone; and I hold that, in order to be great, great men are necessary. History has taught us this. The bravest army in the world is powerless unless commanded by an able general. But, on the other hand, to say that a people is nothing without its diplomatist and its general, is equally fallacious. Hegel was right. Noble and grand ideas are always to be found hovering about among a people; and the man of genius is he who concentrates these ideas, on whom they settle, as it were, like birds on the branches of a tree. Should this tree be cut down, the birds are not killed with it. If the man dies, it does not follow that the ideas, of which he was the incarnation, perish also.

These ideas again begin to hover about until they find where again to settle; and the intermediate state can hardly be a long one. During the time it is incontestable that the people is weakened. But it would be madness of any one to think that time can last for ever! Generally, on the contrary, these days of momentary weakness are followed by still more energetic and vigorous revival. And then, unhappy those who, instead of respecting this eclipse of a moment, have cruelly and cowardly taken advantage of it!

I have shown that Gambetta's death is by no means calculated to retard the triumph of his own political theories. I even think that, though his death has certainly weakened us momentarily in the eyes of Europe, his tomb will be the very source from which French patriotism will, at no distant date, draw all its force and all that vigour which will fill Europe with respect for France. France will be respected as well in the Vosges as on the banks of the Nile.

How is this assertion to be proved? First of all by the majestic demonstration made at the funeral of Gambetta, and which was made before his bier, wrapped as it was in tri-coloured flags, by such a federation of French communes as was never seen since 1789. M. John Lemoine has admirably described this national movement in the following lines:—

It is not only Paris but the whole of France that has been shaken, moved to its heart's core, by this startling death. Not one town, not one commune, not one hamlet but had felt the shock. By this can we see that the remembrance of the terrible year is not dead. The funeral bell sounded afar, like a trumpet, *tuba mirum spargens sonum*, and called from their sepulchres the dead of 1870 and 1871; great and small, rich and poor, the mourned and the forgotten. And it is this resurrection of the nation, for twelve years silent and retired within itself, which struck us. The new harvest, which was silently germinating in the earth, has suddenly given signs of life, and the generation which follows the one harassed by war and misfortune has proved that nothing has been forgotten.

Deputations without number came from every part of France; the thousands of wreaths heaped up on the bier are a consolation to us; a striking proof that the idea, the notion, the sentiment, the consciousness of a fatherland still exists; that the ideas of collectivism, of separatism, and other unworthy ideas have not penetrated into the minds of the great masses of the nation. The last and one of the grandest services Gambetta rendered his country was the national fusion, which took place before his bier, and which showed the world that France is one and indivisible; such as the Monarchy made it, such as it was made by the Convention, such as the Republic ought now to keep it.

But this is not all. As it was with Gambetta's ideas on home policy, so it was with his ideas on exterior policy; they have been abominably calumniated and misrepresented during his lifetime. As some contemptible demagogues and some reactionary dandies accused him of aiming at the dictatorship, he was said only to dream of a war, and in his diplomatic measures to aim only at that. Now his death has had the virtue of reducing to nothing the whole round of infamous legends; and at this moment one understands, or one is at least

beginning to understand, that Gambetta never had but two things in view—the Republic strong in France, and France strong throughout the world. A grand union of all courageous and honest minds, in order to fill up the terrible void, is being formed at home. The same union—even stronger if possible, for it comprehends a number of monarchists—is making ready to spread abroad before foreign Powers the work of the regeneration of our fatherland begun by Gambetta.

At this hour the statue of Strasburg, in the Place de la Concorde, is veiled with crape. Those are indeed blind who do not realise what profound intensity of general passion such a manifestation represents.

It may be seen that I have no illusion as to the advantage foreign Powers may take of the weakened state of France. But that these advantages, as also this weakened state, will but be momentary, is also my firm opinion. To take advantage of the widowhood of France will certainly bring luck to no one.

Whilst Gambetta lived, almost every one left in his hands the charge of watching over the honour of his country. Now he sleeps the sleep of death; and as the immensity of the loss is understood by almost all, each one will work to the end that this honour be kept safe. But yesterday, and Europe thought to confront but one man. To-morrow, she will find herself in face of a whole people.

And then there is also—do not forget this—there is also Gambetta's school, a school which, thanks to Gambetta's perspicacity, is almost wholly composed of young men; and these young men, we may certify, have no intention of abandoning the work of him who was their cherished and revered master. These men have been formerly often insulted and defamed because of their intimate relations with Gambetta. But very shortly—and this may be already perceived—those among them who remain faithful to their doctrine may be certain that the very fact of having been chosen by him as friend and co-worker will be sufficient reason for confidence and sympathy to be shown them.

Now these young men are, above all, patriots. Because of their youth, and of the indelible impression the German war made on their hearts, they have not that narrow exclusiveness which too often marked the preceding generation. When the honour of France is in question, they are but too ready to make alliance with one and every Frenchman. 'In spite of all' (*quand même*) is our device. If Gambetta was right in having confidence in the young generation which has been invested with the sacred mission of repairing the errors or the misfortunes of their elders, are we to despair? During ten years he had confidence in them, and during these ten years never ceased to preach patriotism throughout France.

Let this be thought of by the fearful, and also by the contemners of France; as it was sweet to receive noble encouragement at the hand of our great master but yesterday, so will it be sweet to us

to-morrow to continue doing our duty and to act according to the thoughts of Gambetta, and according to his hopes.

The commander of the 10th battalion of Chasseurs, who was on that day the authorised interpreter of the whole army, addressed his troops in the following superb terms two weeks ago:—

Ordre du Bataillon.

Our Fatherland is in mourning. The two great hearts by which the honour of France was saved in 1870, have ceased to beat at the same time.

Gambetta and Chanzy belong henceforth to immortality.

Let us press close around the national flag, and cry to those who would mock at our grief, 'We are there! we defy you!'

(Signed) GUELLOT,
Commander-in-Chief of the Battalion.

May I be allowed, without being accused of exaggerated or braggart fanaticism, which I abhor, to take these fine words as the conclusion and moral of this essay, which is at once too brief and too long? Yes, Bucephalus is unmounted. But Bucephalus is not completely undone by the loss of his rider; he has not in one day become a cowardly and stupid animal. The spirit of the noble beast remains the same. It is perhaps become even more elevated and purified.

Gambetta held the English people in high esteem; he has taught us to admire and esteem them with him. We dare hope that England will remember this esteem. Should she remember it, it will be to her honour—it will also be to her interest.

JOSEPH REINACH.

THE
NINETEENTH
CENTURY.

No. LXXIII.—MARCH 1883.

‘FRATER AVE ATQUE VALE.’

Row us out from Desenzano, to your Sirmione row!
So they row'd, and there we landed—‘O venusta Sirmio!’
There to me thro' all the groves of olive in the summer glow,
There beneath the Roman ruin where the purple flowers grow,
Came that ‘Ave atque Vale’ of the Poet's hopeless woe,
Tenderest of Roman poets nineteen-hundred years ago,
‘Frater Ave atque Vale’—as we wander'd to and fro
Gazing at the Lydian laughter of the Garda-lake below
Sweet Catullus's all-but-island, olive-silvery Sirmio!

ALFRED TENNYSON.

BENACI per aquas volate remi
 Ad litus viride—O venusta, salve,
 Vatis Sirmio! Ibi die calente
 Per spissas oleas mihi vaganti,
 Per fractas, veterum decus, columnas
 Qua se purpurei extulere flores,
 Redit 'Frater ave ac vale' poetæ,
 Dulcis naenia flebilis poetæ,
 Quem vicesima abhinc tulere secla :
 Redit 'Frater ave' huc et huc eunti,
 Dum capto prope Lydiæ cachinnos
 Undæ per virides tuas olivas,
 O paene insula Sirmio Catulli.

E. C. WICKHAM.

"Αἶρετ' ἐς Βῆνακον ἔξω, Σιρμιωνάδ' αἶρετε."
 ἦραν οὐρέται κλύοντες, κάξέβημεν αὐτόσε
 Σιρμιῶν' ἐς τὴν Κατύλλου Σιρμιῶν' ἐπήρατον.
 ἔνθ' ἐλάαις ἐν μέσαισι τῶν πάλαι τ' ἐρειπίοις,
 ὡς θέρος τὸ καῦμ' ἔθαλπε πορφυροῖς ἐπ' ἄνθεσι,
 θρῆνον ᾗδε πάντ' ἐκείνων, "Χαῖρ', ἀδελφέ, χαῖρ' αἰεί,"
 οἳ ἐθρήνει δεινὰ πάσχων ἔτεσι πρὶν δισχυλίους
 κείνος, ὃς μέλη τὰ Ῥώμης ἦσ' ὁ μελιχώτατος·
 "Χαῖρ', ἀδελφέ," περιπολοῦντι κατ' ἐμοὶ τότε ἦν κλύειν,
 κατὶ Βηνάκου π' ἰλίμνην ὑψόθεν θεωμένῳ
 Λύδιον γέλασμά γέλασας ὡς τὸ πρόσθ' ἀνήριθμον,
 χερσόνησ' ὧ τοῦ Κατύλλου γλαυκόφυλλε Σιρμιῶν.

G. RIDDING.

[It may be convenient to subjoin the poem of Catullus from which Mr. Tennyson quotes.—EDITOR.]

CARMEN CL.—*Inferiæ ad Fratris Tumulum.*

MULTAS per gentes et multa per aequora vectus
 Adveni has miseræ, frater, ad inferias,
 Ut te postremo donarem munere mortis,
 Et mutum nequidquam alloquerer cinerem ;
 Quandoquidem fortuna mihi tete abstulit ipsum :
 Heu misero indigne frater adempte mihi !
 Nunc tamen interea prisco quæ more parentum
 Tradita sunt tristes munera ad inferias,
 Accipe fraterno multum manantia fletu :
 Atque in perpetuum, frater, ave atque vale

OUR HOSPITALS.

A GOVERNMENT inquiry into our hospital system is now admitted to be a necessity by an overwhelming majority of those who are competent to express an authoritative opinion upon the subject. Representations and memorials have been repeatedly submitted in recent years to the Home Secretary of the day, demanding, for certain well-defined and sound reasons, the appointment of a Royal Commission. The object of this article will be to state plainly, fairly, but emphatically, some of the great and growing evils which attach to the administration of many hospitals under the existing system or want of system, with the view of attracting public attention outside and beyond the precincts of what may be briefly described as the hospital world, and of endorsing the demand for an official inquiry.

It may be well at the outset definitely to state, in order to prevent misapprehension, that it is not intended or desired to disparage or detract from the enormous amount of credit due to the many earnest workers who are actively engaged in the management of the numerous excellent hospitals which are doing so useful a work at the present time. It must not be supposed that all hospitals are badly managed or unworthy of support because it has become necessary to paint in their true colours the black sheep which are at present to be found in the flock. Work as good as, nay, probably better than, has ever been achieved, is to-day being carried on at the best managed hospitals in our midst, and there never was a time when they required intelligent public support more than at the present. It is the knowledge of the fact that the best and most needed of the hospitals are suffering from the unexposed abuses which attach to their less scrupulous brethren that alone impels me, in the public interest, to undertake the invidious task of speaking the plain truth in the matter.

Badly managed and semi-private institutions, such as many of the smaller metropolitan and some of the provincial hospitals undeniably are, act like bloodsuckers on the benevolent public to the serious injury of the larger and well-managed charities. That the bloodsuckers are allowed to be started, much less that they should thrive

and prosper, is a crying evil, and demands a remedy. Much has already been written upon this subject, but mainly on the general question; and the time seems now ripe for a more detailed statement of the actual and existing abuses, together with suggestions for the reforms believed to be urgently required.

Taking the average of the last three years ending the 31st of December 1881, the ninety-three hospitals and convalescent institutions which receive a grant from the Council of the Metropolitan Hospital Sunday Fund contain each year, collectively, 7,703 beds, of which 5,755 are daily occupied, the annual number of in-patients relieved is 64,180, and of out-patients 550,218. The average gross annual income during the last three years was 493,283*l.*, and the average gross annual expenditure during the same period 516,824*l.*, leaving a gross excess of expenditure over income of 23,541*l.*

The highest approximate cost per in-patient per week, as stated by the hospital authorities, was 2*l.* 14*s.*; the lowest, 7*s.* 6*d.* The highest cost of each out-patient was 1*l.* 6*s.* 5*d.*, and the lowest 9*d.* The percentage of cost of management to that of maintenance ranged from 41·6 per cent. to a little over $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.

The fifty-two general and provident dispensaries which received grants, paid 228,794 home visits, and relieved 24,621 new cases, including 7,039 midwifery patients. The average gross annual income of these dispensaries during the last three years was 37,538*l.*, and the average gross annual expenditure 36,537*l.*, leaving an excess of gross income over gross expenditure of 1,001*l.* Excluding midwifery cases, the highest cost of each dispensary case was 5*s.* 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*, and the lowest 6*d.* The highest percentage of cost of management to that of maintenance was 29·5 per cent., and the lowest 2·9 per cent.¹

It appears from Churchill's Medical Directory that, at the present time, there are sixteen hospitals of various kinds and twelve general and provident dispensaries in the metropolis which do not participate in the Hospital Sunday Fund. That is to say, there are twenty-eight medical institutions, ostensibly ministering to the requirements of the public, which are so conducted that the Council of the Hospital Sunday Fund has not yet been supplied by the authorities of these institutions with the small amount of evidence of their efficiency which the council require before they will consent to entertain an application for a grant. It is not sufficiently understood that the Council of the Hospital Sunday Fund practically exercises no control over the management of the metropolitan hospitals, beyond a careful audit of their accounts. If the functions of the council were extended, probably fewer scandals would arise, and fewer instances of carelessness and mismanagement be permitted.

¹ Returns of all the hospitals are given in *Hospitals and the State*: J. and A. Churchill.

Meanwhile, the state of affairs existing at certain hospitals is little short of disgraceful. Some were founded many years ago, some more recently, and all are still appealing for public subscriptions: in all cases many thousands of pounds have been collected from the benevolent since they were first established. Some are still under royal patronage; archbishops, bishops, representative members of the Houses of Lords and Commons, and other illustrious personages, whose names often occupy several pages of the reports, being also Patrons and Vice-Presidents. The official staff usually consists of a President, Trustees, a Treasurer, and a Committee of Management, composed of about a dozen or more gentlemen, amongst them being certain leading merchants, members of Parliament, clergymen, and medical officers. Sometimes the committee meets at regular intervals, and special committees are convened from time to time; sometimes the committee very rarely assembles, many months elapsing between each meeting; sometimes the committee exists merely on paper and no meeting has been ever held. The secretary has usually no fixed time to attend the hospital, sometimes fails to come even when written to, and at times does not put in an appearance for very long periods. In the secretary's absence from London no responsible person is appointed to visit the hospital as his representative, and everything is allowed to take its course. The matron, perhaps, resides in the building, and generally does everything that is done in the way of management and control.

Sometimes, however, the matron cannot write, and is reported to be very much the reverse of sober: and, as a consequence, her conduct is irregular, and the patients obtain their meals at uncertain intervals. It is asserted that one matron has been known to send for brandy six times in one hour. It is not surprising to hear she is a late riser and never gets up before 9 a.m., and often not until noon. She has, however, for all practical purposes, the entire control of the diets and of everything relating to the in-patients. Upon a recent occasion when a visit was made unexpectedly to one of these hospitals, after several times knocking at the door and ringing, the visitor espied the porter emerging from a public-house quite intoxicated, and the matron returned to the hospital after an interval of half an hour in a slightly worse state. On inquiry, it was found that the patients upon this day were entirely left, without anybody in the hospital to attend to them. It has been ascertained that this condition of things has occurred more than once.

It is not unusual to start some of these smaller hospitals as Dispensaries, but it usually happens that shortly afterwards the promoters are seized with a burning desire to have an in-patient department. In consequence, a small house is taken in which beds are placed. The character of such accommodation need not be described, but the overcrowding will be patent when it is stated that

the nurses have not infrequently been known to sleep in beds in the wards (?) devoted to the patients. It is not surprising to hear that after one night's experience of one of these wards, a patient has left the hospital rather than endure the vermin which infested her bed.

The out-patient departments at these hospitals, as may well be imagined, are too often sadly discreditable, the out-patient room being badly lighted and the ventilation so neglected that the staff and the patients suffer much inconvenience from the foulness of the atmosphere. The medical officers have no official or permanent assistant officers to help them in the treatment of patients, although the number of such patients is very large and the medical officers holding responsible hospital posts are not infrequently absent.

It will be asked on what system it has been possible to establish institutions which perpetrate such grave abuses.

There has arisen during the last twenty years or so a class of men who have made hospital promotion as much a business as any other that can be named. Their method is at once simple and successful. At the outset they have to write an appeal for funds, attached to which are the names of a right honourable, or a lord, or a bishop, or some other more or less distinguished personage; a committee of management which most frequently consists of the creatures of the promoters, with a treasurer, bankers, &c. It is necessary to have a list of subscribers and donors to act as it were as decoy ducks. These names are not so difficult to secure as might at first sight be imagined. For instance, the promoters can have at their disposal, for a liberal payment, the services of a man who has devoted his efforts for years to the collection of accurate lists of those members of the community who are specially willing to contribute to the particular class of institution for which the appeal is to be made. It may seem remarkable, but it is an undoubted fact, that most benevolent persons who contribute liberally to charities, have a special leaning towards some one distinct group. The so-called secretary has arranged the names in classes. Class No. 1 consists of those whose sympathies are roused with the greatest ease. From this list he selects the more susceptible, and by writing several autograph letters secures in a few weeks all the names he requires for his provisional list. The circular, once printed, will serve for an indefinite period, for it is noticeable, as an evidence of the truth of this fact, that few if any of this class of appeals bear a date of issue. The process of raising money now becomes almost mechanical. It consists in sending forth a number of appeals accompanied by a letter elaborately got up and enclosed in an irreproachable envelope. If the victim will not rise to the first cast, a judicious reminder, repeated at intervals of about three months, recalls his or her attention to the pressing needs and undoubted claims of the promoters' specially noble and highly excellent institution.

It is not surprising that an institution founded under such auspices as those described above should be afterwards managed with the main if not the sole view of furthering the advancement of, and securing fees for, the gentlemen by whose enterprise it was originally established. The aim above all others is to represent an annual increase in the numbers of patients, and with this purpose many remarkable devices are resorted to. Thus patients have been known to be admitted in a dying state. They, poor creatures, have felt benefited during the first few days' residence by the rest, the warmth, and the better feeding. Then gradually they began to feel as bad as ever, and the first symptom of discontent has been judiciously fanned, and the patient has left the hospital within a week of his admission to die elsewhere. Other patients have been discharged for a week or so and then readmitted, being of course then counted as new patients. In the out-patient department, a certain number of patients have been added each week to the actual numbers, making an imposing array of figures, representing attendances, not patients. These figures are then used as evidence of the enormous amount of relief administered.

So the credulity of the public is imposed upon, and written appeals for funds are successfully and continuously made. When the system of attendances was exposed, another method was adopted, and new cases only were advertised. By what is known as the marking off system practised at some hospitals, many of the new out-patients, as soon as they have been prescribed for once, are dismissed; but, inasmuch as their maladies often require further treatment, they are again admitted, if they re-apply, as new patients. By this method the number of so-called new cases may be magnified indefinitely.

As a rule at the outset, at the class of institutions we have been considering, there is practically no committee, no secretary, no minute books, no auditors, or any proper accounts. In a word, the promoter does everything. Nothing is bought or altered without his permission, and he exercises autocratic sway over the whole undertaking. In selecting a staff of medical assistants it is asserted, by those who are capable of giving an opinion, that the promoter takes care to provide, first and foremost, that his colleagues shall be incapable of treating with workmanlike skill the special diseases for the relief of which the institution was founded. Each of these gentlemen must of course be docile, self-effacing, and obedient; independent behaviour ensures immediate dismissal.

The question may be asked, How is a medical man repaid for the trouble of keeping and ruling an establishment of this description? Simply by reason of persons coming to special hospitals to inquire who is the chief physician or surgeon. The hospital becomes, in fact, a recruiting station of the medical promoter, and by this means he has been known to build up an enormous practice.

It is certainly high time that an inquiry were made into the

abuses attending a system under which any one may open a hospital anywhere for the treatment of any class of disease, may describe it as a public institution, and may really make it exclusively a private undertaking, with the object of increasing his income and promoting his reputation.

The facts attending the dispute at Guy's Hospital, already too familiar to the public, added to the abuses here exposed, testify to the foresight of Mr. Gladstone who, so long ago as 1863, in speaking of charities, said: 'It is an evil to dispense with all public control over these hospitals; they want supervision.' This is only too true; yet, in fact, the majority of the committees of the metropolitan hospitals are self-elected, and their meetings are too frequently held at hours which render it impossible for the younger and more active governors to take part in the management. As a rule, probably not more than an average attendance of one-fourth of the whole of the committee is reached; and the result is, that the control falls into the hands of probably earnest but not necessarily capable persons, who, with the best intentions, do not always bring to the conduct of the hospital affairs that wisdom, foresight, and knowledge by which alone it is possible to conduct a large public charity with efficiency and success.

It may be imagined that the abuses to which attention has been drawn up to this point have not been without their effect upon the hospital exchequers. This is in reality the case, but unfortunately it has resulted in a serious falling off in the income of the best managed of the large general hospitals. For instance, in 1877 the income of the metropolitan general hospitals amounted to 310,237*l.*, and in 1881 it was but 274,159*l.*, a decrease of 36,075*l.* On the other hand, the income of forty special hospitals which amounted to 156,055*l.* in 1877, had increased to 173,746*l.* in 1881.

Up to this point we have been dealing only with metropolitan hospitals, and it now becomes necessary to give an outline of the management and working of the provincial, Scotch, and Irish hospitals and dispensaries. There are altogether about 554 hospitals and 229 dispensaries, of which latter 187 are general and 42 provident. The hospitals contain collectively 31,858 beds, which were occupied during the year 1881 by 189,606 patients, and the out-patients and house-patients amounted to upwards of 1,200,000, making together a gross total of nearly 1,500,000. It is a remarkable fact that the number of beds and the number of cases treated in England are nearly double as many as they were in the year 1863, when only 10,933 beds were occupied by 81,972 persons, and the out-patients and house-patients amounted to 686,658, making together a gross total of 768,638 cases. To treat these cases there are at the present time, excluding 378 house-surgeons and resident medical officers, 2,398 physicians and surgeons, of whom 655 are not actively

engaged in duty, as they are classified as extraordinary or consulting medical officers.

The slow rate of progress made by the majority of these institutions to meet this rapid increase of patients will be shown by the statement that in the year 1863 there were in England 1,411 physicians and surgeons, exclusive of paid officers attached to the various institutions, of whom 1,335 were actually engaged in duty, the remaining 276 being consulting physicians and surgeons, as compared with physicians and surgeons in the year 1881 (exclusive of paid officers), of whom 1,307 were actually engaged in duty. It has been truly remarked by an amusing writer that the essential characteristic of the office of the extraordinary or consulting physician and surgeon, the *conditio sine qua non*, the differential phenomenon that separates the consulting from the ordinary doctor, is simply this, that the former must never be consulted.

It is a little difficult to arrive at an idea as to the cost of treating the 1,500,000 patients. If, however, we assume that the maintenance of a bed costs 40*l.* per annum, and that each out-patient costs 2*s.*, the total annual expenditure amounts to 1,394,320*l.* This sum is, however, probably in excess of the actual figures, because a carefully prepared estimate based upon actual data has revealed the fact that the probable revenue of all the medical charities approaches 1,500,000*l.*, and the expenditure 1,450,000*l.*, leaving a balance of income over expenditure for all the institutions of some 50,000*l.* annually.

Much has been said in recent years of the great increase in the cost of *maintenance* of the patients at the various hospitals. Mr. Charles Hawkins has shown, however, that if we compare the present expenditure with that of fifty years ago at a large hospital (St. George's), the cost per patient on the whole is remarkably equal, the cost of each in-patient in the year 1830 being 6*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*, and in 1880 6*l.* 17*s.* 3*d.* Thus the cost per patient of the following articles in 1830 and 1880 was as follows:—

	1830			1880		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Meat	0	18	4	1	2	2
Bread and flour	0	10	7	0	4	1
Wine and spirits	0	0	10	0	3	3
Malt liquors	0	5	5	0	2	6
Milk	0	6	2	0	5	11
Tea and grocery	0	3	10	0	3	5
Drugs	0	16	5	0	7	11
Coals and wood	0	10	6	0	3	10
Laundry	0	2	10	0	4	10
Instruments, and surgical appliances	0	1	9	0	5	2
Staff-officers' services, nurses, &c.	1	0	3	1	14	3

It will be seen that bread, flour, malt liquors, drugs, coals and wood, cost considerably more in 1830 than they did in 1880, whereas

meat, wines and spirits, instruments and surgical appliances and staff, entail a much greater expenditure now than they did fifty years ago. The difference in the cost of drugs is largely due to the number of leeches used, which in one hospital in 1833 amounted to 48,900, costing upwards of 400*l.*, against 250 in 1880, costing probably 1*l.* sterling. Up to the year 1867 the cost of treating hospital patients showed a tendency to decrease rather than increase, but since that time the increase in the expenditure has amounted at many hospitals to nearly 33 per cent. above the previous rates. The object in giving these figures here is to prove the unreasonableness of the argument that at the present time the hospitals are languishing for want of funds, owing to the fact that the cost of everything has so greatly increased, the real reason being, in many cases, want of vigorous action on the part of the committees or officials of these establishments.

For the purposes of this paper it is necessary to divide the provincial Scotch and Irish hospitals into three classes, viz. :—(a) The provincial and Scotch hospitals which have medical schools attached to them. (b) English and Scotch provincial or county hospitals proper. (c) All the Irish hospitals.

The provincial clinical and Scotch hospitals attached to medical schools are as a class probably as well managed as the best Metropolitan hospitals. Instances are not wanting where provincial hospitals have even kept in advance of their Metropolitan brethren, and some of their managers are entitled to take high rank as hospital administrators. A notable example of this class of institution is to be found in the Birmingham General Hospital, which has 256 beds, 223 being daily occupied, and which relieves upwards of 3,000 in-patients and nearly 30,000 out-patients every year. At this institution each in-patient costs 12*s.* 9*d.* per week, and each out-patient 2*s.* 5*d.*, the percentage of the cost of management to that of maintenance being only 7·681. Yet it is admitted by those most competent to give an opinion that there is not a better administered or more excellently managed institution in the whole country. Further instances might be given and comparisons drawn in testimony of the excellence of the administration of many of these provincial clinical and Scotch hospitals. Except in so far as the number of honorary medical officers is inadequate for the work undertaken in the out-patient department (and even here many of the hospitals have already made an alteration) there is little to find fault with or to criticise. Indeed, this class of hospital is probably on the whole more efficient than any other in the whole country, and for this reason, if for no other, any inquiry which the Government may institute into our hospital system should include all hospitals, and any association of hospital managers should be a national and not a merely metropolitan organisation.

Unfortunately, however, when we come to deal with the pro-

vincial hospitals proper, with some notable exceptions, a slough of despond is often reached. An able writer familiar with the workings of their system of management has given the following graphic description of it:—

The government of a provincial hospital, as a rule, is vested in the hands of a limited number of gentlemen, of the class from which county magistrates are selected. The regulations differ in different localities, but they usually bring about very much the same result. A seat at the board-room table is in most cases a privilege reserved for persons who contribute largely in money; and is seldom taken except by those who possess leisure as well as wealth. The rich manufacturer, with his faculty for organisation and his business talents, with his power of selecting the best man for the work to be done, and with his instinctive dread of the failures that attend upon a job, gives his money liberally, but gives nothing more. His time is too valuable to be occupied in discussions with possibly impracticable colleagues. The thrifty habits and the plain common-sense of the tradesman require the passport of a larger donation than his modest guinea or half-guinea. The exclusion of these elements, continuing in operation for a certain time, converts the board-room into a temple sacred to caste. The members of the committee meet there none but personal friends and relatives, and help each other to make everything smooth and pleasant. When vacancies occur in their body, they are filled up by some mysterious process of re-election, only fully understood by the initiated; or, if the vacancy be absolute, by the consideration that so-and-so would like to join, and that he is a man with whom the remaining members are accustomed to associate. A committee thus constituted is unassailable; and may fearlessly proceed to any extremity of blundering or of favouritism. Its members take high ground; they are gentlemen of fortune, and position, and good repute. They give their money and their time without stint. They wield, collectively, a vast amount of local power and influence. They can always make, and can often mar, the fortunes of a professional man or a tradesman. They can promote or hinder the aspirations of families seeking to be received into 'society'; and they are apt to exert their power, without absolute conspiracy perhaps, and often without entire self-consciousness, against any who presume to criticise their doings. The hospital they have so long governed is the best, and the best managed in the kingdom. The surgeons and physicians, who owe their triumph over opposing candidates to the good offices of the committee, are the best and wisest, the most learned and most skilful men in the profession. The matron, the chaplain, and the house-surgeon are paragons. These positions are self-evident; they are plain verities, which must be perceived when stated, and which ought to be perceived intuitively. The man who questions them must be a fool, or something worse. It would be unsafe to trust him to feel a pulse, or to stop a tooth, or to draw a settlement. He would perhaps be argumentative, and it would be painful to meet him at a dinner-party. Under the influence of such feelings as these, it is evident that the committee will enjoy an immunity from criticism beyond even the ordinary privileges of a corporate body. English gentlemen will never so far abuse a trust committed to them as to establish a condition of things on behalf of which nothing can be said. And, for anything short of this, a hospital committee could only be assailed successfully under circumstances so peculiar that their occurrence would be little less than a prodigy.

No wonder if the practical result of such a system as this is that the work of country hospitals is often indifferently performed. The medical staff is limited in number and very exclusive in character, and the professional jealousies in country towns are often more

accentuated than elsewhere, owing to the exceptional position and practice attained by the honorary medical officers of the hospital. Unfortunately, the physicians and surgeons are frequently so much occupied with their private duties that they are very irregular in their hospital attendance, often paying only short and hurried visits. As there are few, if any, students, the in-patients do not suffer much under such a system. The out-patients, however, who are ordered to attend early in the morning, and are often not admitted to see the doctor until late in the afternoon, have to pass the interval under conditions of overcrowding, fatigue, and lack of food which must tend to make their visits to the hospital more injurious than beneficial.

The house-surgeon to a county hospital is usually a capable and highly-qualified member of the medical profession. Upon him frequently devolves the whole responsibility of the administration of the hospital, and too often much of the treatment of the in-patients. He further has to examine and prescribe for the out-patients on most days in many of these institutions, where the members of the medical staff delegate to him this duty also. As may be imagined, the duties of the house-surgeon, apart altogether from the out-patient work, are more than sufficient to tax the energies of a capable man; and as a consequence the out-patients, with the exception of some few cases which appear, on a cursory examination, to be of special interest, are imperfectly examined and hurriedly prescribed for, resort being made to one of the favourite stock mixtures, of which the compound mixture of gentian, the compound mixture of soda, the tonic mixture, and the acid mixture, are kept ready prepared.

It is quite time that the method of electing the medical staff, and the qualifications and restrictions attaching to the holders of these hospital appointments should be reconsidered. There is a great difficulty at the present time in securing the services of competent men to fill the post of physicians to these hospitals, because one physician after another takes the office, only after a longer or shorter time to relinquish it, disappointed of that success in private practice which the office is supposed to ensure, and upon which he has to depend for a living. Under the hospital rules a physician is forbidden to practise either midwifery or surgery, or to enter into general practice of any kind. Times have changed, and where formerly two or three pure physicians could live by their profession in provincial towns, there is not now room for more than one. The higher education of the general practitioner, the facilities for getting to the metropolis, and the institution of cottage hospitals—which are draining the county infirmaries of their best cases, and which have increased the reputation of the country doctor—are among the causes which have diminished the necessity for the services of the consulting physician. The work of these infirmaries requires the service of a greater, and not a less number of medical officers.

Assistant medical officers in adequate proportion to the numbers of out-patients, with the opportunity and advantage of hospital practice, should be appointed; and in the interests of the profession and the public it is desirable that the rules of these institutions should be so far modified as to allow, as in the case of cottage hospitals, all able and willing members of the medical profession to attend their patients at the hospital should they desire to do so.

It is not a little remarkable how frequently the governors and committees of these institutions ignore their public character. An influential clique of governors associate themselves together and resent any criticism, interference, or even co-operation on the part of those who take a genuine interest in the welfare of the particular charity. This system causes the provincial hospitals to be regarded with jealousy and aversion by the members of the medical profession who are not attached to the medical staff, and, as a consequence, the public not infrequently shares this suspicion and dislike. To this feeling has been due the establishment of small starveling hospitals in many places. It has also led to an absence of proper control over the internal administration, and the whole institution is too frequently allowed to lapse into a state of inefficiency and neglect.

It ought to be stated that, owing to the establishment of nearly 300 cottage hospitals in all parts of England, the class of cases treated within the walls of provincial hospitals has materially altered during the last twenty years. At the present time very many of the patients are chronic cases, and the number of beds occupied is much smaller than it used to be. This is another reason why a Government inquiry should be instituted to elicit the exact facts, and so secure that in cases where new hospital buildings have been declared necessary, care should be taken that such new buildings shall not exceed the requirements of each particular locality, and that no unnecessary expense shall be incurred.

The administration of the Irish hospitals has always left much to be desired, but it is fair to state that the Belfast Royal Hospital is probably as well-conducted an institution as any of its class in England. The Irish county hospitals are, as a rule, small and of long standing, and they afford few features of interest. The Dublin hospitals are nominally under a Board of Superintendence which presents its report annually to Parliament in compliance with the Dublin Hospitals' Acts. From the 23rd report of this Board, dated 6th of September, 1881, some idea may be formed of the feeble control it exercises over the Dublin hospitals. For instance, on page 4 the Board remonstrates with the authorities of the hospitals for admitting 'patients labouring under delirium tremens without providing suitable apartments for their reception, where the possibility of doing injury to themselves can be avoided.' This is the fourth remonstrance which the Board has addressed to the hospital

managers on this question, and it again expresses its regret that no arrangements appear to have been made to meet this 'great evil,' and records its opinion 'that the subject requires the special attention of the hospital authorities.' On page 8 attention is for the third time called to the 'unfortunate arrangement by which the post-mortem room of the Richmond Hospital is placed under the seats in the operating theatre,' and attention is drawn to 'the great danger incurred by the patients and students.' Former suggestions have not been adopted by the governors, and it again expresses the opinion that 'no dead bodies should be allowed to remain in the apartment to which the Board refer.' It is added that 'a proper post-mortem room is available, and there is therefore less excuse for the continuance of this objectionable arrangement.' These two statements throw some light on the management of the Dublin hospitals, and prove that for all practical purposes the Board of Superintendence is such only in name. This body can suggest reforms and improvements, but it does not possess power to enforce them.

The Corporation of Dublin is stated to exercise to some extent a financial control over those hospitals and institutions to which it gives annual grants, but some hospitals receive no grants, and in other cases the recommendations of the corporation are carried out nominally rather than actually. Again, there are ten clinical hospitals, the two largest of which contain between them accommodation for 539 patients, and as a matter of fact there are far too many hospitals for a city of the size of Dublin. The incomes of most of the hospitals are small, precarious, and fluctuating. Infectious cases are treated in seven of these ten general hospitals, often in the ordinary wards, though occasionally isolated in epidemic wards. In consequence of this loose system of administration, during two recent epidemics of smallpox this disease spread very extensively, and compelled the managing committees of several of the hospitals to refuse admittance to all such cases. As in London so in Dublin, special hospitals abound. Hospital resources are in this way scattered and wasted, and much abuse results. With two or three exceptions, the nursing arrangements in the Dublin hospitals are very unsatisfactory. At very few of them are nurses efficiently and systematically trained. The accommodation for the nursing staff is generally inadequate, and from a hygienic point of view defective. Owing to the small size of several of the hospitals, it is in many instances found impossible to appoint such necessary members of the staff as assistant physicians and surgeons and pathologists. Modern appliances are generally wanting, and in the case of the one hospital which possesses a vehicle for the conveyance of the sick, an old-fashioned cab is used instead of a suitable ambulance. The Dublin Hospital Sunday Fund has done much since its establishment in 1875 to improve the hospitals; but those who are most competent

to give an opinion declare that, until a controlling central authority with plenary powers has been established, the needful reforms will never be introduced.

I approach now a question of the gravest importance, about which I cannot hope, in the space at my command, to give anything approaching to a complete account. I allude to the extraordinarily congested and ill-regulated state of the out-patient departments at practically all large hospitals of importance.

The system of out-patient relief, though differing in details, is very similar in principle at all the hospitals, with the exception of the casualty department of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, so it may be desirable to give an outline of that department here.

It would be a good thing if some of our leading politicians could be induced to read a paper, entitled 'An Account of the Casualty Department,' by Robert Bridges, M.B., which appears in volume xiv. of the St. Bartholomew's Hospital Reports. From this article it appears that a casualty physician at this hospital has to see 150 patients in less than two hours—that is, 75 patients per hour. What this means will be readily understood when it is stated that a person accustomed to the employment cannot on an average take down the names and addresses of more than 75 persons per hour. Dr. Bridges saw in three months 7,735 patients, and of these 5,330 were new cases. That is to say, he saw throughout the year 30,940 patients; and, as there are three physicians, the number actually seen amounts to 92,820, in addition to which number 25,168 cases are seen by the assistant physician, making a grand total for the year of 117,988 medical cases. If the surgical cases are added, the number is raised to 190,000. From elaborate calculations made, Dr. Bridges shows that the cost of treating each of these patients was well under 2*d.* The class of patients who attend may be judged of from the following statements made by different patients:—

Number 1.—To physician in reply to question: 'Well, sir, I do not know that there is anything the matter with me, but as I was passing the hospital I thought I would just step in and have a dose of medicine.' The fact of a system which enables any applicant to obtain the opinion of a fellow of the Royal Society for a halfpenny, and to have that sum paid for him by ancient endowments and public subscriptions, attracts many patients from the country. Dr. Bridges remarks in relating the following cases: 'I wanted to see how far people would come, and how much discomfort and even suffering they would put up with, to consult for one moment the oracle of St. Bartholomew, and I can only look for a brilliant result of this union of charity with faith and science.'

Number 2.—A well-dressed woman in whom one could discover little or nothing wrong. 'Where do you come from, pray?' 'From

Herefordshire,' she replied. 'And what in the world has made you come all this way, when you have little or nothing the matter with you?' 'Because, sir, I have not felt strong for a long while, and you have done so many of my neighbours so much good that I thought I would come and see you myself.' So many of her neighbours! The country practitioner in Herefordshire must take this sort of thing rather to heart if it is true that so many of his clients spend on railway journeys what should go to fee him. If this system of charity were perfected, we should soon have cheap early trains running into London from all parts of the country, carrying passengers to the consulting department of the hospitals.

Number 3.—This is a good example of long distance and faith rewarded. 'Well, what is the matter with you, madam?' 'Please, sir, I want you to write me out the prescription of the medicine you gave me last week.' 'I do not remember, madam, that I ever saw you before.' 'Yes, sir, you saw me this day week, and gave me some medicine that cured me.' 'Then, why do you want any more?' 'Because, sir, I want to go home and have some by me in case I should be ill again.' 'Where do you live?' 'In Devonshire.' 'Did you come up from Devonshire to London for medical treatment?' 'Yes, sir; I had been ill for four months; none of the doctors did me any good, and your medicine cured me in three days.' On inquiry, Dr. Bridges found that this patient had a sore throat which had yielded at once to the stock mixture. He gave her some more for family use in Devonshire. Dr. Bridges shows that 'a good medical filtrator, working at high pressure, will pass at least one hundred patients per hour.' He found that the average time he spent on each patient was 1·28 minute, or a little over 1½ minute. He saw 148 patients a day. If he had allowed each patient ten minutes, and had worked the whole twenty-four hours every day on which he was engaged at the hospital, he would, on quarter day, had his constitution stood the trial and the patients remained at their posts, have been two days in arrear, and would still have had 250 of the last quarter's patients waiting to be seen. He adds that, to accomplish such work as this, full indulgence must be allowed for the uncourteous and almost violent behaviour which the casualty physician finds it necessary to adopt in order to arrive as quickly as possible at the facts of each case. With the lowest estimate of female garrulity, one must recognise the grandeur of the feat accomplished in giving separate attention to the troubles of 150 women in 3½ hours. Indeed, their complaints were generally less worthy of attention than those of the men, and Dr. Bridges learnt to enforce laconicism 'by making them stand with their tongues out much longer than was necessary for medical diagnosis.' Yet he found that an average female case lasted $\frac{1}{10}$ of a minute longer than a male case. When there was a prevalence of sore throats, these who complained of them were ranged on one side till a

long enough row had been collected to justify a casualty physician in rising from his seat to visit them all at once with the spatula.

Dr. Bridges concludes by showing that the present system of seeing patients is intolerable; that the casualty department is of a very recent growth, as the present consulting physician is the first physician who ever treated an out-patient at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and that there were no out-patients proper until about thirty-five years ago. He suggests to the reader who has a taste for figures, the following Rule of Three sum: If in thirty-five years 0 patients increased to 190,000 per annum, how many will 190,000 have become at the end of the world? It is probable that before that time the necessity will arise of reforming the casualty and out-patient departments of our hospitals; and, without living to the millennium, one may hope to see the day when the objection to the figures above given will be, not that they are matter of fact, or that everybody knows them, but that they are fabulous and incredible.

This picture, though amusing, has its very doleful and serious side, and it is commended to the attention of all who take an intelligent interest in securing the best possible system of hospital administration in the metropolis. It ought perhaps to be stated that the average number of hours patients are kept waiting varies from three to seven according to the various circumstances which attach to the present arrangements at the larger hospitals. Fancy seven hours in a crowded out-patients' waiting room! Such a picture is but little creditable to the intelligence of those who are responsible.

Hospital patients, especially out-patients, ought to be attended to better than they are, for the most part, now. If the little help they gain were not gratuitous, or quasi-gratuitous, we should hear more of its insufficiency. The abuse now to be dealt with especially attaches to provincial hospital medical out-patient practice—to the patients, or the supposed patients, of the hospital physicians. A hospital waiting-room is full of patients waiting to see the physician of the day. Perhaps a hundred-and-twenty are there, suffering from medical as distinguished from surgical ailments (for the hospital porter has sorted them out), that is, from the more internal, less obvious, and more obscure disorders to which flesh is heir. They will probably be 'seen,' that is, prescribed for, and despatched to the dispensary to get their huge medicine bottles filled, by a hospital officer in three or four hours. Four hours is perhaps, as an average, an outside limit, giving thirty patients to each hour, and to each patient two minutes of the doctor. And who is the doctor? The nominal physician of the day? No; no experienced physician could see them in the time; in these matters the attainment of a high rate of speed is only compatible with the maximum of inexperience. The physician of the day sees a few of the cases; he sees, perhaps, those that are obviously the most urgent, perhaps a few selected with ostentatious

deference by his resident assistant; perhaps, if he be a man of high repute, a few bearing the cards of neighbouring practitioners who seek the great man's opinion for some of their poorer patients; and then he goes his way, and his house physician—a highly qualified man, for his degree is brand new—glad to get rid of his superior, soon clears off the patients who remain.

What are the remedies for this form of hospital^o abuse? The chief remedy is the reduction of the numbers of hospital patients. But two further remedies are needed. The out-patient staff of every large general hospital ought to be increased, and kept separate from the in-patient staff, for which it ought to be the nursery; and the out-patient officers ought to be adequately paid, from the hospital funds, for their work. Such payment would increase the duty of due performance of work undertaken, and it would give a right of scrutiny to hospital committees which they can neither claim nor exercise when they make no payment. Improvements in the directions above indicated have been already initiated with more or less completeness, but always with success, in some large provincial hospitals. Before many years such improvements will without doubt be generally adopted, until the old-fashioned honorary hospital officer shall become an anachronism, or only a rare survival, in an age which has gone far to realise that only the real is practicable.

In concluding the statement of some of the abuses attaching to the hospital administration of this country at the present day, it may be well to briefly summarise certain defects which are to be met with almost everywhere. The preceding remarks have been practically confined to those hospitals which are supported mainly by voluntary contributions, and nothing has been said concerning the government of the endowed hospitals. These wealthy corporations must, however, be necessarily included in any inquiry. In the government of these hospitals the general body of governors is nominally supreme even in the details of administration; but, in fact, they act through a grand committee, which acts through a sub-committee, which acts through the treasurer as managing governor. The treasurer virtually settles who shall act with him in committee and sub-committee, and, as the governors at large take almost no interest in the administration, the treasurer is as nearly as may be the absolute master of the concern. The hospital has not, apart from him, any general chief officer, everything is departmental and sectional, and the theory is that the treasurer, representing the wisdom of the governors, pervades and controls every part of the great organisation. Knowing this, it is remarkable that the many abuses which attach to the endowed hospitals are not more numerous than they are.

The numerous errors in details of management, especially in regard to the nursing and financing of all hospitals, the drainage and

general hygiene, the plan of construction, the audit of accounts, the varied, incomplete, and unsatisfactory keeping of the books, and the absence of system and uniformity therein, the admission and discharge of patients, the relationship of the clinical hospitals to their medical schools, the mode of election of physicians and surgeons, the registration of diseases, the commissions and presents to officials—all these and several other matters require careful revision in many hospitals, but the public discussions which have taken place recently in regard to most of them render detailed comment here unnecessary.

Another point, and one of very urgent importance which has to be borne in mind when the control and management of the hospitals are under consideration, is their relation to medical education. Had space permitted, it was intended to show the great need there is for a complete rearrangement of the system under which medical students are educated in the practice of their profession.² Reform, to be effectual here, must be carried out with a vigorous and searching hand, for the requirements of the nineteenth century will not be satisfactorily met by systems which are purely patchwork productions, originating in the speculative enterprise of former physicians and surgeons, who banded themselves together as teachers in order to remunerate themselves for instruction imparted to those who were attracted to the medical school by their skill. As at present constituted, each medical school is a private commercial institution, in which the medical staff of the hospital to which it has attached itself add to their incomes by the sale of professional and scientific knowledge. Looked at with a cursory glance, a medical school may appear to exist for the good of the public alone, and to be the property of the community; but, in fact and in law, the majority will be found to be the private property of the staff of physicians and surgeons for the time being, duly handed down to them by their predecessors in office. And this position has been silently sanctioned and maintained by the hospital governors, who, as shown by hospital documents, are officially indifferent to the teaching capacity of their staff, seeing that they appoint them solely to attend the sick and to treat disease.

A sweeping and radical change can alone place medical education on a true basis in the metropolis. Such a change would abolish the medical schools as at present existing, and merge them into one central school—a 'Royal College of Medicine'—where all the theoretical instruction at present carried on in different schools would be imparted by men of the highest scientific culture. The lectureships would be occupied by those whose lives would be spent in the advancement of their special branch of science. The lectures would

² Dr. Gilbert Smith's paper, published in the new volume of the 'Transactions of the Social Science Association,' treats this point exhaustively.

abound with knowledge unattainable elsewhere, and the method of their delivery would be sure to drive that knowledge home. The various chairs would be highly paid offices, and no other work but that pertaining to them would be permitted, with the exception that the chairs of medicine and surgery would be filled by their respective leaders, who would be chosen from time to time to give special courses of lectures on definite subjects. In such a college the lecturer on anatomy would be an anatomist, the holder of the chair of physiology would be a physiologist, while chemistry, botany, forensic medicine and toxicology, would be taught by men who knew the subject on which they discoursed. Every facility for the practical working of students in the different departments would be fully provided, and skilled assistance would be readily available.

To this central school the different hospitals—endowed, voluntary, and special—with certain dispensaries and Poor Law institutions, would be affiliated, and the students would be distributed evenly amongst them, by this means rendering available a large area of material for clinical instruction at present lying unreclaimed and idle.

The following points are worthy of earnest attention. Any commission of inquiry should call for a return of all deaths in hospitals, showing how many took place without the friends of a patient receiving timely notice of such patient's dangerous condition, and how many patients have died before their friends have had an opportunity of seeing them. It is further necessary to impress upon those who are engaged in hospital work that a full disclosure of the exact nature of each operation should be made to the patient's friends before it is performed. My experience teaches me that, on the whole, patients are very kindly and considerately treated at the hospitals; but here and there individuals are known to be more callous than usual, and in such cases the managers ought to caution and restrain any member of their staff who may exhibit such a disposition.

Again, there ought to be definite regulations to govern the administration of anæsthetics at all hospitals. Anæsthetics should be administered by one responsible person who should not be interfered with in the discharge of his duties, but should have entire control of the case. Any one familiar with hospital work will readily admit it not infrequently happens, when a surgeon is pressed for time, that he is apt to unduly hasten the proceedings of the administrator of anæsthetics, although he would not be held responsible in case of an accident. At the clinical hospitals, where there are so many people whose duty takes them in and out of the wards at all times, a strict rule should be enforced to prevent any interference with the patients during meal times. The nurses should never be called away to attend to anything else until the meals are finished, nor should medical or surgical work be allowed in the wards during these hours.

Finally, attention should be directed to the enormous increase

in the numbers of people who, year by year, are seeking medical relief at the various hospitals and institutions. We have already seen how Dr. Bridges put this matter. Mr. Sampson Gamgee, F.R.S. Edin., declares that owing to this cause the state of things in the local hospitals is gradually approaching a dead-lock. On the basis of the experience acquired by the Birmingham charities during the last ten years, he has endeavoured at the present rate of progress to forecast for the next decade the results of the present increase in Birmingham, which he records thus :—

Year	Population of Birmingham	Persons relieved at the local medical charities	Ratio of persons relieved to population
1867	325,895	66,671	1 in 5
1876	371,839	104,048	1 in 3·5
1886	422,436	162,379	1 in 2·6

It is stated on the authority of a gentleman who has taken an active interest in the Liverpool medical charities for many years, that one in two of the whole population receives gratuitous medical relief at the present time in that town. This state of things cannot go on much longer, and the sooner it is investigated the better will it be for the people at large. Almost, if not quite everywhere, the same proportionate increase in the number of patients who annually receive free medical relief is noticeable, and, if steps are not taken to prevent it, pauperism must also largely increase, because very many patients filter through the hospitals to the Poor Law. The fruits of idleness are sweet, and, once tasted, are not easily forgotten or given up.

Having now concluded the statement of the evils to be found in connection with our present hospital system, the reasons which have caused the more active of the hospital managers to desire a Government inquiry are clear. The necessity for such an independent and exhaustive inquiry into the whole matter will probably be admitted by most people who have read this review. Still it should not be forgotten that the facts and opinions here recorded are but the result of one man's experience during fifteen years of active labour in the field of hospital administration, and that a complete, trustworthy, and exhaustive statement of all the circumstances affecting this great social problem can alone be satisfactorily secured by the appointment of a Royal Commission. I am fully persuaded that nothing effectual can be done, and that nothing should be attempted in the way of remedy, until such commission has sat and reported. In a word, inquiry by Royal Commission must precede reform by Parliament. It is certainly to be hoped that the scheme of social legislation, which the present Government are believed to have in contemplation, will include the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into our hospital system. Sir William Harcourt would do a popular act if he would hasten its issue.

The hospital system, if system it can be called, has grown piecemeal, and without method, and has acquired proportions and developed features which require revision and adaptation to the present wants of the public and the medical profession. The hospital buildings are much larger, the systems of management are much more complicated, and the knowledge and number of the members of the medical profession throughout the country have greatly increased during the last hundred, and especially during the last fifty, years. These are patent facts; but, patent though they be, they are of vast importance when the question of a suitable remedy for the evils attaching to our hospital system come to be considered. Hospital Governors, Hospital Committees, the Medical Profession, and the Public are all more or less responsible for the present abuses.

The needful reforms must largely rest with the whole body of governors, and they, as constituting the subscribers to the medical charities, and because they provide the sinews of war, are the ultimate court of appeal which will have to determine what changes shall be made. If those members of the public who support hospitals could be got to realise that their duty to these institutions does not begin and end with the drawing of a cheque and the presentation of a substantial donation to the funds, the necessary reforms would not be long delayed. It is lamentable to feel and to know that one of the most difficult things which hospital committees and officers have to accomplish in England at the present day is to secure an attendance of some fifteen governors of even the leading and most important hospitals to constitute a quorum and so enable the necessary business of the annual meeting to be performed. Why is this? Let the whole body of subscribers to the medical charities answer the question. If each one of them will honestly attempt to do so, they must in justice admit that with them rests a greater responsibility for the existing abuses, and that by their action the required changes can most promptly and effectually be accomplished. If a hospital governor cannot or will not exercise the small amount of self-denial involved in a sacrifice of time sufficient to enable him to attend the annual meetings of the hospitals which he supports with his money, at any rate let such an one be conscientious enough to say, 'Until I attend, and until I investigate and take my proper share in the management of these institutions, I am responsible for the abuses, and I cannot therefore in common fairness withhold my subscriptions, however much I may lament the evils in question.'

The management and the economical employment of the hospital resources belong directly to the committee of management. It is fair to say that a public authority of local character and origin could not usefully supersede even the present imperfect form of administration, and that if the governors as a body took an active interest in the management and in the selection of the best men for the committees, no better system than the present one could probably be found. The

members of these committees are for the most part kind-hearted and laborious, and the mistakes and shortcomings in the management are due very often to want of knowledge and experience, and not to the absence of a genuine desire on the part of the members to do their utmost for the charity under their control. Each committee—and this is especially the case where the individual members are more than usually active—is apt to consider its institution the best managed and most exemplary in the kingdom. This feeling prevents hospital managers from taking counsel with those who are engaged in the management of other similar institutions, leads to isolation, and causes the reproduction of identical errors and extravagances which, under a general system, would be impossible. It has been suggested—and the fact that the suggestion has not been readily adopted proves the truth of the foregoing statement—that an association of hospital managers and an annual conference should be formed at once. The successful promotion of such an association would, I believe, reduce the expenditure of very many of the hospitals materially, would lead to the introduction of many improvements, and to the removal of many evils.

But while the hospital governors and hospital committees are largely responsible for many hospital abuses, no system of hospital reform can possibly succeed unless the medical officers of the hospitals are aroused to vigilance in keeping down abuses, and are loyal in their efforts to cut off all unworthy work. A hospital medical officer who takes office only for what he can get out of it, not renown that is his true and best reward, is apt from selfish motives to encourage the attendance of improper patients at his hospital. It should be the duty of every hospital committee to discover and cast such men out. One such officer on a staff can perhaps do more to keep up an abuse in his hospital than all his more worthy colleagues can do to keep it down.

Again, it is time the medical profession endeavoured to convince the public, that whereas they are as ready as ever they were to give the benefit of their skill and experience on behalf of the poor, still the time has arrived when the anomalous condition which requires them to do more public work for nothing than all the other professions put together should cease. It has been well said that if the medical profession were to-day agreed, the public would to-morrow concede any just demands preferred on its behalf. It is time that the leading members of the profession were a little more solicitous of the trials and injustices which the poorer and junior members suffer who cannot help themselves, because they have neither leisure nor energy to spare to seek redress for wrongs which press heavily upon them. Hospital physicians and surgeons need have no fear that the country will believe that they will cease to be liberal, because they refuse to longer support a system which has become unjust, and which is accompanied by conditions which weigh oppressively on the juniors. The consulting physicians and surgeons,

and the senior physicians and surgeons of the charities whose services places them above suspicion, can afford to speak out without danger of being misunderstood. There must be a limit to the liberality of the most liberal profession in the world, and custom can no longer be allowed to prevent an alteration in the conditions upon which honorary medical officers are elected to fill hospital appointments. At present the assistant honorary medical officers—that is to say the junior members of the profession who are most in want of, and most entitled to, ample remuneration—do substantially all the work and get substantially none of the fees. An inquiry into our hospital system would astonish many people, by proving the cruel injustice which the existing system entails upon a large body of educated gentlemen, who deserve better treatment at the hands of all who are responsible for the present condition of affairs.

Lastly, the public must share the responsibility. It is something of a paradox, but it is strictly true, that no hospital can make its administration perfect until it is completely independent of public money and support. The reason is to be found in the fact that those hospital abuses which attach to the admission of patients, spring in great measure from what hospital managers have conceived to be essential conditions to the contribution of public support to their respective charities. That such public support of hospitals is for the most part ignorant and indiscriminating, and that it urgently needs enlightenment, will be patent to the readers of this paper. It has been shown that too many people are throughout the country received into hospital; and the fact that one person in every two, or one in three or one even in five of the whole population of a given town is in receipt of hospital relief, proves beyond dispute how great are the existing abuses. Hospitals are not for paupers. The poor rate provides for them. Hospitals are not for those who can afford to pay for their treatment when ill. Paying wards, pay-beds, and provident dispensaries should provide for such as these. Hospitals are for a class just and immediately above paupers, but just and immediately below those who can pay for adequate medical assistance when they need it.

The numbers known to receive free medical relief at the hospitals represent the grossest of all forms of hospital abuse, viz. the treatment of persons who can pay for what hospitals give them for nothing. This abuse is the grossest not only because it is the largest, but because in kind it is the worst. It is the embodiment of a triple and shameless fraud. It is a fraud upon the deserving poor, who are displaced by the undeserving; it is a fraud upon the benevolent public who give or who ought to give of their plenty, in the belief and with the desire that their offerings are used only for the benefit of worthy recipients of their charity; it is a fraud upon the medical profession, upon those attached to hospitals, for they ought only to serve in hospital objects worthy of hospital aid, and upon those unattached to hospitals because their *clientèle* is robbed of those who ought to employ them and to pay

them. The public are largely responsible for these special abuses, and the true remedy is to be found in the growth of knowledge amongst hospital managers and the people generally as to the real rôle of a medical charity in a country like ours, in which there is a well-organised system of parochial relief for the poor, and in which an aggregate of abundant wealth is diffused amongst the artisan class more freely than in any other country in the world. The growth of knowledge is unfortunately slow, or the public would long ago have insisted upon a systematic inquiry into the circumstances of applicants for hospital relief, because such an inquiry properly conducted would be no offence to the deserving poor, as it would only make their needs more clear.

It seems clear then that hospital governors, hospital committeemen, hospital medical officers, and the public generally are all responsible for the existing abuses, and that the most speedy means of remedying them would be to bring about an exhaustive inquiry, by a responsible commission, upon which each of these classes should be adequately represented.

If the right reforms are to be secured, the amalgamation of all the hospitals, dispensaries, and poor-law agencies in each locality and throughout the country has become a necessity. This amalgamation has been tried by the managers of the provincial medical schools, and its success has been not a little remarkable. This liberal and politic measure, while extending local educational facilities by increasing the student's field of practical observation and work, and by bringing him under the influence of a larger number of clinical teachers, has further effected much good in promoting harmony and co-operation, and by restraining undue rivalries in country institutions. But this union of hospitals, by showing the practicability of association in one sphere of their common work, has suggested that such a union may some day be extended to the whole of their administration. Such a complete local union of hospitals would vastly economise their expenditure of energy and capital, would largely reduce hospital abuse, and would render more difficult the establishment of unnecessary hospitals. At the present time the poor-law hospitals in the metropolis are probably completer even than many of the general hospitals supported by voluntary contributions, their great fault being that sufficient superficial space is not allowed in the wards for each bed, and that owing to the bad character of many of the inmates who must necessarily be admitted, and the absence of classification, respectable people would rather die very often than submit to the annoyance and harass which a residence within their walls entails. Still, when it is recognised that in excellence of construction and sanitary appliances no hospitals can excel these poor-law infirmaries, and that no cost has been spared to thoroughly prepare them for hospital work, a slight alteration in the present system of management would enable them to be brought under one common scheme

of hospital relief, and so to complete the amalgamation of all such agencies into one general system. This suggestion is not chimerical ; it has been tried, and is at the present time working with great success, in Sweden. Careful inquiry has convinced the writer that its advantages are enormous, and that its early adoption in this country is imperatively called for in the best interests of all classes of the community.

Now, what Parliamentary action should be promoted in the interests of public hospitals and of the poor? It is quite certain that the time has arrived when Parliamentary action should be utilised to encourage and secure union of action amongst all agencies which have for their object the treatment of the sick in this country. The principal defects in the present system, both in London and elsewhere, arise from want of organisation and co-operation, and from the absence of central control and Government inspection. Sir T. Fowell Buxton has well said :—

If the hospital system were complete, each central hospital would be surrounded by its satellites of dispensaries, cottage hospitals, special hospitals, and convalescent homes, all of which would be in immediate and cordial relation with the poor-law infirmaries and dispensaries, and thus numberless cases which now improperly burden the wards of the general hospital would be intercepted and made to furnish advanced education for the pupils of its school. Without some such authority as that now possessed by School Boards, it is impossible to organise such a system as this, or to apply the theory which all acknowledge to be the right one of Provident medical charities, or to make our medical charities worthy of the name, or to promote the scientific training of nurses. I do not believe that hospitals upon which the demands increase year by year can much longer keep pace with the requirements of modern medical practice on the precarious support of voluntary contributions, and I earnestly hope Parliament will take the matter in hand before it is forced upon its notice by the collapse of some important institution.

I do not myself agree with Sir T. F. Buxton, that our hospitals should receive pecuniary support from the Government, nor am I an advocate for direct Government interference with the management of the medical charities in this country. I am led to this conclusion after a personal inspection of most of the hospitals, and an intimate knowledge of all the circumstances which make the distribution of medical relief in this country so complicated. But I am impressed more and more with the feeling that all that is necessary to unite the scattered systems which at present lead to endless confusion and detrimental competition may be satisfactorily secured by the establishment of a controlling authority assisted by competent inspectors.

The duty of the controlling authority which I advocate would be to exercise an authoritative supervision over the erection, extension, and administration of all hospitals and institutions for the care of the sick throughout the country. To this authority all the charities should be made to submit annual returns, (a) setting forth in an identical manner the details of their incomes and expenditure, and (b) giving an accurate and scientific record of the diseases treated. It

should possess power to compel evidence to be furnished of the revenue, constitution, arrangements, laws, regulations, and scientific resources affecting each hospital, and to elicit proof that each institution is suitably adapted for the purposes which it was designed to fulfil. It would further devolve upon the controlling authority to subject each institution to periodical inspection, and to present an annual report of its operations to Parliament. This central authority should not interfere with or supersede the existing committees of management and courts of governors, but it should so far control their action as to prevent them on the one hand from allowing undue expenditure and extravagant management, and should protect them, on the other, from unfounded accusations which may be made against them from time to time. To accomplish this the controlling authority would act as an arbitrator and institute investigations, afterwards publishing their results. At the present time the hospital committees have no power to reply effectually to criticisms which may be made by dissatisfied governors, no matter how weak or ill-founded such complaints may be.

This controlling authority would also institute investigations into the causes of the existence of pyæmia, erysipelas, and other diseases classed as Hospitalism, and would ascertain the cause of the marked difference in the rates of mortality at present to be found in hospitals which apparently treat the same class of disease. Such an authority would receive early information concerning any proposals to establish, open, or erect a hospital in any locality for any purpose, and should possess power to prevent any one from starting such an institution, unless they first of all received a certificate authorising the promoters to proceed. This action would secure that henceforth the constitution and construction of all new hospitals, and the extension, alteration, and furnishing of all hospitals, should be determined upon principles recognised as best fitted to secure the greatest efficiency and purity of all the agencies to which the sick are exposed. The management of all hospitals would be subject to careful and methodical investigation, a uniform system of keeping the books and accounts would be insisted upon, and the present impossibility of instituting comparisons between the relative expenses of each institution would cease. Such an inspection of hospital accounts would show the need of a properly conducted public audit. This is essential as a guarantee to the donors of charitable money that strict economy is practised, and that the books are properly kept. Recent inquiry shows that out of fifty-four institutions, but fifteen employed professional auditors, while the accounts of five hospitals were audited by the hospital officials. Every charitable institution would then make an exact annual return of its financial position to the controlling authority, which, in conjunction with the other improvements suggested, would at last enable those who support and are interested in our hospitals to ascertain

which were the best managed, and where the public money was expended to the best advantage.

The annual report to Parliament of the Commissioner or Commissioners who constituted the controlling authority would be of national importance. It would set forth the conditions and requirements of each district throughout the country, the amount of hospital accommodation available, the character of the diseases treated, the resources at the disposal of the hospital authorities, and the pecuniary needs which actually existed. The returns contained in this report would be of peculiar value, as they might be made to embrace not only financial matters, but to include an accurate and scientific record of the diseases occurring in all institutions for the care of the sick throughout the country. It would contain a review of the means at present available for the relief of the sick, and would report on their adequacy or inadequacy for the purpose. It would suggest from time to time the revision needed in existing systems of management; would report upon the relations of hospitals to their medical schools; would adduce evidence as to the working of all the departments—administrative, executive, and nursing—and would recommend such schemes as might appear desirable to effectually place medical relief in the metropolis and elsewhere throughout the country upon a satisfactory foundation.

Of course a Commission of Inquiry must first of all be appointed to ascertain the exact facts. This will necessarily entail considerable delay; and meanwhile I would suggest that the Councils of the Hospital Sunday Funds throughout the country may effect much improvement by sending properly qualified representatives to inspect all hospitals which apply to them for a grant, and also by insisting upon every hospital or institution to which they make a donation keeping its accounts upon an identical and intelligent system. This might be effected by the passing of a resolution and the preparation of a model system of accounts for general adoption. It is surely not too much to hope that these bodies will take immediate action to secure the excellent results which are likely to ensue from this simple exercise of authority on their part.

It was urged by the present Home Secretary some two years ago that the public mind was scarcely ripe for an inquiry into hospitals. Much has happened since then, however; and one of the objects of this paper is to still further ripen the public intelligence upon the questions dealt with therein, because fifteen years' experience and the possession of a fairly accurate knowledge of the existing state of affairs makes me feel very strongly that to delay the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry is to perpetuate abuses that ought long since to have disappeared from the management of our hospitals and medical institutions.

HENRY C. BURDETT.

A FEW WORDS ABOUT THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

THE stormy antipathies of Thomas Carlyle have to answer for many a miscarriage of historical justice; but for none more unfounded than that superior air with which he teaches the nineteenth century to sit in judgment on the eighteenth. 'The age of prose, of lying, of sham,' said he, 'the fraudulent-bankrupt century, the reign of Beelzebub, the peculiar era of Cant.' And so growls on our Teufelsdröckh through thirty octavo volumes, from the first philosophy of clothes to the last hour of Friedrich.

Invectives against a century are even more unprofitable than indictments against a nation. We are prepared for them in theology, but they have quite gone out of serious history. Whatever else it may be, we may take it that the nineteenth century is the product of the eighteenth, as that was in turn the product of the seventeenth; and if the Prince of Darkness had so lately a hundred years of rule in Europe, to what fortunate event do we owe our own deliverance, and indeed the nativity of Thomas Carlyle? But surely invectives were never more out of place, than when hurled at a century which was simply the turning epoch of the modern world, the age which gave birth to the movements wherein we live, and to all the tasks that we yet labour to solve. Look at the eighteenth century on all sides of its manifold life, free the mind from that lofty pity with which prosperous folk are apt to remember their grandfathers, and we shall find it in achievement the equal of any century since the Middle Ages; in promise and suggestion and preparation, the century which most deeply concerns ourselves.

Though Mr. Carlyle seems to count it the sole merit of the eighteenth century to have provided us the French Revolution (the most glorious bonfire recorded in profane history), it is not a little curious that almost all his heroes in modern times, apart from Oliver Cromwell, are children and representatives of that unspeakable epoch. Such were Friedrich, Mirabeau and Danton, George Washington, Samuel Johnson and Robert Burns, Watt and Arkwright; and, for more than half of the century, and for more than half his work, so was Goethe himself. It sounds strange to accuse of unmitigated grossness and quackery the age which gave us these men; and which

produced, beside, *Robinson Crusoe* and the *Vicar of Wakefield*, the *Elegy in a Churchyard* and the lines 'To Mary' and 'To my Mother's Picture,' Berkeley's Dialogues and Burke's addresses, Reynolds and Gainsborough, Flaxman and Stothard, Handel and Mozart. But one remembers that according to the Teufelsdröckhian cosmogony, great men are dropped *ab extra* into their age, much as some philosophers assure us that protoplasm, or the primitive germ of life, was casually dropped upon our planet by a truant aerolite.

A century which opens with the *Rape of the Lock* and closes with the first part of *Faust*, is hardly a century of mere prose, especially if we throw in Gray, Cowper, and Burns, the *Ancient Mariner* and the *Lyrical Ballads*. A century which includes twenty years of the life of Newton, twenty-three of Wren's, and sixteen of Leibnitz, and the whole lives of Hume, Kant, Adam Smith, Gibbon, and Priestley, is not the age of mere shallowness; nor is the century which founded the monarchy of Prussia and the Empire of Britain, which gave birth to the Republic in America and then in France, and which finally recast modern society and formed our actual habits, the peculiar era of quakeries, bonfires, and suicides. Measure it justly by the light of scientific history, and not by the tropes of some Biblical Saga, and it holds its own beside the greatest epochs in the modern world; of all modern eras perhaps the richest, most various, most creative. It raised to the rank of sciences, chemistry, botany, and zoology; it created the conception of social science and laid its foundations; it produced the historical schools and the economic schools of England and of France; the new Metaphysic of Germany, the new Music of Germany; it gave birth to the new poetic movement in England, to the new romance literature of England and of France, to the true prose literature of Europe; it transformed material life by manifold inventions and arts; it transformed social life no less than political life; it found modern civilisation in a military phase, it left it in an industrial phase; it found modern Europe fatigued, oppressed with worn-out forms, uneasy with the old life, uncertain and hopeless about the new; it left modern Europe recast without and animated with a new soul within; burning with life, hope, and energy.

The habit of treating a century as an organic whole, with a character of its own, is the beaten pathway to superficial comparison. History, after all, is not grouped into natural periods of one hundred years, as different from each other as the life of the son from that of his father. Nor, whatever the makers of chronologies may say, does mankind really turn over a new page in the great Record, so soon as the period of one hundred years is complete. The genius of any time, even though it be in a single country, even in one city, is a thing too marvellously complex to be hit off by epithets from the Minor Prophets or Gargantuan anathemas and nicknames. And as men are not born at the beginning of a century, and do not die at

the end of it, but grow, flourish, and decay year by year and hour by hour, we are ever entering on a new epoch and completing an old one, did we but know it, on the first day of every year we live, nay at the rising and the setting of every sun.

But, though a century be an arbitrary period, as purely conventional as a yard or a mile, and though every century has a hundred characters of its own, and as many lives and as many results, we must for convenience take note of conventional limits, and fix our attention on special features as the true physiognomy of an epoch. History altogether is a wilderness, till we parcel it out into sections more or less arbitrary, choosing some class of facts out of the myriads that stand recorded, steadily turning our eyes from those which do not concern our immediate purpose. And so, we can think of a century as in some sort a definite whole, in some sense inspired with a definite spirit, and leading to a set of definite results. And we are quite right in so doing, provided we keep a watchful and balanced mind, in no mechanical way, and in no rhetorical or moralising mood, but in order to find what is general, dominant, and central.

If we seek for some note to mark off the eighteenth from all other centuries we shall find it in this: it was the time of final maturing the great Revolution in Europe, the mightiest change in all human history. By revolution we mean, not the blood-stained explosion and struggle in France which was little but one of its symptoms and incidents, but that resettlement of modern life common to all parts of the civilised world; which was at once religious, intellectual, scientific, social, moral, political, and industrial; a resettlement whereon the whole fabric of human society in the future is destined to rest. The era as a whole (so far from being trivial, sceptical, fraudulent, or suicidal) was, in all its central and highest moments, an era of hope, enterprise, industry, and humanity; full of humane eagerness for improvement, trusting human nature, and earnestly bent on human good. It sadly miscalculated the difficulties and risks, and it strangely undervalued the problems it attempted to solve with so light a heart. Instead of being really the decrepit impostor amongst the ages, it was rather the *naïf* and confident youngster. The work of political reformation on which it engaged in a spirit of artless benevolence brought down on its head a terrible rebuff; and it left us thereby a heritage of confusion and strife. But the hurly-burly at Versailles and the Reign of Terror are no more the essence of the eighteenth century, than the Irish atrocities and the Commune of Paris are the essence of the nineteenth. Political chaos, rebellions, and wars are at most but a part of a century's activity, and sometimes indeed but a small part.

In the core, the epoch was hearty, manly, humane; second to none in energy, mental, practical, and social; full of sense, work, and good fellowship. Its manliness often fattened into grossness; soon

to show new touches of exquisite tenderness. Its genius for enterprise plunged it into changes, and prepared for us evils which it little foresaw. But the work was all undertaken in genuine zeal for the improvement of human life. If its poetry was not of the highest of all orders, the century created a new order of poetry. If its art was on the whole below the average, in the noble art of music it was certainly supreme. In philosophy, science, moral and religious truth, it was second to none that went before. In politics it ended in a most portentous catastrophe. But the very catastrophe resulted from its passion for truth and reform. Nor is it easy for us now to see how the catastrophe could have been avoided, even if we see our way to avoid such catastrophes again. And in such a cause it was better to fail in striving after the good than to perish by acquiescing in the evil. If one had to give it a name, I would rather call it the *humane age* (in spite of revolutions, wars, and fashionable corruption); for it was the era when humanity first distinctly perceived the possibilities and conditions of mature human existence.

It would be easy enough to find scores of names, facts, and events to the contrary of all this; but it would be quite as easy to find scores to the contrary of any opinion about any epoch. A century is a mass of contradictions by the necessity of the case; for it is made up of every element to be found in human nature. The various incidents are in no way to be overlooked; neither are they to be exaggerated. To balance the qualities of an epoch, we must analyse them all separately, compare them one by one, and then find the centre of gravity of the mass. England will concern us in the main; but the spirit of the age can never be strictly confined to its action in any one country. Such movements as the Renaissance in the sixteenth, or the Revolution in the eighteenth century, are especially common to Europe. It would be impossible to understand the eighteenth century in England, if we wholly shut our eyes to the movements abroad of which the English phase was the reflex and organ. Nor must we forget how much our judgment of the eighteenth century is warped (it is obvious that Mr. Carlyle's was entirely formed) by literary standards and impressions. Literature has been deluged with the affectations, intrigues, savagery, and uncleanness of the eighteenth century. Other centuries had all this in at least equal degree; but the eighteenth was the first to display it in pungent literary form. Industry, science, invention, and benevolence were less tempting fields for these brilliant penmen. And thus an inordinate share of attention is given to the quarrels of poets, the vices of Courts, and the grimacing of fops. It is the business of serious history to correct the impression which torrents of smart writing have left on the popular mind.

We are all rather prone to dwell on the follies and vices of that era, with which we are more familiar than we are with any other, almost more than we are with our own. It is the first age, since

that of Augustus, which ever left inimitable pictures of its own daily home existence. We recall to mind so easily the ladies of quality at the Spectator's routs, the rioters and intriguers of Hervey's memoirs, and of Walpole's, and of 'the little Burney's'; the Squire Westerns, the Wilkesses and the Queensberrys; the Hell-fire clubs and the Rake's Progresses; the political invectives of Junius and Burke; the Courts of St. James' and Versailles; the prisons, the assizes, the parties of pleasure to Bedlam and to Bridewell; the Wells at Tunbridge, Bath, and Epsom; the masquerades at Vauxhall and Ranelagh; the taverns, the streets, the Mohawks, and the Duellists; the gin-drinking and the bull-baiting, the gambling and the swindling; and a thousand pictures of social life by a crowd of consummate artists. Perhaps we study these piquant miniatures with too lively a gust. The question is not whether such things were, but what else there was also. The pure, the tender, the just, the merciful, is there as well, patiently toiling in the even tenor of its way; and if we look for it honestly, we shall find it a deeper, wider, more effective force in the main, shaping the issue in the end for good.

Addison and Steele were not the greatest of teachers, but they have mingled with banter about fans and monsters something deeper and finer, such as none had touched before, something of which six generations of moralists have never given us the like. 'To love her was a liberal education.' Is there a nobler or profounder sentence in our language? It is a phrase to dignify a nation, and to purify an age; yet it was flung off by 'poor Dick,' one of the gayest wits, for one of the lightest hours of a most artificial society. Western, be it never forgotten, was the name not only of a boisterous fox-hunter, but of the most lovable woman in English fiction. What a mass of manly stuff does our English soil seem to breed as we call up the creations of Fielding! What homes of sturdy vigour do we enter as we turn over the pages of Defoe, and Swift, and Smollett, and Goldsmith, and Johnson; or again in the songs of Burns, or the monotonous lines of Crabbe; or in such glimpses of English firesides as we catch in the young life of Miss Edgeworth, or in our old friend *Sandford and Merton*, or the record of Scott's early years, or the life of Adam Smith, or Bishop Berkeley! What a world of hardihood and patience is there, in the lives of Captain Cook, and Watt, Brindley, and Arkwright, Metcalfe, and Wedgwood! What spiritual tenderness in the letters of Cowper, and the memoirs of Wesley, Howard, Wilberforce, and scores of hard workers, just spirits and faithful hearts who were the very breath and pulse of the eighteenth century! What a breeze from the uplands plays round those rustic images in all forms of art; the art often thin and tame itself, but the spirit like the fragrance of new hay; in such paintings as Morland's, or such poems as Thomson's, Beattie's, and Somerville's, or such prose as Fielding's, Goldsmith's, and Smollett's!

How jocund did they drive their team afield!
How bow'd the woods beneath their sturdy stroke!

If in that mass of toiling, daring, hearty, simple life, we think overmuch of the riot of Fashion and the gossip of Courts, the fault is perhaps with those who look to Fashion for the key-note, and care more for crowds than they care for homes.

A century is never, we have said, a really organic whole, but a group of various movements taken up and broken off at two arbitrary points. The eighteenth is as little a whole as any other; but we may group it into parts in some degree thus. The first ten or fifteen years are clearly more akin to the seventeenth century than the eighteenth. Locke, Newton, and Leibnitz, Wallis and Wren; Burnet and Somers; James II., Louis XIV. and William III; Bossuet and Fénelon, lived into the century, and Dryden lived up to it,—but none of these belong to it. As in French history it is best to take the age of Louis by itself, so in English history it is best to take the Whig Revolution by itself; for Anne is not easily parted from her sister, nor is Marlborough to be severed from William and Portland. In every sense the reign of Anne was the issue and crown of the movement of 1688, and not the forerunner of that of 1789. For all practical purposes, the eighteenth century in England means the reigns of the first three Georges. This space we must group into three periods of unequal length:—

1. From the accession of the House of Hanover (1714), down to the fall of Walpole (1742). This is the age of Bolingbroke and Walpole; Swift, Defoe, Pope, Addison, Steele, Bishop Berkeley and Bishop Butler, Halley, Stephen Gray, and Bradley.

2. From the fall of Walpole (1742) to the opening of the French Revolution (1789). It is the age of Chatham, of Frederick, Washington, and Turgot; of Wolfe, Clive, and Hastings, Rodney and Anson; of Gibbon and Robertson; of Hume and Adam Smith; of Kant, Voltaire, Diderot, and Rousseau; of Richardson and Fielding, Sterne and Smollett, Johnson and Goldsmith; of Cowper and Gray, Thomson and Beattie; of Reynolds and Gainsborough, Hogarth and Garrick; of Cook, Watt, Arkwright, Brindley, Herschel, Black, Priestley, Hunter, Franklin and Cavendish; of Handel, Bach, Haydn, and Mozart; of Wesley, Whitefield, Howard, and Raikes.

This is the central typical period of the eighteenth century, with a note of its own; some fifty years of energy, thought, research, adventure, invention, industry; of good fellowship, a zest for life, and a sense of humanity.

3. Lastly, come some twelve years of the Revolution (1789–1801); a mere fragment of a larger movement that cannot be limited to any country or any century; the passion and the strife, the hope and the foreshadowing of things that were to come and things that are not

come. It is the age of Pitt, Fox, Burke, and Grattan; of Cornwallis and Nelson; of Bentham and Romilly, Wilberforce and Clarkson; of Goethe and Burns; Coleridge and Wordsworth; of Telford and Stevenson; of Flaxman, Bewick, Romney and Stothard; the youth of Sir H. Davy, Scott, Beethoven, and Turner; the boyhood of Byron and Shelley.

It is impossible to omit this critical period of the century, though we too often forget that it forms an integral part of it, quite as truly as the age of Pope or the age of Johnson. The century is not intelligible if we cast out of it the mighty crisis in which it ended, to which it was leading all along; or if we talk of that New Birth as a bonfire or a suicide. Even in art we are apt to forget that the century of Pope and Johnson it was that gave us *Faust*, the *Ancient Mariner*, *The Task*, the *Lyrical Ballads*, Flaxman, Stothard's and Blake's delicate and weird fancies, Turner's first manner, Beethoven's early sonatas, and Scott's translations from the German. All that we value as specially distinctive of our age lay in embryo in many a quiet home, whilst the struggle raged at its hottest on the banks of the Seine, or on the Rhine, the Po, and the Nile.

When the eighteenth century opened, the supremacy in Europe belonged to England, as it has hardly ever belonged before or since. In William III. she had one of the greatest and most successful of all modern statesmen, the one great ruler she ever had since Cromwell. The Revolution of 1688 had placed her in the van of freedom, industry, and thought. Her armies were led by one of the most consummate soldiers in modern history. Her greatest genius in science, her greatest genius in architecture, and one of her wisest spirits in philosophy, were in full possession of their powers; 'glorious John,' the recognised chief of the Restoration poets, was but just dead, and his young rival was beginning to unfold his yet more consummate mastery of rime. The founders of English prose were equipping our literature with a new arm, the easy and flexible style of modern prose; Swift, Addison, and Defoe were the first to show its boundless resources, nor has any improvement been added to their art. The nation was full of energy, wealth, and ambition; and it still glowed with the sense of freedom, with all that it shook off in the train of the Stuarts.

We should count the last days of William and the whole reign of Anne rather with the Revolution of 1688, of which they were the fruit, than with the Hanoverian period, for which they paved the way. And thus we may pass the campaigns of Churchill, and the overthrow of Louis, and all else that was the sequel and corollary of the struggle with the Stuarts. On the other hand, when we reach the close of the century, England is struggling with a movement which she had only indirectly created, but which she was equally unable to develope or to guide. The characteristic period of the eighteenth

century for England is that between the death of Anne and the great war with the Republic (1714-1793). The first fourteen years of the century belong to the history of the English Revolution: the last years to the history of the French Revolution. The eighty years of comparative non-intervention and rest are for Englishmen at least the typical years of the eighteenth century.

It was an era of peace. Indeed it was the first era of systematic peace. In spite of Fontenoy and Minden, Belleisle and Quiberon Bay, it was the first period in our history where the internal welfare of the nation took recognised place before the interests of the dynasty, and its prestige in Europe. The industrial prosperity of the nation, and the supreme authority of Parliament, were made, for the first time in our history, the guiding canons of the statesman. Walpole is the statesman of the eighteenth century; a statesman of a solid, albeit a somewhat vulgar type. If history was the digest of pungent anecdote, it would be easy to multiply epigrams about the corruption of Walpole. Yet, however unworthy his method, or gross his nature, Robert Walpole created the modern statesmanship of England. The imperial Chatham in one sense developed, in another sense distorted the policy of Walpole; much as the First Consul developed and distorted the revolutionary defence of France. And so the early career of William Pitt was a mere prolongation of the system of Walpole: purer in method, and more scientific in aim, but less efficient in result. Alas! after ten glorious years as the minister of peace and of reform, Pitt's career and his very nature were transformed by that aristocratic panic which made him the unwilling instrument of reaction. But Walpole has left a name that is a symbol of peace, as that of Chatham and of Pitt is a symbol of war. And thus Walpole remains, with all his imperfections on his head, the veritable founder of our industrial statesmanship, the parliamentary father of Fox, of Peel, of Cobden, of Gladstone.

That industrial organisation of peace by means of a parliamentary government was the true work of our eighteenth century; for the European triumphs of Anne should be counted amongst the fruits of the heroic genius of William, and the Crusade of Pitt against the Republic should be counted as a backward step of reactionary panic. It was not well done by the statesmen of peace, that industrial organisation of England; it was most corruptly and ignobly done: but it was done. And it ended (we must admit) in a monstrous perversion. The expansion of wealth and industry, which the peace-policy of Walpole begot, stimulated the nation to seek new outlets abroad, and led to the conquest of a vast Empire. When the eighteenth century opened, the King of England ruled, outside of these islands, over some two or three millions at the most. When the nineteenth century opened, these two or three had become at least a hundred millions. The colonies and settlements in America

and in Australia, the maritime dependencies, the Indies East and West, were mainly added to the Crown during the eighteenth century, and chiefly by the imperial policy of Chatham. So far as they were a genuine expansion of our industrial life, they are a permanent honour of the age; so far as they are the prizes of ambitious adventure, they were the reversal of the system of Walpole. It was Chatham, says his bombastic monument in Guildhall, who made commerce to flourish by war. It is an ignoble epitaph, though Burke himself composed it. But for good or for evil, it was the policy and the age of the two Pitts which gave England her gigantic colonial and maritime Empire. And whether it be her strength and glory as many think it, or her weakness and burden as I hold it, it was assuredly one of the most momentous crises in the whole of our history.

A change, at least as momentous, was effected at home from within. The latter half of the eighteenth century converted our people from a rural to a town population, made this essentially a manufacturing, not an agricultural country, and established the factory system. No industrial revolution so sudden and so thorough can be found in the history of our island. If we put this transformation of active life beside the formation of the Empire beyond the seas, we shall find England swung round into a new world, as, in so short a time, has hardly ever befallen a nation. The change which in three generations has trebled our population, and made the old kingdom the mere heart of a huge Empire, led to portentous consequences both moral and material which were hardly understood till our own day. It is the singular boast of the nineteenth century to have covered this island with vast tracts of continuous cities and works, factories and pits; but it was the eighteenth century which made this possible. Appalling as are many of the forms which the fabulous expansion of industry has taken to-day, it is too late now to deplore or resist it. The best hours of the twentieth century, we all trust, will be given to reform the industrial extravagances of the nineteenth century; but it will be possible only on condition of accepting the industrial revolution which the eighteenth century brought about.

Whatever be the issue of this great change in English life, there can be no question about the sterling qualities of the men to whose genius and energy it was due. The whole history of the English race has no richer page than that which records those hardy mariners who with Cook and Anson girdled the globe; the inventors and workers who made the roads and the canals, the docks and the light-houses, the furnaces and the mines, the machines and the engines: the art-potters like Wedgwood, inspired spinners like Crompton, roadmakers like the blind Metcalfe, engineers like Smeaton, discoverers like Watt, canalmakers like Bridgewater and Brindley,

engravers like Bewick, opticians like Dollond, inventors like Arkwright. Let us follow these men into their homes and their workshops, watch their lives of indefatigable toil, of quenchless vision into things beyond, let us consider their patience, self-denial, and faith before we call their age of all others that of quackery, bankruptcy, and fraud. We may believe it rather the age of science, industry, and invention.

A striking feature of those times was the dispersion of intellectual activity in many local centres, though the entire population of the island was hardly twice that of London to-day. Birmingham, Manchester, Derby, Bristol, Norwich, Leeds, Newcastle, and other towns were potent sources of science, art, and culture, and all the more vigorous that they depended little on the capital. A hundred years ago the population and extent of Birmingham was hardly one hundredth part of what it is now. But what a wealth of industry, courage, science, and genius in that quiet Midland village lay grouped round Dr. Darwin and his Lunar Society; with James Watt and Matthew Boulton, then at work on their steam-engine, and Murdoch, the inventor of gas-lighting; and Wedgwood, the father of the Potteries; and Hutton the bookseller, and Baskerville the printer, and Thomas Day, and Lovell Edgeworth; a group to whom often came Franklin, and Smeaton, and Black, and in their centre their great philosopher and guide and moving spirit, the noble Joseph Priestley. Little as we think of it now, that group, where the indomitable Boulton kept open house, was a place of pilgrimage to the ardent minds of Europe; it was one of the intellectual cradles of modern civilisation. And it is interesting to remember that our great Charles Darwin is on both sides the grandson of men who were leading members of that Lunar Society, itself a provincial Royal Society. What forces lay within it! What a giant was Watt, fit to stand beside Gutenberg and Columbus, as one of the few whose single discoveries have changed the course of human civilisation! And, if we chose one man as a type of the intellectual energy of the century, we could hardly find a better than Joseph Priestley, though his was not the greatest mind of the century. His versatility, eagerness, activity, and humanity; the immense range of his curiosity, in all things physical, moral, or social; his place in science, in theology, in philosophy, and in politics; his peculiar relation to the Revolution, and the pathetic story of his unmerited sufferings, may make him the hero of the eighteenth century.

The strength of the century lay neither in politics nor in art; it lay in breadth of understanding. In political genius, in poetry, in art, the eighteenth was inferior to the seventeenth century, and even to the sixteenth; in moral, in social, and in material development it was far inferior to the nineteenth. But in philosophy, in science, in mental versatility, it has hardly any equal in the ages. Here, espe-

cially, it is impossible to limit the view to one country. Politics, industry, and art are local. Science and research know nothing of country, have no limitations of tongue, race, or government. In philosophy then the contrary numbers:—Leibnitz, Vico, Berkeley, Montesquieu, Diderot, D'Alembert, Condorcet, Kant, Turgot, Hume, Adam Smith. In science, it counts Buffon, Linnæus, Lavoisier, Laplace, Lamarck, Lagrange, Halley, Herschel, Franklin, Priestley, Black, Cavendish, Volta, Galvani, Bichat, and Hunter. To interpret its ideas, it had such masters of speech as Voltaire, Rousseau, Swift, Johnson, Gibbon, Lessing, Goethe, and Burke. It organised into sciences (crystallising the data till then held in solution) physics, chemistry, botany, zoology, comparative anatomy, electricity, psychology, and the elements of social science, both in history and in statics. It threw up these three dominant movements: (1) the idea of law in mind and in society, that is, the first postulate of mental and social science; (2) that genius for synthesis of which the work of Buffon, of Linnæus, and the *Encyclopædia* itself, were all phases; (3) that idea of social reconstruction, of which the New Régime of '89, the American Republic, and our reformed Parliament are all products. The seventeenth century can show perhaps a list of greater separate names, if we add those in poetry, politics, and art. But for mass, result, multiplicity, and organic power, it may be doubted if any century in modern history has more to show than the eighteenth.

There is this stamp upon every stroke of eighteenth-century work: the habit of regarding things as wholes, bearing on life as a whole. Their thirst for knowledge is a practical, organic, working thing; their minds grasp a subject all round, to turn it to a useful end. The encyclopædic spirit animates all: with a genius for clearness, comprehension, and arrangement. It was for the most part somewhat premature, often impatient, at times shallow, as was much of the work of Voltaire, Diderot, Johnson, and Goldsmith. But the slightest word of such men has to my ear a human ring, a living voice that I recognise as familiar. It awakens me, and I am conscious of being face to face with an interpreter of humanity to men. When they write histories whole centuries glow with life; we see and we hear the mighty tramp of ages. In twelve moderate octavos, through all which not a sentence could belong to any other book, Gibbon has compressed the history of the world during more than a thousand years. Is there in all prose literature so perfect a book as this? In these days we write histories on far profounder methods; but for the story of ten ordinary years Mr. Freeman and Mr. Froude will require a thousand pages; and Macaulay's brilliant annals, we are told, needed more time to write than the events needed to happen.

I often take up my Buffon. They tell us now that Buffon hardly

knew the elements of his subject, and lived in the palæozoic era of science. It may be, but I find in Buffon a commanding thought, the Earth and its living races in orderly relation, and in the centre Man with his touch of them and his contrast to them. What organic thought glows in every line of his majestic scheme! What suggestions in it, what an education it is in itself! And if Buffon is not a man of science, assuredly he is a philosopher. No doubt, his ideas of fibres and cells were rudimentary, his embryology weak, and his histology rude; but he had the root of the matter when he treated of animals as living organisms, and not simply as accumulations of microscopic particles. Now Buffon is a typical worker of the eighteenth century, at its high-water mark of industry, variety of range, human interest, and organising life.

We may take Adam Smith, Hume, Priestley, Franklin; they are four of the best types of the century; with its keen hold on moral, social, and physical truth at once; its genius for scientific and for social observation, its inexhaustible curiosity; and its continual sense that Man stands face to face with Nature. They felt the grand dualism of all knowledge in a way that perhaps we fail to grasp it with our infinity of special information, and a certain hankering after spiritualities that we doubt, and infinitesimal analyses which cease to fructify. Adam Smith, the first (alas! perhaps the last) real economist, did not devote his life to polishing up a theory of rent. Astronomy, society, education, government, morals, psychology, language, art, were in turns the subject of his study, and in all he was master; they all moved him alike, as part of man's work on earth. He never would have founded Political Economy if he had merely been an economist. And all this is more true of Hume, with a range even wider, an insight keener, a judgment riper, a creative method even more original. And so, Priestley and Franklin: as keen about gases and electric flashes as about the good of the commonwealth and the foundations of human belief. And when Turgot, himself one of the best of this band of social reformers, said of Franklin—

Eripuit cælo fulmen, sceptrumque tyrannis,

—it is true, in a wide sense, of them all, and especially of Turgot himself. They all sought to conquer the earth, as the dwelling-place of a reformed society of men.

This encyclopædic, social, spirit belongs to all alike. We recognise in all the zeal to make their knowledge fruitful, systematic, common to all, useful to man. Out of fashion as such a thing is to us, every sentence they utter bears its meaning on its face; every book, every voyage, every discovery, is hailed with *eureka* through Europe; the voyages of travellers, or the surgical operation for cataract, instantly affect history, morals, logic, and philosophy. They

cannot rest till every corner of the planet is explored, till the races of man are compared, and the products of the earth are stored in museums, classified in orders, grouped into kingdoms. Science and social life, nay philosophy and morals, were strangely transformed when the limits and the form of Man's Earth were first exactly realised. Cook and Banks, Anson and Bougainville, reveal to Europe the antipodes, and their human, brute, and vegetable worlds; and every science and every art is alive with new ideas; history, philosophy, morals, and social economy, are lit up with new laws. We see the same thing to-day; but the sacred fire perhaps burns with a soberer flame; the wonder and the sympathy are a little dulled by use; and through the mountains of our materials the volcanic shock of a new truth is less distinctly felt.

The universal human interest of these men throbs in every page they write. Defoe is politician, romancer, theologian, economist, pamphleteer, and philosopher. Swift is all this, verse-maker, and many things beside. Voltaire is poet, historian, critic, moralist, letter-writer, polemist, arbiter in science, philosophy, and art in general; like Virgil's monster, with a hundred tongues and a hundred throats of brass. Diderot was a very encyclopædic Briareus. But the intense social aim comes out in all alike, however different in nature and taste. Cowper himself has it, as he sits beside his tea-urn, watches his hare and his spaniel, or apostrophises his sofa. Fielding clothes it with flesh and blood, hot blood and solid flesh; it lights up the hackwork of Goldsmith, and sheds a fragrance for ever through his lovely idyll of the Vicar's home; Johnson in his arm-chair thunders it out as law to the club; Bentham tears up the old Statute-book by passionate appeals to the greatest happiness of the greatest number; Burns sang for it the songs which will live for ever in English homes; Hogarth, the Fielding of the brush, paints it; Garrick, the most versatile of actors, played it; Mozart, the most sympathetic of all musicians, found its melody; Reynolds caught every smile on its cheek, and the light upon its eye; and Hume, Adam Smith, Priestley, and Burke sounded some of its deepest notes.

Of all in this century, three men stand out, in three countries, as types of its vast range, of its organising genius, of its hold on the reality behind the veil that we see:—Kant in Germany, Diderot in France, Hume in England. For us here, Hume is the dominant mind of the age; with his consummate grasp of human life in all its moral, social, and physical conditions; by his sense, good fellowship, urbanity, and manliness. This was not the age of the lonely thinkers in their studies, as Kepler, Galileo, Descartes, had been. Nor was it the age of Bacon, Pascal, Hobbes, and Locke; when philosophy was shaken by political and religious fanaticism. It was not the age of the wonderful specialists of our own day, when

mountains of observation defy all attempts at system. It was an age more like the Revival of thought and learning—but with a notable difference. Its curiosity is as keen, its industry even greater; its mental force as abundant. But it is far less wild; its resources are under command; its genius is constructive; and its ruling spirit is social. It was the second and far greater Revival—that New Birth of time whereof the first line was led by Galileo, Harvey, Descartes, and Bacon; whereof the second line was led by Newton, Leibnitz, Montesquieu, Hume, and Kant; whereof the third line will be led by those who are to come.

In the progress of Europe, especially in its mental progress, there is an incessant ebb and flow, a continual give and take. The intellectual lead passes from one to the other, qualified and modified by each great individual genius. In the sixteenth century it was Spain and Italy, in the seventeenth it was Holland and England, in the eighteenth it was France, and now perhaps it is Germany, which sets the tone, or fashion, in thought. For the first generation perhaps of the eighteenth century, England had the lead which Shakespeare, Milton, Bacon, Hobbes, Locke, Harvey, Cromwell, and William, had given her in the century preceding. The contemporaries of Newton, Locke, Dryden, Pope, Swift, Defoe, and Addison, were a force in combination which the worshippers of Louis the Fourteenth did not immediately perceive, but which was above anything then extant in Europe. The revelation of this great intellectual strength in England was made by Montesquieu and Voltaire. Voltaire, if not exactly a thinker, was the greatest interpreter of ideas whom the world has ever seen; and became the greatest literary power in the whole history of letters. When in 1728 he took back to France his English experience and studies, he carried with him the sacred fire of freedom whereby the supremacy of thought began to pass to France. Within ten years that fire lit up some of the greatest beacons of the modern world. Voltaire wrote his *Essay on Manners* in 1740; Montesquieu's *Spirit of the Laws* appeared in 1748, and its influence was greater than that of any single work of Voltaire. The forty years, 1740–1780, were perhaps the most pregnant epoch in the history of human thought. It contained the works of Voltaire, Montesquieu, Diderot, D'Alembert, Vauvenargues, Buffon, Lavoisier, Rousseau, the encyclopædists, Condorcet, and Turgot in France; and, in England, those of Fielding, Richardson, Sterne, Gibbon, Robertson, Hume, Adam Smith, Priestley, Johnson, Goldsmith, and Gray. During the last twenty years of the century France was absorbed in her tremendous Revolution, and again the supremacy in literature passed away from her to give to Germany Kant, Hegel, Goethe, Schiller, Beethoven; to give to England Burke, Bentham, Cowper, Burns, Byron, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Shelley, and

Scott. So sways the battle of ideas from age to age and from shore to shore.

This is not the place to discuss the vast movement of the human mind which is loosely called the Revolution. As an Oxford wit used to say, 'to sit in judgment on the Revolution is like asking if the Fall of Man were a justifiable proceeding.' Our judgment on all this depends on the bent of our minds in theology, philosophy, and politics. One who holds on to his Bible chiefly for its dampatory resources has assured us that this was the Satanic Age. If we look at its achievements, one is tempted to wish that our own age were more often visited by that accomplished gentleman. The century completely transformed all that had previously been known as to heat, gases, metals, electricity, plants, animals, tissues, diseases, geography, geology, the races, products and form of the earth, psychology, chronology, history, political and social and economic science. It would take a volume to enlarge on these. One can but give the names of those departments of knowledge. Compare the anatomical resources of Dr. Radcliffe with those of Hunter, Bichat, and Dupuytren; the chemical and physical notions of Boyle with those of Davy, Volta, and Galvani; the physiology of Boerhaave with that of Lamarck; compare the classificatory notions of Ray with those of Buffon, Linnæus, and Cuvier; take the ideas on society of Hobbes or Harrington, and compare them with those of Hume, A. Smith, Burke, and Bentham; compare Gibbon's idea of history with that of Raleigh, Bacon, Milton. Compare the psychology of Kant with that of Descartes, or Locke;—and we see that the century made a stride, not as we have done by enlarging the sciences, but in creating them or turning their rudiments into mature organisms.

The weak side of the century was certainly in beauty; in poetry, and the arts of form. It was essentially the age of prose; but still it was not prosaic. Its imaginative genius spoke in prose and not in verse. There is more poetry in the *Vicar of Wakefield* than in the *Deserted Village*, in *Tom Jones* than in Pope's *Iliad*, and the death of Clarissa Harlowe is more like Sophocles than the death of Addison's Cato. The age did not do well in verse; but if its verse tended to prose, its prose ever tended to rise into poetry. We want some word (Mr. Matthew Arnold will not let us use the word poetry) to express the imaginative power at work in prose, saturating it with the fragrance of proportion and form, shedding over the whole that indefinable charm of subtle suggestion, which belongs to rare thoughts clothed in perfect words. For my part I find 'the vision and the faculty divine' in the inexhaustible vivacity of *Tom Jones*, in the mysterious realism of *Robinson Crusoe*, in the terrible tension of Clarissa's tragedy, in the idyllic grace of the Vicar's home. This imaginative force has never since been reached in prose save by Walter Scott himself, and not even by him in such imitable witchery of words.

If it be not poetry, it is quite unlike the prose that we read or write to-day.

Besides, one cannot allow that there is *no* poetry in the century. Let us give a liberal meaning to poetry; and where we find creative fancy, charm of phrase, the vivid tone of a distinct voice that we could recognise in a thousand—there, we are sure, is the poet. For my part, I go so far as to admit that to be poetry which is quite intelligible, even if it have no subtlety, mystery, or inner meaning at all. Much as I prefer Shelley, I will not deny that Pope is a poet. Tennyson perhaps would never have run so near commonplace as do stanzas here and there in the famous 'Elegy,' but does anyone doubt that Gray's Elegy is poetry? And though Wordsworth is a greater man than Cowper, it is possible, had there never been a 'Task,' that there might never have been an 'Excursion.' The poetry of the century is below our lofty English average, but it is not contemptible; and when it is good it has some rare qualities indeed.

In the poetry of the century are three distinct types: first, that of Pope; next, that of which the Elegy is the masterpiece; lastly, the songs of Burns. Now the first belongs to the age of Louis XIV. The second is the typical poetry of the century. The third is but the clarion that heralds the revolutionary outburst which gave us Byron, Shelley, Scott, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Goethe, and Schiller. Cowper in part belongs to the three types; he is the connecting link between them all: touching Pope by his easy mastery of rime, akin to Gray by his exquisite culture and grace, foretelling Wordsworth and Shelley by his moral and social earnestness. If the century produced little true poetry, it produced some little that is very good, and a good deal which has some very fine qualities. The *Rape of the Lock* is a poem in a class by itself, and Pope wrote other pieces of magical skill and verve. Goldsmith's poems would please us more if he had not bettered them himself in his own prose. Burns wrote the most ringing songs in our literature. Cowper is a true poet of a very rare type, one of the most important in the development of English poetry. And Gray's Elegy is better known and more widely loved than any single poem in our language. All this should be enough to save the age of prose from the charge of being prosaic.

In the best poetry of the century (at least after Pope's death) there is a new power, a new poetic field, a new source of poetry. The new source of poetry is the People; its new field is the home; the new power within it is to serve the cause of humanity. It told the short and simple annals of the poor. It is a field unknown to Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, or Pope. But Goldsmith has it in his heart of hearts; such men as Thomson and Collins and Beattie and Crabbe have it, though they remain on the lower ranges at their best; Burns is the very prophet of it; and it glows in a gentle hermit-like way in every murmur of Cowper's tender

soul. *The Task* is by reason of this one of the landmarks of our literature, though its own nobler progeny may have lessened its charm to us. It is because the original charm is still as fresh as ever, that we may call the 'Elegy in a Country Churchyard' the central poem of the age. Our young word-mongers and unutterables will tell us to-day that its moralising is as obvious as a tombstone, that its melody is rudimentary and its epithets almost trivial. Yes! and for that reason it has sunk into the soul of all who speak the English tongue; it has created the new poetry of the cottage; its very surrender of brilliancy, subtlety, or novelty is its strength. The sustained undertone of pathos, the magical unity of its thought and its colouring, the simple humanity of it, all these make the 'Elegy' the poem of the eighteenth century, the voice of the humane age at its best.

Poetry is the central art; but it is not all art: and the art of the century deserves a word. We may give up architecture at once. People were so much absorbed in making their homes comfortable within, that they seemed blind to ugliness elsewhere; and if Mr. Ruskin is certain that Satan had to do with the Churches of the Georgian era, there is no means of disproving it. But Reynolds remains the greatest English painter; Gainsborough and Romney have not been surpassed in their own line; Hogarth remains still our greatest humourist with the pencil; Garrick is still our greatest actor; Flaxman is still our greatest sculptor; and it is well to remember that Turner was of the Royal Academy before the century was out. But besides all these, Crome, Stothard, Blake, Bewick, Chippendale, Wedgwood, and Bartolozzi worked in the century—and in their given lines these men have never been surpassed.

There is another art which lies closer to civilisation than any art but poetry. Music is a better test of the moral culture of an age than its painting, or its sculpture, or even its architecture. Music, by its nature, is ubiquitous, as much almost as poetry itself, in one sense more so, for its vernacular tongue is common to mankind. Music in its nature is social, it can enter every home, it is not the privilege of the rich; and thus it belongs to the social and domestic life of a people, as painting and sculpture, the arts of the few, never have done or can do. It touches the heart and the character as the arts of form have never sought to do, at least in the modern world. When we test the civilisation of an age by its art, we should look to its music next to its poetry, and sometimes even more than to its poetry. Critics who talk about the debasement of the age when churchwardens built those mongrel temples must assuredly be deaf. Those churchwardens and the rest of the congregation wept as they listened to Handel and Mozart. One wearies of hearing how grand and precious a time is ours, now that we can draw a cornflower right.

Music is the art of the eighteenth century, the art wherein it

stands supreme in the ages; perfect, complete, and self-created. The whole gamut of music (except the plain song, part song, dance, and mass) is the creation of the eighteenth century: opera, sonata, concerto, symphony, oratorio; and the full uses of instrumentation, harmony, air, chorus, march, and fugue, all belong to that age. If one thinks of the pathos of those great songs, of the majesty of those full quires, of the inexhaustible melody of their operas, and all that Bach, Handel, Haydn, Mozart, Gluck, and the early years of Beethoven gave us, it is strange to hear that that age was dead to art. Neither the age which gave us the Madonnas and the Sistine, nor the age which gave us Reims and Westminster Abbey, nor even the age which gave us the Parthenon, did more for humanity than the age to which we owe the oratorios, and the operas, the sonatas, symphonies, and masses of the great age of music.

Not merely was music of the highest order produced, not merely did that age create almost all the great orders of music, but the generation gave itself to music with a passion such as marks all ages wherein art reaches its zenith. When Handel and Buononcini, Gluck and Piccinni, Farinelli and Caffarelli, divided the town, it was not with the languid partisanship which amuses our leisure, but with the passions of the Red and Green factions in the Circus of Byzantium. England, it is true, had few musicians of its own; but Handel is for practical purposes an English musician, and the great Italian singers and the great German masters were never more truly at home than when surrounded by English admirers. Our people bore their fair share in this new Birth of Art, especially if our national anthem was really the product of this age. And not our people only, but the men of culture, of rank, of power, and the Court itself. And the story that the King caused the whole house to rise when the Hallelujah Chorus was heard is a happy symbol of the enthusiasm of the time.

Their music showed that their hearts were in the right place; but they showed it in more practical ways. The age, with all its grossness, laid the seeds of those social reforms, which it is the boast of our own time to have matured. It was then that the greatest part of the Hospitals as we know them were founded; the Asylums, Reformatories, Infirmarys, Benefit Societies, Sunday Schools, and the like. It was then, amidst a sea of misery and cruelty, that Howard began what Burke called 'his circumnavigation of charity.' Then too began that holy war against slavery and the slave trade, against barbarous punishments, foul prisons, against the abuses of justice, the war with ignorance, drunkenness, and vice. Captain Coram, and Jonas Hanway, and John Howard, and Thomas Raikes, led the way for those social efforts which have taken such proportions. Jeremy Bentham and Samuel Romilly struck at the abuses of law; Clarkson and Wilberforce and the anti-slavery reformers at slavery and the

trade in men. Methodism, or rather religious earnestness, lies at the heart of the eighteenth century; and the work of Wesley and Whitefield is as much a part of its life, as the work of Johnson or Hume or Watt. That great revival of spiritual energy in the midst of a sceptical and jovial society was no accident, nor was it merely the impulse of two great souls. It is the same humanity which breathes through the scepticism of Hume, and the humour of Fielding; and it runs like a silver thread through the whole fabric of that epoch. Cowper is its poet, Wilberforce was its orator, Whitefield was its preacher, Wesley was its legislator, and Priestley himself the philosopher whom it cast forth. The abolition of slavery, a religious respect for the most miserable of human beings as a human soul, is its great work in the world. This was the central result of the eighteenth century; nor can any century in history show a nobler. The new gospel of duty to our neighbour, was of the very essence of that age. The French Revolution itself is but the social form of the same spirit. He who misses this will never understand the eighteenth century. It means Howard and Clarkson just as much as it means Fielding and Gibbon; it means Wesley and Whitefield quite as much as it means Hume or Watt. And they who shall see how to reconcile Berkeley with Fielding, Wesley with Hume, and Watt with Cowper, so that all may be brought home to the fold of humanity at last, will not only interpret aright the eighteenth century, but they will anticipate the task of the twentieth.

A few words about the eighteenth century afford no space to touch on the greatest event of it—the Revolutionary crisis itself. The intellectual preparation for it is all that we can here note; and we may hear the rumblings of the great earthquake in every page of Hume, Adam Smith, Priestley, and Bentham; nay in Cowper and Burns and Wordsworth and Coleridge. The ‘Rights of Man,’ the ‘Declaration of Independence,’ ‘the Negro’s Complaint,’ ‘the greatest happiness of the greatest number,’ ‘A man’s a man for a’ that,’ the ‘new birth’ of the Methodists: were all phases of one movement to attain the full conditions of humanity. The Revolution did not happen in 1789 nor in 1793. The Terror was in ’93; the Old System collapsed in ’89. But the Revolution is continuing still, violent in France, deep and quiet in England. No one of its problems is completely solved; no one of them is removed from solution; no one of its creations has complete possession of the field. The reconstruction begun more than a hundred years ago is doing still. For they see history upside down who look at the Revolution as a conflagration instead of a reconstruction; or who find in the eighteenth century a suicide, instead of finding a birth.

FREDERIC HARRISON.

THE TRUTH ABOUT ROSSETTI.

It is immediately after a great man's death that the most confused and erroneous notions of his work and his personality are apt to prevail. Facts and incidents which, during his life, had been unknown save to his private friends become then for the first time public property. And it is in the nature of things that whatever facts are brought prominently forward while public curiosity about him is most active become deeply impressed upon the public imagination—so deeply indeed that an entire generation has to pass before the impression made by them can be removed or even modified. The case of Keats illustrates what I mean. Partly owing to the poet's dying so young, and so shortly after the attacks made upon him by the reviews, and partly owing to the pathos and the power of Shelley's 'Adonais,' Keats was universally believed to have been (as Byron says) 'snuffed out by an article.' And not all the display of noble and manly temper in his poems and in his letters—not all the eloquent asseverations of Lord Houghton that the young poet took his castigations with fortitude, have ever yet been able to remove the popular impression that Keats was 'snuffed out by an article.' The same remark applies to Edgar Poe and those malignant calumnies of Griswold which Mr. Ingram has challenged, but most likely challenged in vain.

It behoves the friends of Rossetti to see that he does not share the same fate. Many misconceptions about his art and himself are already taking root. Upon these I propose to say a few words—touching first upon certain misconceptions as to the special meaning of Rossetti's art, and secondly upon certain misconceptions as to Rossetti's personal character and influence as a man.

Howsoever imperfectly I may perform the first portion of my task, it might be supposed that I should find no difficulty whatever in speaking of the personal character of one with whom I was on terms of brotherly intimacy for so long. But, in truth, it is just here where my chief difficulty lies. For I know not what friend of Rossetti's can assume the judicial attitude when speaking of him. I know not who shall render in words a character so fascinating, so original, and yet so self-contradictory. At one moment exhibiting, as Rossetti would, the sagacity of the most astute man of affairs, at the next the

perversities and the whimsical vagaries of a schoolboy; startling us at one moment as he would startle us with the brilliance of the most accomplished wit, at the next with a spontaneous tenderness like that of a woman or else with some trait of simplicity and *naïveté* like that of a child—it is no wonder that misconceptions about a character so Protean should prevail. Nor is it any wonder that to us who loved him, the name Rossetti was a word of music that never suggested the works but always the man. I say ‘to us who loved him,’ and the category includes all who knew him, for he was a man whom it was impossible to know without deeply loving, and I will not deny that it was necessary that he should be deeply loved before he could be fully known. Perhaps the strongest proof of this is that, notwithstanding all those ‘weaknesses’ upon which the garish light of the public press has lately been flashing—notwithstanding the seclusion in which, of late years, he lived—‘the jealous seclusion,’ as an illustrious painter has phrased it—which shut out at last not merely the outside world, but even the men of genius who had shared with him those youthful and noble struggles for art which have come to such a great fruition—notwithstanding all this, I say, these early friends of Rossetti’s never lost their affectionate regard for him. Indeed, how *could* they lose that regard, howsoever wilful he might have grown? so irresistible was he, so winsome and so affectionate, so open of heart (save when in the grip of the terrible and unmanly drug which is associated with his name), so generous in his appreciation of other men’s work, so free from all rivalries and jealousies and vulgar greed for fame. These old friends of his know how impossible it was to enjoy his friendship without prizing it as one of the sweetest things in life, how impossible it is to lose him without feeling that the loss can never be repaired. They will realise, too, how the mere act of writing about him cannot but bring back with an almost intolerable vividness the happiness that he who pens these words had once and has lost—the happiness of retiring to the quiet studio of this rare genius, whose real life (as the *Spectator* has said) was ‘more that of Florence in the fourteenth than London in the nineteenth century,’ where, indeed, London’s noisy contentions became dreams, and where, night after night, as the ‘small hours’ fled and were followed by large ones, not *his* face only, but the face of Michael Angelo, seemed moving, and not *his* voice only, but the voice of Dante, seemed murmuring in the shadows of the room.

But to proceed to the business in hand. With regard, first, to the meaning and function of Rossetti in contemporary art and poetry: up to the present moment all that the general public has known of Rossetti’s work has been that the latest and most notable development of English art—the rendering of absolutely poetic motives by realistic methods—had originated with a poet-painter who kept himself aloof from all competitors, painting his pictures to

please himself alone. And if the reports of his work and its beauty brought away by those few favoured ones who did know it were met by scepticism and irritation, neither they nor the wilful painter himself had a just cause of complaint, I think. To be told that no such wealth of imaginative design and no such marvels of colour had been seen in the modern world of art as might be any day seen if only a certain proud painter would condescend to show his pictures is not calculated to arouse the most amiable feelings of which human nature is capable. This mysterious artist, who refused to appear with his fellows in an open court of criticism, but whose admirers, nevertheless, claimed for him all the honours of having appeared there and of having won there the brightest crown—who and what was he? What *droits du seigneur* had he that exempted him from the common sanctions of the domain of Art? But it is vain to contest any man's claims by challenging the pretensions of his admirers, and such quarrels as this are never adjusted save, alas! by that one high Power who knows no favouritism and who adjusts everything. Death is indeed a peacemaker and gives, at last, every man his due. Let this be the balm for every unhappy critic-ridden poet and painter, that even artistic and literary criticism knows its duty, knows how to be just, and perhaps generous, if the man whose works come up for judgment will first do his duty by dying. The most appreciative and glowing recognitions of Rossetti's claims as a poet-painter have been made in quarters where perhaps he himself would have least expected them.

The *Times*, the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Athenæum*, the *Spectator*, the *Cornhill Magazine*, may be assumed perhaps to represent all sections of the community; and these have vied with each other in doing honour to Rossetti and his works. It is impossible to quote more than a word or two:—

Rossetti (says the *Times* of December 30, 1882) is perhaps among modern artists the one in whom genius (properly so called) manifested itself in the most striking manner. The beauty of this large and elaborate composition ('Dante's Dream') the grief in Dante's countenance, the loveliness of the dead Beatrice, the symbolic significance of the accessories, it would be impossible to render in words.

And as glowing as this is the praise of the *Daily Telegraph* and other papers:—

There is not (says the *Spectator* of January 6, 1883), a single living colourist in Europe (we will give our readers Asia, Africa, and America in), whose pictures would not look cold and clay-like, if placed in this gallery; there is not a single colourist the world has ever seen, beside whose painting some of these might not hang, and hold their own. We are not speaking hastily or in exaggeration in saying this; it is a literal fact that there is no lovelier colour in existence than that of which there are many specimens here.

And the same journal (of January 27, 1883), in a second article of very great acuteness, says:—

His best work will be that which determines his fame, and of this we say again that in beauty of colour and poetical inspiration the world has as yet never seen its equal.

I will not quote from the *Athenæum*, for, through good and ill report, that journal has from the first declared Rossetti to be, notwithstanding all executive shortcomings, one of the most poetic living artists in the world.

'As poems in colour,' says Mr. Quilter, 'the world has seen nothing finer than Rossetti's pictures since the days of Titian.'

Still, as I have said, many grave misconceptions are rife as to the real spirit informing Rossetti's art, and it is of these first I wish to speak. It has, for instance, been pretty generally assumed that *because* Rossetti was a poet he was not a born artist. And, finding descriptive sonnets upon the frames of Rossetti's pictures, the critics have inferred, without further inquiry, that the pictures were produced as illustrations to the sonnets. The opposite of this is the truth: the sonnets were always written after the production of the pictures—written sometimes with difficulty and at the request of the buyer. The case of the 'Blessed Damozel' is the only instance of the poem's having been produced before the painting.

This misconception has been fortified by certain inadvertent words of those who knew him well and who have his fame at heart. Mr. Sharp (in his full and valuable but hastily written monograph on Rossetti and his works), in speaking of the 'Blessed Damozel,' says that 'the statement is greatly if not wholly true that Rossetti was *born* a poet and *made* himself an artist.' And Mr. Hall Caine repeats certain words used in conversation by Rossetti which led Mr. Caine (as similar words once led me) to think that Rossetti himself believed his plastic gift to be secondary to his poetic. What a man believes of his own endowments may not perhaps go for much; but, in all his self-criticisms, Rossetti was most inconsistent—most contradictory. He has often told me that he felt his special function to be that of the *painter*, and that from his earliest childhood his ambition was to become one. The evidence of his work, however, is sufficient here. 'The greatest of English colourists' is, at least, a 'born artist.'

No doubt the reluctance which we all feel to accept an artist in more arts than one is based upon common-sense. All arts, even the most objective, must come, one would think, from an unusually eager yearning to express personality. And the very force with which this egoism throws itself into one artistic medium is likely to weaken the energies in other media. Poets, for instance, have always been fond of writing about music, just as they, now, are fond of writing about pictures. But, as regards the poets of the past, with the single exception of Milton it might be difficult to find any English poet who really shows the musical gift or even a genuine love of music.

In most cases it would seem that metrical music and verbal melody are to the poet so all-sufficing that none other is needed. I need only point to Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley, Byron, Scott. And so as to painting, a poet's vision seems, in most cases, to need verbal rather than plastic expression. Standing before a picture, if a man cannot stand and absorb its beauty quietly—if he must talk about it, describe it, translate it into words before he can enjoy it, his artistic endowment is likely to be literary rather than plastic. Yet if poets as a rule come under this category, there are exceptions to the rule, as the history of Italian art shows. Rossetti had the insensibility to music which has been hitherto common with English poets, but his imaginative conceptions came to him, as I know, in actual pictures which he afterwards translated into words. And, even if it were true that he succeeded in expressing his imaginative vision better in poetry than in painting (which I deny), we have to consider the immense mechanical difficulties to be overcome in painting before the imagination can have the fair play it has in poetry, and Rossetti's imperfect art-training must also be taken into account.

Another misconception in connection with Rossetti is that his art represents a school. It simply represents himself, although, no doubt, the early influence upon him of Madox Brown's dramatic methods was immense. The Rossetti note is the note of originality, the note of artistic creation. He invented his own style in poetry as surely as Shelley invented his; he invented his own style in painting as surely as Titian invented his; he invented his own new type of female beauty as surely as Lionardo invented his. Hence it is that, apart from his own direct personal achievements, Rossetti's reflected influence throughout the entire world of English taste has been as potent almost as the influence of Darwin throughout the entire world of English thought. Not only in our poetry and our painting, but in our decoration, our household furniture—even in our taste for blue china and in the binding of our books, may the spirit of Rossetti be traced directly or indirectly. Whether this influence is to be a permanent force or a fugitive fashion may be a disputable point, but beyond all disputation is its present potency. Yet, in a certain deep sense, no man is original. 'It belongs to the great Vishnu alone to create a world.' And it is because, in this deep sense, Rossetti, so far from being original, is the very type of Art as it stands in its relation to history and to the growth of the human mind, that his claim to our attention is so great.

This is what I mean. Had the Committee at Burlington House purposely arranged Galleries Nos. 4 and 5 with the view of contrasting the artistic temper of the eighteenth century with the artistic temper which, if Rossetti's work is vital, may become the characteristic note of our own day, they could not have done so more effectually than by hang-

ing in one gallery the Reynoldses, the Gainsboroughs, and the Romneys, and in the other those wonderful 'incarnate poems' which have of late years been silently colouring the upper atmosphere of English art, as the Opal of Arden coloured the cloud temples of the spirits of the air, though imprisoned by the gnomes at the roots of the hills. To pass from one gallery to the other was to pass from the comfortable world of domestic materialism which the eighteenth century accepted as the final cause (and a most worthy final cause) of the entire universe, to those older worlds of wonder and mystery which, though nowadays mirrored only in the eyes of poets and children, are as real, perhaps, as London is or as Nineveh was. And this contrast of the two styles and tempers is seen in the portraits and half-length subjects quite as vividly as in the elaborate diamic designs. On all the faces in Gallery 4 we see the same smug and smiling acceptance of 'things as they be' which characterises the eighteenth century in its arts and its poetry no less than in its philosophy. In all the faces of Gallery 5 we find that deep sense of something underlying and overlying this domestic materialism—higher than the lamps of London, deeper than the Bank cellars—that sense of the weird and the mysterious which we call *Romantic*, and which never appeared in English art before Blake, and never appeared in English poetry from the advent of English Augustanism to the 'Romantic Revival' which we associate chiefly with the names of Scott and Coleridge. And, inasmuch as the contrast here afforded has not merely a great and deep artistic value, but has also a philosophical meaning no less great and no less deep, the exhibition is as interesting to the student of history as to the lover of poetic art. That art so spiritualistic as that of Gallery 5 should not have preceded but should have followed art so materialistic as that of Gallery 4 is not, however, more remarkable than that such poetry as Coleridge's *Christabel*, Keats's *La Belle Dame sans Merci*, Rossetti's *Sister Helen* and *Rose Mary*, should have followed a poetic literature whose philosophy was expressed by Pope's *Essay on Man* and whose imagination was adequately represented by the *Rape of the Lock*. But any philosophy of history, any scheme of the evolution of human thought which ignores such facts as these comes, surely, 'in a questionable shape.' This vast subject is of course beyond my present scope, yet I must say a word upon it. A gradual moving from the temper of wonder to the temper of acceptance is, no doubt, seen in the history of Greek art, and, indeed, in the early history of European civilisation. But because this is so, can we, with the poetry of Æschylus before us—can we, with these two galleries before us, assume, first, that to move from the temper of wonder to the temper of acceptance is an *inevitable* law of the human mind; and, secondly, that, from the temper of acceptance back to the temper of wonder and mystery, the human mind does not and cannot return?

No doubt European history does show that, as civilisation grows more ripe and more complex, as Man's increasing dominance over the powers of Nature relieves him, in the struggle for life, from almost all pressure save that of the social forces surrounding him, these social forces assume more and more importance, till even the primal harmonies and antagonisms of Nature herself seem governed by them; and the great truth, which was ever present in more primitive times, is forgotten that, older than society, nay, older than the earth, the sun, the moon, and the stars, is 'She whose house is the night, and on whose dark bosom the constellations glitter for an hour.' All this is true, no doubt; but then the history of Hellas is not the history of the world. Moreover it is among the Greek poets themselves that Æschylus stands, the king of them all. But, suppose we were to find that, just where Greek religious art ends (in actual, realistic representation), other religious arts, like the Egyptian, begin, becoming less and less realistic, more and more symbolical, as they grow older? Suppose we were to find that some great civilisation, after having reached the stage of acceptance, had turned back and become haunted by a sense of mystery as deep as ever? What becomes, then, of this symmetrical 'evolution of human thought' known to the popular philosophy of history? Now, this is exactly what we *do* see in the religious art of Egypt; it is exactly what we *do* see in the symbolical overgrowths that have choked up the purity of Buddhism; it is exactly what we *do* see on comparing the art of the eighteenth century with the pictures in Gallery No. 5; and on comparing the common-sense poetry of Dryden and Pope with the poetry of Shelley, Coleridge, and their special followers.

And now I have reached what I wanted to say upon this head. Because Rossetti, in an age of domestic materialism, was the one artist and the one poet who was steeped in a sense of mystery as genuine as though he lived in the Middle Ages, he stands alone among contemporary painters, he stands alone among contemporary English poets. He is a study for the philosophical critic more interesting than any other painter or any other poet of our time. This is not to say that he was the greatest artist of his time or the greatest poet. All art is divisible into two kinds: (1) that which is primarily symbolical, and is defined by the Eastern mind, through Zoroaster, as 'apparent pictures of unapparent realities;' (2) that which is dramatic or imitative of Nature, and defined by the Western mind through Goethe as 'Simple Representation.' And he would be a presumptuous critic who should say that one style is intrinsically greater than the other.

The European Romantic art of the Middle Ages is covered as fully by Zoroaster's definition as what we call 'classic' and 'neo-classic' or 'Protestant' art is covered by Goethe's. Not that Hellenic art (plastic art, I mean) does always avoid symbol, as many a beautiful

Greek vase could testify. But between Hellenic and Romantic symbol the difference is one of kind: in the one case the symbol is a mere indication of actual unapparent phenomena; in the other it is the voice of the Powers by whom phenomena are projected and governed. In the one case the symbol never, for one moment, interferes with 'the sweet acceptance and melodious utterance of the beauty of the cosmos as it is,' which I have, on a former occasion, attributed to the classic temper as 'disclosed by all Greek poets save Æschylus;' in the other, the symbol points as the needle to the pole to those 'unapparent realities' of which 'apparent pictures' are but the symbols. That the infirmity of classic art and neo-classic art should be a tendency to sensuousness, and that the infirmity of Romantic art should be a tendency to asceticism is obvious, for the former is the voice of the flesh, and the latter is the voice of the spirit. And, indeed, the warring of these two principles has been going on ever since the beginning of Christian art; it goes on still. There are those in our own time who think that, in exchanging romanticism for classicism everything was lost to poetry and art. There are others who think with the Egyptians 'that the Greeks were always children,' that 'the beautiful acceptance' known to the Hellenic temper is dead for ever; and that romanticism, in some form, is a necessity of man's soul, burdened as it now is with the riddle of the painful earth. Now, if we trace the story of Romantic Art from the early Catholic painters down to the irruption of bastard classicism after the Reformation, we shall find, I believe, that romanticism never needed more than one great discovery to enable it to cover the whole of human life in its modern development—the discovery that, although the spirit is 'greater than the flesh,' the spirit can never be reached by killing the flesh; that, although there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in our philosophy, there is not a necessary connection between asceticism and that which is the soul of romance—mysticism.

Now this discovery *has* been made—made by two English poet-painters, William Blake and Dante Gabriel Rossetti; for, considerable as was the influence of Blake upon Rossetti, it is quite certain that, with such a peculiar combination of forces as we see in Rossetti, 'a mystic by temperament and right of birth,' he must eventually have made the discovery for himself.

After such writers as Mr. W. B. Scott, Mr. Swinburne, Mr. W. M. Rossetti, and Mr. Comyns-Carr, there is but little left for any one to say as to what form the artistic energy took in Blake; and all that concerns me here is the fact that, though Blake's quest was always to render the 'unapparent realities' which he saw so clearly, no man knew better than he that through organism alone can the soul apprehend the workings, mysterious and imperious, of those 'realities,'

these unseen powers, who govern, while they appear not to govern, all that is seen.

But, with regard to Rossetti, no one can understand his genius who does not observe how, in his earliest pictures, a temper at once mystic and sensuous is struggling with those traditions of asceticism which were inseparable from early Christian art, and how gradually but irresistibly his own sensuous nature asserted itself till asceticism at last was eliminated, while mysticism remained; and how, in later years, the mystic temper dominated all his energies, leading him back to a spiritualisation of the flesh, but not to asceticism—leading him, in short, to a change of methods in the painting of flesh, in order to give it a mysticism it can perhaps never sustain without asceticism.

And this is why I have discussed so fully this portion of my subject, for it explains what has been called 'the decadence of Rossetti's art.' *To eliminate asceticism from romantic art, and yet to remain romantic, to retain that mysticism which alone can give life to romantic art, and yet to be as sensuous as the Titians who revived sensuousness at the sacrifice of mysticism, was the quest, more or less conscious, of Rossetti's genius.*

And let it always be remembered that to Rossetti the human body, like everything in Nature, was rich in symbol. Every feature had its suggestive value. To him the mouth really represented the sensuous part of the face no less certainly than the eyes represented the spiritual part; and, if in certain heads the sensuous fulness of the lips became scarcely Caucasian, this was a necessary correction to eyes which became on their part over-mystical in their spirituality. And this grew upon him. Take, for instance, 'Pandora.' Beautiful as were the early versions of this noble drawing, Rossetti felt that they were not sufficiently mysterious for such a subject as treated in the romantic temper, and he produced another version which, to a poetic imagination such as his own, was infinitely more satisfactory because more symbolical. There was, I say, no decadence in Rossetti's executive skill, but he was always making experiments in flesh-painting. As the sense of mystery grew upon him, the corporeal part of man seemed more and more to be but the symbol of the spiritual; and more and more did he try to render it so. Down to the very last all his faculties remained unimpaired, and he could have painted flesh as brilliantly as he painted it in the 'Beloved' and 'Monna Vanna,' but, by a method of his own (laying in his heads in 'genuine ultramarine' and white), he hoped to give, and did give, in his after-painting that mysterious and dreamy suggestiveness to the flesh which his mysterious conceptions required. But over and over again did a friend who during the last nine or ten years of his life used to see his works in every stage warn him that he was trying to make a corporeal medium do what it never can do, what can only be

done indeed by the symbolical medium of language—i.e. represent to the ordinary imagination the visions of a mystical poet. The 'Astarte Syriaca' is a case in point. It was this same friend who, on seeing the magnificent chalk head afterwards used for this picture, suggested that it expressed exactly the idea of one of the Oriental Venuses—(Al Husa, perhaps—or else the Syrian Venus) who, growing less and less mystical as she travelled, became the Aphrodite of Western poetry. After he had painted the head, the friend perceived and told him that, striking as was the shadowy sombreness and admirably as it rendered the mystical idea, 'the British buyer would not stand it.' And after a little reflection Rossetti thought so too. He took another canvas and began afresh. But the mystery of the subject again overpowered him, and he made it as dark and sombre as ever. It is easy to see why this picture has been somewhat roughly handled by the critics; but to those who know and feel what Rossetti tried to express by it, and did express with amazing subtlety and power—the mystic type of all Eastern, and yet the mother of all Western, beauty—it will be one of his most interesting and characteristic pictures. But it is just here where such an artistic medium as painting, which has to act physically upon the senses, falls so far short of such a medium as poetry, which never actualises but acts directly upon the imagination and the intellect. The sombre and mysterious face of the Syrian Venus which, in a poem, Rossetti could so easily and so perfectly have indicated (for poetry only indicates, it does not actualise), could never be rendered in a painting save to the apprehension of a very few.

And a still more striking instance of the difficulty of rendering by painting subjects that are specially adapted to be rendered by poetry is seen in the 'Blessed Damozel.' To pass from the poem to the painting is something like passing from the poem of the *Midsummer Night's Dream* to the acted play of the *Midsummer Night's Dream* upon the London boards. But in each case this contrast is owing to the perfection of the literary rendering as much as to the imperfection of the other.

The way in which mysticism will grow in the mind where it has once taken root, we see not only in Rossetti, but in Blake and also in such a poet as Calderon. In his later years, Rossetti began to know something of Calderon, and it was interesting to note that after a while he would speak of him in the same breath with Shakespeare. Calderon, with his types instead of characters and his symbols for dramatic utterances, seems but 'a sorry Shakespeare' to most of us; but, thorough as was Rossetti's appreciation of Shakespeare, the mysticism of the Spanish dramatist could strike a chord within him which not even Shakespeare could often reach. For in Shakespeare there

is but little mysticism, though plenty of metaphysics. Mysticism, however, judging from the cases of Calderon and Blake, of Shelley and Rossetti, is antagonistic rather than sympathetic to metaphysics; and this is a very suggestive fact, as it seems to me. After all that had been said about Shelley's metaphysical instinct, Trelawny prints two or three sentences which show that Shelley, with all his mysticism, did not know what metaphysical speculation meant. And, again, the poem called *Cloud Confines* has led some people to think that Rossetti had what may be called the metaphysical instinct. But neither here nor in any other of Rossetti's poems, nor in Dante, nor in Calderon, nor in Blake, nor in Shelley, will any trace be found of that power which perhaps Shakspeare alone among poets sometimes knew, that power which, like a mighty wind, will come without the slightest warning upon the soul, whirling it up, so to speak, above the farthest star, till the universe hangs beneath the dreamer's feet a trembling point of twinkling light, and then, at last, even this dies away and the soul cries out—as Hamlet cries—for help in that utter darkness and loneliness. The moment Rossetti's imagination left the actual world it was not lost in space, but like Calderon's, and like Blake's, and like Shelley's, it was lost among throngs of spiritual beings as real as those he had left. In a word, his genius both in poetry and painting was the very culmination and most perfect flower of the romantic temper, which is mystic without being metaphysical. That grand and mysterious countenance which figures so much in his pictures, and which, as the *Times* said, offends the soul of John Bull because it diverges so sadly 'from the Keepsake type,' what is it but the visible presentment of that mystic Spirit who dominated Europe when the Greek gods were fled, and who, after the bastard classicism that followed the Reformation was also swept away, was found again

Sole sitting by the shores of old Romance ?

Not only had Rossetti more genuine romantic feeling than any man of this century, but more knowledge of romance. He who in this respect comes next to him in both knowledge and temper, and who in actual poetic achievement must be placed above him, and above all workers in the romantic vein—the author of *The Earthly Paradise*—shows no real belief, scarcely an imaginative belief, in the supernatural, and, therefore, lacks the wizard's wand which Rossetti commands. As to our other great contemporary poets, it is their great strength that, having no vital belief in the supernatural, they are essentially modern, and cannot be brought into the generalisation at all. And, then, as to his predecessors in the neo-romantic movement, Scott no doubt had a genuine sympathy with romance, though not nearly so much as the superstitious author of *The Queen's Wake* and the *Ettrick Shepherd's Tales*; but the fact is, that both

these writers lived too near the eighteenth century to get quite free from the ridiculous bastard archaism of the Walpoles, the Masons, and the rest. Owing to the very labours in romance by Scott and his followers, the proverbial "schoolboy" is now enabled to see that the mediævalism of *Ivanhoe* is the pasteboard mediævalism of transparent drama. And though Coleridge, having much more of the artistic conscience than Scott, was enabled, without even the knowledge at Scott's command, to produce a poem so charged with mediæval glamour as *Christabel*, yet this glamour is only intermittent; he cannot keep it up (as Lamb half hints) beyond the first part, though *Christabel* is to the lover of poetry more precious as a poem than even Rossetti's most precious things; but Coleridge was enlinked to modern life and thought by a myriad gossamer chains quite unknown to Rossetti, who was really (as Mr. Caine has said) 'an anachronism in these times.' While Coleridge gave only an imaginative belief to the moan of the beautiful witch behind the oak tree, Rossetti gave a real belief to it.

Therefore, the supernatural element of poetry, as I have said on a previous occasion, finds in Rossetti's ballads an expression as genuine, as unadulterated with self-conscious knowingness of a scientific age, as if the poems had been written in the time of Roger Bacon. In this he has no equal and, save his sister, Miss Christina Rossetti, no second. What other people try to do and fail to do—give a poetic embodiment to the 'eerie' mood of Nature, as she lies dumb, but dreaming of man's destiny—Rossetti does with so much unconscious ease that he scarcely seems to try at all. But this is only one of Nature's moods. A sense of the 'eerie' was the source of Rossetti's weakness and the source of his strength. For a sense of the mystery enveloping all that we can see, or hear, or feel, is not a blessing to a man but a curse, unless he can evolve therefrom a comfortable cosmogony. Not that the one important query for any soul to put to itself is 'Am I comfortable?' for, if there is indeed, as Rossetti believed, a future world of compensation, the game of life here below may be that of 'He who loses wins.' Yet something must be wrong when, as in Rossetti's case, the sense of the weird makes a man uncomfortable. Of supernaturalism there are, it seems, two kinds: one sinister, the other optimistic. There is the supernaturalism of dread which looks upon the human drama as the mere sport of Doom; and there is the supernaturalism of hope, based, like that of the Sufis, on a belief in the beautiful intent lying at the heart of the Universe—'the rose of the world and its perfume'—or based, like that of the Chaldean and the Syrian Gnostics, on the belief that 'the flesh is darkness, matter is evil, and to cease to be incarnate is to escape from sorrow and pain.' In our own time, however, supernaturalism can, no doubt, take another form—

a ~~form~~ which, recognising 'the beautiful intent' of the Sufis, and also echoing the cry of the Syrian Gnostics, teaches, by the light of modern science, that this 'beautiful intent' can only come to its fruition when the soul is released from fleshly conditions, a supernaturalism which sees, or thinks it sees, indications in evolution that the struggle for life and the sorrows and even the sins of the flesh are necessary to the great scheme of evolving and sharply demarcating individuals, by breaking up universal life into ever-new and ever-varying forms—a supernaturalism which hears, or thinks it hears, that the music of the great contrapuntist Nature, though not an easily recognised harmonious hymn, is nevertheless a grand fugue, to be recognised when we have escaped 'that darkness of the flesh' which the Oriental mourns—a contrapuntal development, indeed, of the 'morning music' which, as the Rosicrucians say, was struck out at the beginning of the world—a development which is really subject to one law of beauty and proportion, though now it appears to be but the independent movement of multitudinous notes, sad more often than glad.

Of systems, Rossetti had but small comprehension: yet this last-named theory of optimistic supernaturalism gave him comfort during the last years of his life, and, but for the melancholy bias produced by chloral, would perhaps have given him peace. But such a slave is man's reasoning power to anything that can act upon his nervous system that whether supernaturalism shall take the sinister or the optimistic form may depend, and perhaps mostly does depend, upon hygienic causes.

And this brings me to those more important misconceptions in relation to Rossetti—those which relate to his melancholy, and the cause of his seclusion. Now, why does a man seclude himself from his fellows? The answer is obvious: he does so from lack of sympathy, real or imaginary. The yearning for sympathy is the mainspring of all effort—the mainspring, indeed, of society itself, though it is much stronger in the poetic nature than in any other. But Rossetti's yearning for sympathy had nothing whatever to do with literary or artistic vanity. And this was one of his greatest charms. Throughout his life he had taken an interest in only four subjects—poetry, painting, mediæval mysticism, and woman. But, then, how passionate and how deep had been his interest in all these! And no man could give him the sympathy he wanted whose interest in them all was not as passionate and deep as his own—hence his isolation.

The first three of these subjects I have already touched upon. With regard to the last, it has been remarked, not only by the *Spectator*, but by Mr. Myers, and also by Mr. Quilter in his recent study of him, that no poet and no painter has ever before him given so much attention to woman as Rossetti has done. With

the exception of *The White Ship*, a few of the reflective sonnets, and an occasional lyric such as *Cloud Confines*, woman is the subject of all his poems; and the same may be said of his pictures. Not that, perhaps, this fact of itself should 'go for much.' For although from olden times it has been the special *métier* of the poet to sing of love, if women believe that the poets, or indeed any other variety of 'writing men,' are really more susceptible to their charms, and really more alive to the 'sweet mystery' of sex than their less voluble brethren, they can have worked with but little intelligence in those rich mines of satire upon woman and woman's frailties which make so important a feature of all literatures both in prose and verse. Whether or not it is because of that large feminine element that all poets claim, and which all writing men are said to possess (and which may perhaps induce a kind of subtle and unconscious feeling of rivalry towards a sex which is, it seems, partly their own), it certainly seems to be the fact that poets and prosemen are more alive to the faults of woman's character than those who have not the gift of singing or saying her praises. Poets are especially sensitive on this point. And perhaps the English rustics are right who think that we owe even the nightingale's song not so much to the passion of love as to the bird's discomfort in sitting on a thorn.

But in Rossetti's art the very large part played by woman had a deep psychological meaning. It expressed frankly and fully the man. Not, perhaps, that woman-worship such as his and of poets in general would have been held of much account by the highest representatives of their sex, the great women who have shed lustre upon our century, not by their genius alone but by a humanitarianism beyond the reach and ken of men—a benevolence born, perhaps, of inherited habit from ages of ancestral patience under suffering and wrong—women such as Mrs. Browning I mean, George Sand, George Eliot, and that fiery genius who hurled her scorn at Milton on account of his Eve. But if it cannot be said that, in this high sense, Rossetti understood woman (and in this high sense, perhaps, woman must be understood before ever the holiest relations possible between the sexes can be understood), he was yet not without a feeling for her heroic side. This, at least, can be said, that there was in him none of that self-educating intent in love which is so noisome a feature of sentimental poets, such as Goethe and Musset. When he loved a woman, it was because he must, not because he would; and there is not one love-sonnet in his book which is a merely literary production.

But to return to the subject of Rossetti's seclusion. A demand for a completeness and a breadth of sympathy such as he could not get, and such, perhaps, as no man has a right to ask, was the simple

cause of that seclusion about which so much has already been written. Perfect sympathy no soul can give another. And what Rossetti needed instead of perfect human sympathy was just what he never sought, that close communing with Nature which, with some temperaments, can soothe all sorrows, even the deepest of all—the sorrow of sorrows, sin. But it was the misfortune of Rossetti that he was without that passion for Nature which is the inheritance of our English blood. Those dews of peace that fall upon the heart at sunrise, soothing for a time even where they cannot heal, were not for him. The raindrops on the hedges and the grass, shining in the sun at Kelmscott, gave him but little pleasure. It almost seemed that, to him, as to Pascal, 'Nature offered nothing but matter of doubt and disquietude.' He mistrusted her symbols, I think, not knowing her. Mr. J. A. Symonds's fine sonnets on *Isolation* render better than any words of mine that temper which was at once the cause and the effect of Rossetti's seclusion, and they also show how Nature alone is the consoler.

But, if a great deal has been written about Rossetti's seclusion, how much more has been written about his melancholy! Mr. Hall Caine, in writing his graphic and powerful book of *Recollections*, acted strictly upon the plan he announced in his preface of depicting exactly what he had seen, nothing extenuating and setting down naught in malice. What came before him he saw with eyes of quite remarkable sharpness, and what he saw he has certainly described with a deep sympathy and yet with an unflinching honesty. He took care to iterate and reiterate that his book was to be taken merely as a record of his intercourse with a man whose health was shattered during the time that he lived with him. The public, however, preferring to take a more sensational view of things, has determined to find in all Rossetti's work the traces of a morbid melancholy. That picture of Rossetti's, whose sadness seems to have struck the critics most forcibly is the 'Proserpine.' Because Proserpine's expression is sad, it is assumed that the artist must have been suffering from a painful degree of mental depression while producing it. Now, as a matter of fact, this picture was produced at Kelmscott in 1873, a time when, as he has often said (and as Mr. Sharp records), he was enjoying a degree of calm happiness such as he had, perhaps, never known before. I saw much of him there. A beautiful old manor-house of the kind he loved, situated on the banks of the Thames, had been taken by him in conjunction with a poet-friend, a man combining with the rarest genius the electric animal spirits and the exhaustless interest in life which (in these days) rarely accompanies the poetical temperament. And then there were the frequent visits of his own family and other friends. 'Proserpine' is a sad picture, because the subject is sad; it is mysterious, because mystery had become the one basis of Rossetti's art.

Nevertheless, it is the fact that Rossetti was subject to hypochondria. And what was the cause? For in these days the public is entitled to know the cause of everything, it seems. He was the slave of his own imagination—an imagination of a power and dominance such as I have never seen equalled. Of its viridness, no artistic expression of his can give any notion. He had not the smallest command over it. And let it not be supposed that this was a slight affliction; nor let any one think less of Rossetti because, having lost the governance of the most powerful of all the human faculties, he suffered much misery. For imagination alone can give happiness or misery, making rich or poor, turning the most useless of all the metals into life's *summum bonum*, and transmuting pebbles which the lower animals appraise at their real value into gems to possess which the fantastic chimera man will immolate half his race. In a certain sense it may be said that our very senses recognise only such impressions as the imagination dictates. It is asserted that a drop of cold water will scald, if the person upon whose flesh it falls really imagines it to be boiling. And I believe it: I feel certain that Rossetti could have been so scalded. Like fire, then, imagination is a good servant but a bad master. This, I say, was Rossetti's curse, that like Professor Tyndall's 'sensitive flame,' which rises and falls to the tiny sounds of a tuning-fork or the rustle of a dress, or the plashing of a rain-drop, the tremulous flame of his soul was disturbed by every breath.

To tell him anything of a specially pathetic or tragic nature was cruel, so vividly did he realise every situation. A friend of his used to amuse him, when strolling by the Thames at Kelmescott, by telling him anecdotes and stories gathered from out-of-the-way books, or else invented for the occasion. So powerful (that is to say, so childlike) was Rossetti's imagination, so entirely did it dominate an intellect of unusual subtlety, that these stories interested him just as much as real adventures, and, though he knew them to be gossamer fictions woven at the moment of telling, he would be as much affected by an unhappy catastrophe as though they had been incidents of real life, and would sometimes beg for the catastrophe to be altered. He was an idealist, I say, if ever there was one: he paid the penalty for living in the idealist's world of beautiful dreams, if ever that penalty was paid by man. The friend once told him a versified story called *The Last Born of Eve*. It narrated how, when our first parents were driven from the Garden of Eden, God, tempering always his justice with mercy, made dim within their minds the memory of that blissful place. And when sons and daughters were born to them, these were content with their heritage, not knowing what they had lost. And Eve was content in their contentment. But at last, after many years of a mother's joys and sorrows, Eve gave birth to a child unlike the others, and her heart was troubled. For this poor little child would be

found listening with a rapt face to strains of divine music uncaught by Eve's ears now, and in the pupils of his eyes she saw waving landscapes that she remembered now to be the long-forgotten trees of Eden. And Eve wept, knowing that she had given birth to an unhappy child. And Rossetti wept too, as well he might, for to no one did the allegory of the poet apply as it applied to him.

But here is the danger that threatens the idealist. "In trying to find an earthly Paradise he takes the road to an earthly Hell. Not that I am going to indulge in cheap moralisings about æstheticism. Certain critics, taking advantage of the associations connected just now with this word, have been sneering at Rossetti as an 'æsthete.' I am sorry for them. Some little sense of the meaning of beauty in the world would be wholesome and good for them. In the Greek version of the *Golden Ass* the quadruped takes human form on merely munching a few rose leaves. Still, it is true that Paradise can never be reached by the flowery paths of æsthetics. And it is by these very paths that the idealist so often tries to reach it—not knowing that it is straight to the dreadful land of *ennui* they lead.

That *ennui* should be the curse of literary men and artists more than of others is not, as I have said, when speaking of Musset, so easily explicable as might appear. For, at first thought, *ennui* would seem to be the proper characteristic of an *empty* mind; and in a certain deep sense—in Richter's sense when he said that the scholar has no *ennui*—this may be really so; for whatever ideas a man may have, they are bastard ideas, false and conventional ideas, if they do not draw nourishment from the infinite wealth offered by the external world. 'For although' (to quote from my own words when speaking of Musset) 'it is but natural that *ennui* should follow that rough demolishing of ideals which comes upon us when we enter upon what is called "life," this, except in poor minds, is, one would have thought, only temporary. With most people, perhaps, there has been a time in their lives when, in the stillness of the night, pondering the drama (harlequinade and tragedy) of human life, they have cried out with Thomas à Kempis, "You are my witness, Lord, that I find consolation nowhere; rest in no creature." But with the healthy mind this mood passes, and *must* pass, because it is *not* healthy. Another ray of light or two comes even from sorrow itself, and there is a magic change. The sombre landscape breaks into life smiling even through tears—everywhere there is, if not "consolation," hope; in all creatures there is, if not "rest," interest and instruction. This may come of religion, or it may come of solitary intercourse with Nature, or it may come of nothing but experience of life, greatly living in the world, battling greatly there, and greatly suffering.' Rossetti never could learn that, though in passing through the world we have to drop our wings

and swim for our very lives, like that fabulous bird which changes itself into a fish to cross the sea, yet we have only suffered a sea-change. He could never learn that there is not one of these horny-eyed fish shouldering along so eagerly in the shoal that is not as wonderfully organised as the birds of paradise we have left. Even after sorrow has taught the soul the barrenness of all human ambitions, even after the fascination of art has fled and poetry itself has become the mere rhyming and chiming of an insect's hum as it flies away to death through infinite air, nay, even after the exercise of the affections seems scarcely to stand the *cui bono* test, there is something yet that will calm and satisfy—the bracing exercise of duty, and that most noble of all struggles, which, as I have hinted, we leave mainly to the women in these days, the struggle for what Bacon calls ‘the relief of man's estate.’

But mostly the crowning misfortune of the idealist is, like Rossetti, that he cannot see this—that he can take no interest in common things. He needs amusing. Those ‘strange nocturnal drives with friends about London and its environs,’ which have had, it seems, a sort of Haroun-al-Raschid reputation, were simply resorted to by Rossetti as an escape from sorrow and *ennui*, as were also those ‘curious adventures with mystics, of whom London is as full as Aleppo or Bagdad,’ which have been talked about of late. For, recluse as Rossetti was, no one was more alive than he to the magic and the pathos of a great city after midnight. And it was a relief to the pains of that insomnia which is born of *ennui*—

That awful yawn which sleep cannot abate,
as Byron calls it.

The subject of Rossetti's chloral-drinking has been so mixed up with the question of his art, that it is, I am sorry to say, impossible to leave it untouched. Even so sympathetic a critic as Mr. Quilter speaks of the ‘fatal influence of chloral withering Rossetti's powers,’ and in this he gives expression to a very common, a very natural, but a very erroneous notion. Rossetti's poetry is evidence that up to the last his genius remained unimpaired by chloral. For instance, in style the most direct and masculine of his poetic work is his very latest, as will be found on referring to his second volume, published just before he died. Pictorial as is the language in the first volume, it is not absolutely ‘the incarnation of the thought.’ Language and thought do not seem each born of the other, as is so often the case in Shakespeare's language, in Coleridge's, in Keats's, and in Mr. Tennyson's. Like Shelley's language, it is rather to be compared to a lovely gauze behind which the thought is seen iridescent and alive like a fish in a net. No doubt the answer to this may be, that in the beginning of the century the greatest poetic writing exhibited a

something which, save in Mr. Tennyson's best work, has never existed since, as if the lucidity of the common-sense poetry of the eighteenth century remained alongside of the richness and glamour of the neo-romantic style.

In Wordsworth's masterpieces, such as *Laodamia* and the two great odes, this is seen, though often with him purity of style is disturbed by idiosyncrasy. But it is in Keats's odes, and in Coleridge's best work such as *Kubla Khan*, *Christabel*, *Love*, and especially in *Work without Hope*, where is more clearly seen this combination of the best qualities of eighteenth century style and the best qualities of nineteenth century style. Those poets who followed these, save in the one case I have indicated, got further away no doubt from the prosaic style of the eighteenth century and became properly more poetic, but at the sacrifice of directness and lucidity. In Rossetti's first volume, his language is never this 'large utterance,' though it gleams with colour and is alive with subtle suggestions of mystic passion. But in the best writing in the second volume—in such poems as *Without Her*, parts of the *King's Tragedy*, parts of *Rose Mary*, and especially in such sonnets as *The Last Three at Trafalgar* and *True Woman*—his style assumes a new quality, becoming as lucid and at the same time as poetic as that of the great writers I have named. Such lines as these, for instance, are far from rare in the second volume :—

The sunrise blooms and withers on the hill
Like any hill-flower, and the noblest troth
Dies here to dust.

Therefore it is wrong to suppose that 'the fatal influence of chloral withered Rossetti's powers.' Indeed, the remarkable thing about chloral is, that while it produces melancholy suspiciousness and all kinds of illusions, it can leave all the executive functions untouched. Even at the time Mr. Caine depicts, when Rossetti was ill, his intellectual brilliance showed as little real abatement as did his genius. Late in the night, when the exhaustion of production was recovered from, he would even to the last brighten up into his old self, a self that had hardly a match, I should imagine, among his contemporaries. The rapidity of his perceptive powers was sometimes bewildering. Before his interlocutor had well begun his sentence, Rossetti had taken in the idea and was ready with his answer; an answer clothed, always, in language so apt and so perfect, that no after revision could have improved it. His wit, though not abundant and not of 'the rarest water,' was quite unique. It always had an intellectual basis, and seemed a singular combination of those real analogies sought by the logician and the superficial and fanciful analogies which are the quest of the mere wit. There is, however, the greatest ignorance afloat as to the nature

of this new drug, chloral. In Rossetti's case the drug was very nearly conquered (once by Madox Brown, and several times by myself aided by his faithful friend Mr. Treffry Dunn); but to have succeeded, a friend having the kind of influence over him that some of us had, must have lived in the house with him, must have devoted a life to him.

But I have already exceeded the space allotted to me, and feel that I have hardly yet begun to speak of Rossetti; so interesting and various is the subject, so impossible is it to do such a subject justice.

THEODORE WATTS.

PARTY OBLIGATIONS TO-DAY.

THE duties of a Parliamentary Opposition have been so busily canvassed of late that no introduction is necessary to the few remarks I have to offer. That a beaten army should turn upon its leaders is no new thing in history; and the scene which Scott describes among the Covenanters at the battle of Bothwell Bridge has many a parallel in the annals of Parliamentary warfare. There is nothing, therefore, either novel or surprising in the complaints which have been made of the management of the present Opposition. Mr. Raikes has not been the first Conservative to bring similar charges against Lord Beaconsfield himself.* From 1855 to 1865 they were rife among a section of his party; and I remember twenty years ago hearing a great admirer of Mr. Disraeli declare, quite gravely, that the Conservatives would be in office directly, if they had only got some quiet country gentleman to lead them. Well, now they have got one, and a very good one, too; and now, of course, it is found out that they would be in office again to-morrow if they had only Lord Beaconsfield to lead them. From men smarting under recent disappointment, calm and consistent justice is not to be expected, and hardly to be asked, more especially if they fancy that opportunities are lost which might have been turned to good account; and that energies are rebuked which, under such depressing conditions, ought to be considered very creditable and welcomed with official smiles. The public in general, therefore, need not lay too much stress on the little passage of arms which has recently taken place between the accusers and the advocates of the present Conservative chiefs. It was almost a matter of course, and equally so that it should give occasion to the enemy to blaspheme. Mr. Raikes and Mr. St. John Brodrick have been eagerly pounced upon by Ministerial organs as testifying to the total prostration and dissolution of the Conservative party. Behold, they say, a party in ruins. All this is very proper; it is the right thing to say, and shows that Liberal feeling is in a sound and healthy state. But it need not give one moment's uneasiness to any reasonable Conservative who reflects that he said

the same thing himself of the Liberals nine years ago ; and that each party has said it of the other in turn nearly as often as they have changed places since the Reform Bill of 1832.

But mistaken as it may be to attach much weight to these dissensions, it may probably be true that the responsibilities of the Conservative party in Parliament at the present moment are exceptionally grave ; and a little time spent in considering the duty of the Opposition from rather a different point of view than has hitherto been suggested may not be altogether thrown away.

The duty of an Opposition must depend on the policy of the Government. It will vary with the times, from comparative inaction at one moment to the most relentless hostility at another. Sometimes parties differ only about methods, sometimes about first principles, sometimes about both. And according to the predominance of one or other of these phases of controversy will the obligation of the Minister's opponents to use all the means at their disposal for the defeat or emasculation of his measures wax and wane. When both parties are pretty well agreed about the great ends of government, the duty of the Opposition is rather criticism than resistance ; and it will so far support the Ministers of the Crown as to co-operate with them in maturing and perfecting measures which both alike consider for the public good. We could point to several periods of history when parties were divided from each other by little more than differences of opinion on questions of detail ; and although the mere rivalry which necessarily exists under any circumstances between the 'outs' and the 'ins' is sufficient to infuse a certain tartness into the tone of their discussions, it need not mean at such times that either party is afraid of the other, or thinks it moving in a dangerous direction. Such was the state of parties during the early part of Lord Chatham's first administration ; during the first ten years of his son's first administration ; during part of Sir Robert Peel's, and during the whole of Lord Palmerston's, administration. In periods such as these, he will be the best leader of Opposition who points out defects of legislation, or mistakes in foreign policy, or whatever other faults he may be obliged to notice, with the greatest judgment, dignity, and moderation. But we have left such periods as these a long way behind us now. Broad rivers and lofty mountains have been crossed since then ; and we are in the midst of a totally new order of things, confronted by the problems which Lord Palmerston foresaw, and Lord Beaconsfield described, but to the solution of which neither has left us any clue.

Starting, then, with Burke's definition of party, let us see what conclusions we can draw from it applicable to the present situation. Opposition duties flow directly from party duties, and when we know the one we know the other. Party, says Burke in his letter to the Sheriff of Bristol in 1777—

is a body of men united for promoting, by their joint endeavours, the national interest upon some particular principle in which they are all agreed. . . . Therefore every honourable connection will avow, it is their first purpose to pursue every just method to put the men who hold their opinions into such a condition as may enable them to carry their common plans into execution, with all the power and authority of the State. As this power is attached to certain situations, it is their duty to contend for those situations.

Of course the corollary to this is that, as they are to use every just method to put the men who agree with them into a condition to give effect to their opinions, so they are to use every just method to put those who differ from them out of it. When Burke wrote this letter, the House of Commons was engaged in its great struggle with the king on the revival of personal government, involving, it is needless to say, one of the rudimentary questions of political philosophy. As the commencement of this struggle was almost contemporaneous with the king's accession, and as Burke did not enter Parliament till 1765, he had as yet no experience of any House of Commons except one that was divided on this high constitutional controversy. Whether he would have written of party obligations in the same strain under different circumstances, when no such principle was at stake, it is unnecessary to inquire. It is enough to know that this is what he thought was the duty of Parliamentary Opposition at a time when parties were at issue with each other, not on the details of a Divorce Bill, or a Highways Bill, or a Shipping Bill, but on questions which go to the root of established systems of government; and if on these, then inferentially on all others which bring us face to face with the first principles of society. We are at such times to use 'every just method' for placing those persons in power who agree with us in the particular 'principles' on which we think the national interest should be pursued, and for dislodging others who would pursue it on a contrary principle.

If we inquire what Burke meant by 'just methods,' we can arrive at no other conclusion than that he meant every method which the forms of Parliament permitted, as distinguished from the secret and irregular methods occasionally employed by the king for ridding himself of men whom he disliked.

Parties, then, according to Burke, are not merely national committees for carrying on the public administration, but bodies of political trustees entrusted with the preservation of great principles of government, and bound to resist to the uttermost every attempt to encroach upon them. They are to contend with all their might for possession of those places which give them the best opportunity of doing so, and for the displacement of antagonists who are the trustees of contradictory principles. When these two antagonistic interests do not happen to come into collision, parties may relax their vigilance; but, as often as they do, every 'just method' must be employed to secure the victory for what we believe to be the truth.

That we are now living in a period when the contest of parties is

becoming almost exclusively a contest between first principles is, I think, beyond dispute. We stand on the threshold of the great constitutional and social conflict which our fathers anticipated directly after the Reform Bill, but which the immediate necessity for reforms of a different character, and the reaction which followed that violent and ill-considered measure, conspired to postpone. But now the decks are cleared for action; and the Liberals themselves, in the person of Mr. Chamberlain, have hoisted the signal for closing. Ten years ago we were warned of what was near at hand.

We are now (said Lord Beaconsfield in March 1873) emerging from the fiscal period in which almost all the public men of this generation have been brought up. All the questions of Trade and Navigation, of the Incidence of Taxation, and of Public Economy are settled. But there are other questions not less important, and of deeper and higher reach and range, which must soon engage the attention of the country. The attributes of a Constitutional Monarchy—whether the aristocratic principle should be recognised in our Constitution, and, if so, in what form?—whether the Commons of England shall remain an estate of the realm, numerous, but privileged and qualified; or whether they should degenerate into an indiscriminate multitude?—whether a National Church shall be maintained, and, if so, what shall be its rights and duties?—the functions of corporations, the sacredness of endowments, the tenure of landed property, the free disposal and even the existence of any kind of property—all those institutions and all those principles which have made this country free and famous, and conspicuous for its union of order with liberty, are now impugned, and, in due time, will become great and ‘burning’ questions.

With this prospect in view, the duty of a Conservative Opposition becomes something very different from what it was in that ‘fiscal period in which almost all the public men of this generation have been brought up,’ and may demand exertions and tactics to which it is not unnatural that such men should be slow to accommodate themselves. They have to act up to the spirit and not merely the letter of the doctrine enunciated by Burke, and strain every nerve, not only to place themselves in office, but as far as possible to weaken the power for mischief possessed by those who now occupy it; and I would go so far as to say that when called upon to choose between two alternatives—the one, as it seems, more conducive to the ultimate recovery of their majority; the other better calculated to defeat, though it be but for a time, the schemes of their opponents—they should unhesitatingly prefer the latter. It is everything to gain time. I say it is a necessary inference from Burke’s language that a bad Government is to be attacked on all points, whether we see any immediate prospect of ejecting it or not; if by so doing we can check it in the pursuit of those mischievous designs, which by the terms of our argument it is bent upon executing. By doing so we are just as much employing ‘a just method’ for the promotion of our own principles, as if it led to the immediate restoration of our friends to power. When this seems remote or improbable, it is not a con-

tendency to which we ought to sacrifice much. Before it occurs, all may have been lost for the sake of which the sacrifice was made. A political opponent in possession of power is naturally desirous of inculcating a different doctrine. The Opposition will be told that it will not rise in public estimation by the employment of veracious tactics; that if it only exhibits patience and prudence, and moderation its turn will come round again in time; whereas, if it does not, its restoration to office will be deferred to the Greek Kalends. But what is the use of preaching such maxims as these to men who are fighting for their lives?—fighting, that is, for the political and social fabric which is threatened with immediate ruin, and which embodies in their eyes all that is august and venerable? The object with them is not their own return to power, after all which they love has been destroyed, but the rescue from imminent destruction of the institutions which they are pledged to defend. If they can gain but the respite of a day, who can tell what a day may bring forth? To bid the Opposition hold its hands and acquiesce in revolutionary legislation avowedly aimed at the subversion of all which constitutes the *raison d'être* of Conservatism, in order that hereafter, when there is nothing left for them to preserve, and therefore, in the estimation of their rivals, no harm left for them to do, they may be permitted to return to power, is an insult to the common sense of the Conservative party, as well as an imputation on their honour, which we trust they will do nothing to justify. Return to power! What kind of a bribe is that? What is power to them but for the sake, as Burke said, of promoting the national interest in conformity with the particular principles on which they are all agreed?

I hope, therefore, that I may be pardoned for saying that, in recent discussions of the subject by Conservative members of Parliament, too much stress has in my opinion been laid upon the tendency of this or that policy to promote the return of the Conservatives to power. Mr. Brodriek says that 'those who, without any alternative policy to propose, show by speech and letter a determination simply to enfeeble the Ministry, may not even serve their present turn.' Yet he also declares that 'their mission is not in abeyance; they cannot afford to wait a sudden revival of Conservative enthusiasm, or for the full development of the vacillation of purpose which is ridding the present Ministry one by one of its most ardent supporters.' They cannot afford to wait for that event; they have a mission to fulfil before it happens. I entirely agree with him. The Opposition has a defensive mission to fulfil which it need not complicate by the elaboration of an administrative programme. If it take its stand boldly on resistance to revolutionary changes they may yet be prevented; or, if postponed only for a single generation, is it nothing that the people of this country shall be secured for so much longer the enjoyment all of those benefits which flow from

our existing Constitution? May I here be permitted to repeat some remarks on this subject which about a year and a half ago appeared in the *St. James's Gazette*?

'It is sometimes forgotten that institutions have their moral as well as their political effect; that they form character as well as maintain order; and that a great part of their value consists in the habits and sentiments they foster, and not only in their capability for holding society together. Is it nothing, then, to insure that only one more generation of Englishmen shall be brought up under the influence of wholesome and elevating traditions? that patriotism, loyalty, and religion shall be handed down one stage further in our national history? And, more than that, it is impossible to say but that what may seem only the temporary rescue of a Constitution from imminent destruction may be in reality its permanent salvation. Is it nothing to gain time for reflection, for comparison, for experience? Is it utterly vain to hope that we may appeal with success from the passions of an ignorant, to the understanding of an educated, nation, such as we are constantly assured England will in time become? Is it altogether idle to suppose, that if the work of revolution were completed at the present day, our posterity might bitterly reproach us for not having held out longer, and for having surrendered what they had discovered to be of inestimable worth? At all events, surely it is the part of one who believes in the value of the patrimony bequeathed to us by our ancestors, to do his utmost to preserve its benefits to his countrymen as long as he possibly can; and to consider that for all practical purposes he is as much bound to fight for another generation of good government and salutary social laws, as for another century.'

Dissolutions of Parliament which do not overthrow the Government may so strengthen the Opposition as to make it virtually master of the situation. This happened in 1835, and in 1859; and it would have happened again in 1882 had a dissolution taken place in August. This we understand from Mr. Brodrick to have been the opinion of both Lord Salisbury and Sir Stafford Northcote. And unless my memory fails me, the former of these two statesmen has said before now that no state of parties was so favourable to Conservative principles as a weak Liberal Government and a strong Conservative Opposition. The saying may not be so true now as it was twenty years ago, when a regular and active Opposition was still regarded as an essential element of our Parliamentary constitution, and absolutely necessary to the healthy working of the system. But there is still quite enough truth in it to justify the Conservatives in acting on it. It is so far true that it would be infinitely better for their cause that they should become a powerful Opposition at once than a powerful Government five or six years hence on condition of being condemned to impotence during the whole intervening period.

Assuming, as the whole Conservative party does assume, that the Radical Liberal party entertains the designs we have referred to—designs not intended to reform, but to abolish, the existing political and social system which has come down to us from the past; and that they are just as honest and earnest in the pursuit of what they believe to be the truth, as Conservatives ought to be in defence of what they believe to be the truth—I am sorry to say that to be forbidden to ‘enfeeble’ the Government, unless we have an alternative policy to offer, is to me unintelligible advice. Our alternative policy is the defensive policy I have described. To weaken a Government, though we cannot overthrow it, by a succession of attacks calculated either to lower its credit or embarrass its action, thereby detracting so much from its ability to carry through its projects, is surely a perfectly legitimate mode of party warfare, and one which is directly deducible from Burke’s definition of party.

But we need not go so far back as Mr. Burke. We see that this was the policy of Lord Beaconsfield. From 1852 to 1855 his great object was to demonstrate the unscrupulous character of the coalition between the Whigs and the Peelites; and for this purpose he made speech after speech which certainly had the effect of enfeebling it, though he did not hope to overthrow it, and had no alternative policy. But he succeeded in making the Radical party regret the share they had taken in it; and that was one step gained towards the reinstatement of the Tories. From 1855 to 1865 his object was to drive in the wedge still deeper between the Radical and Whig section of the Liberal party by exhibiting in the strongest light the wide gulf which yawned between them on numerous important public questions, and especially on foreign ones. The China Vote of 1857, be it remembered, was none of Mr. Disraeli’s seeking. He could not help supporting Mr. Cobden, because he believed him to be right; but he knew that a majority would be mischievous, and though willing to weaken the Government, had no desire to defeat it. This feeling was shared by his immediate supporters, one of whom was overheard to mutter, on returning from the lobby to his seat after taking part in the division, ‘Damnation! We shall win!’ But had his own party stood firm five years afterwards, he would have seated them in power under far other circumstances than those which attended them in 1866. Had Mr. Walpole’s resolution been preceded with in 1862, as Mr. Disraeli wished, it would certainly have been carried, and the Conservatives would have returned to power before their numbers had been diminished by the general election of 1865; unshackled by the question of Parliamentary Reform which Lord Palmerston’s Government had abandoned, and when they would have reaped all the advantage resulting from the confession of their opponents that they on their side of the House were unable or unwilling to proceed with it. In 1867 all these conditions were

reversed. But had Lord Derby again become Prime Minister in 1862, events, I believe, would have taken a very different course, and such as to have relieved the Tory party from most of the difficulties and dilemmas by which they were afterwards encompassed, and which were such, in fact, as to leave them nothing but a choice of evils. If, as Mr. Raikes implies, it was dislike of Mr. Disraeli which stood in the way of this result, who has most reason to be ashamed of it? And, at all events, we must remember this—that the fact of the man being disliked did not make his tactics bad. It may have prevented them from being successful, but it was not originally founded on them, and cannot be quoted to show that they were not sound.

I own it does not seem to me that public opinion cares much for the kind of tactics pursued by the Opposition. The people like a good fight; and there is some reason to believe that they are inclined to take that view of Parliamentary struggles according to which, as in love and in war, so in politics, all is fair. It is not necessary that a man should have a very squeamish stomach to be offended with the tone and spirit in which the crusade against the late Government was carried on by Opposition statesmen. Yet what harm did it do them with the British public? I think it would not be difficult to extract from those organs of opinion which now preach ‘moderation’ to the Tories, specimens of exactly similar advice formerly addressed to the Liberals; yet what was the worth of it? I, for my part, never saw so much to complain of in the conduct of the Liberal party towards the Government of Lord Beaconsfield. Firmly convinced that his principles of foreign policy were contrary to the true interests of Great Britain, they were bound to leave no stone unturned to weaken his position in the country, and that, though they entertained no hopes of being able to turn him out of office. And they did entertain no hope. On the evening of the day when the dissolution was announced, a gentleman who was in company with some of the chiefs of Opposition, described them as plunged in despondency, and, in his own language, ‘without a word to throw to a dog.’ Yet all the time a succession of Liberal philippics had produced an impression on the constituencies which they little suspected; and which completely justified the policy of weakening a Government as much as possible by a series of harassing attacks, even though there is no immediate prospect of being able to depose it.

As for ‘an alternative policy,’ I have already considered that point. Where one party are bent on breaking up a given system, the alternative policy of the other is to say that they shall not. About the best method of prevention there may be legitimate differences of opinion. Members of the House of Commons will see some things more clearly than those who are not members: those who are not members may see other things, perhaps, more clearly than those who are. But

I am sanguine enough to believe that all Conservatives will recognise with me the necessity of adapting Parliamentary opposition to the circumstances of successive periods; and will allow that rules of party warfare, like all other rules, may become obsolete in time. It was useless for the Marshals of Germany to oppose the First Napoleon with the tactics of the eighteenth century. The tactics of the First Napoleon would be worthless against breechloaders and mitrailleuses. And so, too, that system of opposition which was suited to 'the fiscal period,' to periods, in general, of secondary and subordinate legislation, may be unfitted to cope with Governments whose measures affect final causes. At all events, it will not lie with the Liberal party to complain, whatever vehemence be exhibited :

belli commercia Turnus
Sustulit ista prior.

And though it may be thought, perhaps, that the new rules have drawn the teeth of the Opposition, I question if it will be found so in practice; for the oftener these rules are put in force, the more unpopular they will grow, and the greater the encouragement of the Opposition to exhibit the Government of the day in the act of handling the bowstring. It may be doubted, moreover, whether the moral effect of a debate suppressed will not equal the rhetorical effect of a debate fought out; nor is it easy to believe that liberty of speech will not find its level in the long run, in spite of all attempts to keep it down.

But this by-the-bye : my only purpose in presuming to take part in this controversy was to suggest that the conduct of the Opposition at the present moment was not to be measured by its fitness or unfitness to procure their restoration to power. If that should follow, so much the better. But there is something else to be thought of first; and that is, the prevention or postponement of measures which it is believed that the present Government intend to introduce, for the purpose of altering the balance of political power in this country, and effecting a radical change both in the structure of society and the character of the people. It may be necessary to resist this attempt by means which will not gain the Conservative party a majority at the hustings, but which, if they increase its strength by an appreciable number of seats, will have very nearly the same effect. Of course, if the people are really bent on revolution, revolution we must have; not to-day, perhaps, or to-morrow, but ultimately. It would be madness to suppose that, in the long run, the popular will can be overruled. But the longer we can retain the institutions which Conservatives value, the better, so Conservatives must believe, for the people themselves; and the better the chance that the people, through the spread of education, may come to be of the same opinion. The Conservatives need not be in office to bring

about these desirable ends; it may be necessary, even, in order to secure them, that they should forfeit all immediate prospect of a return to office. But which should they choose; the permanent sacrifice of their political inheritance to the temporary possession of power, or the temporary sacrifice of power to the prolonged, if not final, preservation of their political inheritance?

Parliament has now been opened, but nothing has occurred to lessen the force of these remarks. Their value, if they have any, depends on the existence of a long premeditated purpose to alter the Constitution of this country by weakening the social foundations upon which it rests. This is not an affair of to-day or to-morrow. It is one that can be advanced or withdrawn as circumstances may render most expedient. But it will never be abandoned; and if, by the delay of particular measures, we are ever led to imagine that it has been, we shall pay dearly for our folly.

T. E. KEBBEL.

WAGNER AND WAGNERISM¹

Virtù diversi esser convegnon frutti
Di principj formali.

DANTE.

THERE is no more characteristic page in the whole of Rousseau's *Confessions* than the one where he describes a summer day in the woods, passed, without the faintest approach to love-making or flirtation, in the society of two young ladies whom he met riding there, and with whom he made friends by helping them to ford a brook. He left them in the evening after sharing their picnic meal, and never saw them again; but he asserts without the slightest doubt that, on examination, he finds this to have been the happiest day of his life. Not a very striking or creditable discovery after all, it will be said. But not one in a thousand of Rousseau's congeners in habits and temperament would have had the originality to make it or the honesty to avow it. And the moral of the incident, though most immediately applicable to those who confound satiety with enjoyment, has in reality a far wider scope. The instinct of going straight for information as to what we really like to the best authority, namely ourselves, is truly a rare one. It would be a blow to most of us, could our feelings towards very much that we reckon among the pleasures of life be suddenly viewed from a standpoint as determinedly individual as Rousseau's, and divested of all reference to what we are expected to like, or vaguely suppose that other people like. So viewed, the various scenes which figure in novels as types of complete well-rounded enjoyment might often startle us with their patchy and scrappy appearance. Balls, parties, art-galleries, the Opera—the things the world says it likes and then believes what it says—what flaws might not each in turn reveal to one and another of us? what vistas of weariness might we not look back along and recognise for our own?

It is naturally in the domain of Art that this thought becomes most oppressive. For social fictions much may always be said; on

¹ The following pages on Wagner were already in type for this month's number of the *Nineteenth Century* when death closed his career—a career which, whatever criticism it may demand, at least demands from every candid critic the homage due to rare genius and dauntless consistency.

the whole, probably, the world would be worse instead of better off, if people never smiled and looked pleased at meeting unless they were really glad to see each other, and if all social gatherings were abandoned at which a majority of those present are inwardly bored. But with Art it is different. There is not the slightest reason why any human being should spend a single minute of his life in looking at a picture or in listening to music, unless he either takes interest in it now, or expects by looking or listening to be enabled to take interest in it or something like it hereafter. In some cases the interest admits of wide varieties, and may be woven of many strands; it may have more direct relation to knowledge than to feeling; it may lie in suggestion and illustration rather than in form and colour; it may be archæological and historical as well as æsthetic. But for most people it must needs be primarily the latter, whatever other elements be interfused. And there is one art in particular in which everything extraneous to the æsthetic element is lacking, in which the past as such has no existence, in which those who are dead speak to us indeed in clearest language, yet reveal to us dimly, if at all, what manner of men they were, and tell us nothing of how they lived in the world or how they conceived of it. Their revelation to us, so far as we have the key to it, is not of what was, but what is, is our life as much as their life, a *now* not a *then*, a renewal not a record: the temples they have made for us were

built

To Music, therefore never built at all,
And therefore built for ever.

Surely, then, it is just to this art that we should look for an exceptionally clear distinction between true and false popularity, between enjoyment and vogue; here, if anywhere, might we hope to escape the blight of conventional admiration and pleasure done to order. Accordingly we look round and ask if it is so. And the answer is a mixed one. There is truly a sense in which Music is, of all the arts, the most literally and directly and clingingly popular, and the one whose popularity can be by far the most clearly and definitely evinced: on the other hand, there is a sense in which Music is, of all the arts, the greatest sufferer from the rarity among us of Rousseau's inveterate habit of calling things enjoyable when, and not before, he found them so.

This latter sense has to do partly with peculiarities in the mere presentation of the art, and not belonging to its nature. Music is (with the exception of a single branch of Poetry) the only great art in whose service *performers* as well as creators are enlisted, and it has the defect of its quality. Performance opens the door to vanity; and vanity is the paralysis of artistic achievement. That society-music should usually be a nuisance follows directly from the treatment of it as a means of personal display; and it is a solemn thought

that the time draws near when perhaps half—not the wise half—of the virgins, new in the schoolroom, who have been ‘taking up the violin’ will be turned loose on the drawing-room. Nor can we regard as much more than society-music of another kind the stale vocal frippery, which season after season sees expensively paraded on the alien stage of our national theatre.¹ It is not, however, so much with misfortunes of this sort as with peculiarities lying deep down in the nature of the art, that I want here to connect Rousseau’s test; the more fitly, inasmuch as it was *à propos* of the music of his own day that Rousseau himself, as it happens, set a signal example of its application.

Detachment from anything that has the pretension of a progressive artistic movement can never in itself be a pleasant attitude. Something seen ought, *primâ facie*, always to go for more than something not seen; and failure to admire what seems widely admired must always tend in the direction of self-distrust. In such a case only a resolute escape from the buzz of the immediate present to the great principles and features which distinguish permanent from ephemeral work, will restore the confident sense belonging to the wider view, the sense of being after all on the side of the great battalions. The way of arriving at this wider view by applying these principles is what I want here to indicate. But though not a long or arduous, neither is it exactly an amusing way; and this is a bull which it will be well to take at once by the horns. To be at once sound and sparkling is rarely given to the wine of musical criticism; and in separation, while the body of fact is specially dry, the bubbles of fancy are specially innutritious. We have, no doubt, a special and semi-technical literature of real value, whether in programme-analyses of particular works, not meant to retain their flavour in detachment from place and performance, or in permanent studies of particular composers; but in any more general and impersonal talk about this singular art, reality and common sense are terribly handicapped. Most

¹ More distressing than even the purely conventional presentation of what is joyless is the deliberate substitution of it for something better, on the blind assumption that it is what people prefer. I have known a great singer, advertised to sing *Waft her, Angels*, and able to do so in such a manner as would have steeped the very soul of all his hearers in beauty, jauntily defraud them of their spiritual rights, and substitute a trifling ballad, on the ground that they were ‘a popular audience.’ Of course they clapped, and only a minority knew what they had lost. So again, I was listening one Bank-holiday to a first-rate band in Regent’s Park. The programme contained the names of several good overtures and good German dances, and far on in the second part the words *Hallelujah Chorus*. So warm was the appreciation of the audience, undamped even by pelting showers, that, though I knew the effect of this masterpiece was a certainty, I could not forbear waiting to watch it. I might have known better. The programme was steadily adhered to till that point, and then some jiggish piece of tuneless rubbish was substituted. Being there, I watched the faces lately so radiant, and the feet and umbrellas that had been so busy tapping time: not a gleam on any face, not a movement of any foot, and I am thankful to say on this occasion not a sound of applause at the end.

students of the 'Oper und Drama' must have admired, as in a dream, the earnest minuteness with which every sort of conscious reference, theoretic and practical, is read into the past history of Opera and its public; the only point of view omitted being that which recognises in the *genus* opera-goer, through all its varieties, a wholesale indifference to theory, and a quite unpractical habit of enjoying what it may and enduring what it must. So on contemporary questions, one may encounter in the writings of Wagner and his school page after page of quite delightful reading, as long as one can abstract oneself from all thought of music and language as one has actually experienced them. 'Melodies' which last a whole evening; 'infinite form;' union of Poetry and Music, 'each at its highest,' while yet both emanating from a single inventive source—or if from two, at any rate from a dramatist with music sufficiently on his brain to be able to accept Wagner's *dictum* that the sole test of worthy dramatic writing is suitability to be sung throughout, and from a musician in whom literary sensibilities are so dominant as to render him barren of notes, until fertilised by the minutest verbal details of the poem where his *melos* is 'implicit;' a consequent mutual interdependence of words and notes extending to the 'finest ramifications' of the phrases; the sufficiency of alliteration, if unintermittent, to keep 'feeling' on a four hours' stretch of poetical excitement; the deliverance of Music from the burden of time and the materially-based laws of rhythmic stimulation, which have held it in such timid awe; the abandonment of the difficult search—difficult even to the facile Haydn, and to Beethoven matter for raving and stamping—after those rare combinations of sound which shall arrest and fascinate the attention, and which are unnecessary now that every variety of human emotion turns out to be expressible in sound-material at a moment's notice by a vague sort of poetic inspiration, and can be turned on and off as easily as the horns or the big drum:—it all seems so comfortable for all concerned, till one remembers that the greatest melodies in the world, though years may have gone to their making, vary in length between a few seconds and a few minutes; that form is as essentially finite in time as in space; that even taken in its loosest and most ambiguous sense, and with the aid of devices and modes of amplification which are out of the question in Opera, a musical form could not well be made to cover half an hour—while, in its more vital and definite sense, a few score of bars are the limit of the stretch in the direction of infinity which it will stand without either (1) going back on its own phrases, or (2) changing to something else, or (3) falling to pieces; that no considerable musician, with the possible exception of Wagner himself, has ever shown himself so much as a tenth-rate poet, and that not one in a hundred of even his most conscientious alliterations has any relation to feeling at all; that while by far the greater part of first-class dramatic poetry is eminently un-

suited, an immense amount of less noticeable verse is eminently suited, for dramatic musical setting; that notes and words, being things absolutely disparate, can artistically concur only by both doing their independent duty from their independent resources, and so 'ramifying' into phrases of independent significance and independently coherent growth; that in Music the spiritual power is so rooted in the temporal, that definite and unchangeable relations of time-length, felt as such, belong to the inmost nerve and fibre of musical vitality; that Music will artistically express human emotion only on the one condition that she shall first artistically impress human ears; and that there is no royal road to that impressiveness, by which a composer can shirk the pursuit of definite (and therefore extremely finite) forms in the dim region of rhythmically directed impulse, or the fashioning forth from the shapeless material, often by slow degrees, of that which he may first have divined only in shadowy outline. And here every clause shears off a glory from the brilliant Wagnerian phantasy, and substitutes a piece of dry truth. Every clause, too, if fully traced out, would become only truer and drier, and might demand the reader's attention to abstract-looking terms like 'key,' and 'tonality,' and even to more distinct technicalities like 'modulation' and 'diminished sevenths;' in place of the familiar words and concrete images and vivid glimpses of life and nature with which the critic of visual art can light up his page. Not that there would be any difficulty in proving to the most casual reader that in mechanically whistling 'Tommy, make room for your uncle' he has been exhibiting the essential meaning of tonality and modulation as truly as if he had written a symphony; or that the amused surprise at the chorale-like parody of the same melody in a recent London burlesque was ample guarantee for the general susceptibility to the artistic use of diminished sevenths. But it will be enough here to refer as a basis to two cardinal distinctions; of which one marks off Music as an art from other arts, and the other defines the two great elements of which Music itself consists. Music, then, is, first and foremost, a presentative and not (like Poetry, Painting, and Sculpture) a re-presentative art; its distinctive function being unceasingly to present us, and uniquely to impress us, with things peculiar to itself, and unable to draw their impressive quality from any extraneous source, and in that sense always 'absolute,' to whatever further connections they may lend themselves. And its elements are abstract form and abstract colour, *i.e.* form and colour which occur nowhere outside it.

There is something so stale in the very look of these distinctions that I almost blush once again to write them down; yet the full point of them, which was never so important as now, is almost habitually missed. Everybody knows, indeed, that the melodic and harmonic combinations of Music cannot portray particular scenes and people

in the same way that the forms of Painting can; everybody recognises, too, that a tune is an *arrangement* of notes, and something different from the particular sort of tone-colour or *timbre* of the particular instrument on which the notes are rendered. But press these axioms a little further, or expand them into truths only just less elementary, and what sort of recognition do they get? Do not nineteen out of twenty concert-books practically deny that in Music, at its highest no less than its lowest, the freedom from obligation to pourtray or represent extends just as much to *emotions* as to scenes and people, and that the most distinctive impressions made by Music are emotional after a sort as little definable by a list of the passions as the sound-forms themselves by the lines of geometry? Again, does not the fashionable habit of just giving the passing glance of a single hearing to highly-wrought works absolutely set at nought the fact that from every point of view the form, which may have cost nothing, and which almost invariably takes some acquaintance fully to reveal itself, is quite beyond all comparison more important than the colour, which may have cost hundreds of pounds, and which reveals itself in a moment?

It will be convenient to pursue the latter topic first; and an instance or two may make it plainer. Mozart, let us say, writes an air, to serve as a *morceau* in an opera, for the whole of which he receives perhaps a quarter of what sopranos of the future will receive nightly for singing in it. The air is a world's wonder; but unfortunately he has left, just before the closing bar, a place where the singer will be allowed to introduce a cadenza. She seizes the opportunity—would indeed hardly feel that she was acting honourably if she did not—occupies a couple of minutes with trills and roulades, which exhibit the remarkable constitution, not of Mozart's brain, but of her own larynx, and comes to a conclusion. It would not be hard to apply Rousseau's test here, and to show that though many of the audience thought it was the trills, it was really the tune, that they liked the most—being truly more akin to gods than to birds, and more at the mercy of a brain than of a larynx. But apart from this, let us look at what we have got. We have, first, Mozart's form and the vocalist's colour combined in the performance of the song; then the colour without form in the trills; is there now any third stage in which we shall get the form without the colour? The answer is obvious. We shall be able to summon up that form next day without getting the prima donna to call on us, as with sufficient experience we shall be able to summon up much more complicated ones; or if we have not sufficient 'ear' for this, we shall at any rate recognise and enjoy it when rendered in some far less exceptional and expensive colour. So far as we live in the kingdom of Music at all, that form will become, either at once or on reiteration, one of our permanent and familiar possessions there. It might even have become so without any prima donna at all, and *a fortiori* without her trills; in other words, its

life is not confined to a few rich cities. Or again, Schubert writes a pianoforte duet, that is a set of connected forms to be rendered in the limited tints of pianoforte tone ; for which, as usual, he gets nothing. Years afterwards it is divined that the piece was conceived as a symphony, and it is arranged for instruments, and set before the world in all the rich and varied array of orchestral investiture. All the better, of course : but the essence of it, that in it which it took a supreme musician to produce, was there before, just as much as in the songs of his which have been a joy to thousands who have never heard them sung by an exceptional voice. If Schubert had had to wait for prima donnas and orchestras, we should not have known much about him.

‘But,’ it will be asked, ‘what is the bearing of all this on Wagner and Wagnerism?’ Simply this; that colour has become the bane of Music, and that Wagner and his orchestra have been one chief cause of its becoming so. ‘But surely,’ it may be objected, ‘you cannot reckon it against Wagner that he could not produce his effects without an elaborate orchestra, any more than you could reckon it against Wellington that he could not have won Waterloo without the Prussians: he never meant to.’ Perhaps not; but that some most legitimate effects absolutely demand an orchestra is no contradiction to this far more important fact,—that all great composers, and others in so far as they have at all partaken of greatness, have won recognition simply and solely by strains which will outlive the hour of performance; which, even if scored for an orchestra, can dispense with the present blaze and actual sonority of orchestral presentation; adopting, it may be, some humbler guise, or else asserting themselves to the purely inward ear—whether of neophyte or expert, whether as a four-bars’ melodic subject or as a whole symphonic movement—in the full uncontrollable glory of their form. Such quiet moments may outweigh the tedium of many a sonorous evening. And, indeed, such music as about ninety per cent. of the bars in the *Götterdämmerung*—stuff that can be rendered just endurable for one evening at the cost, say, of a thousand pounds, by the resonance of its dead and the ruin of its living instruments, by the natural tone of a superb band and the unnatural torture of an ultra-superb voice—makes an addition to the sum of human happiness which no one whose personal predilections do not swamp his arithmetic could compare with that of any single *morceau* of *Don Giovanni* or any single page of the *Messiah*.

‘But has not Wagner,’ it will be said, ‘produced such vital strains?’ Of course he has: if he had not, we should not be talking about him. They are what give him a lasting place among the great—were they more abundant in relation to his whole production, one might say among the greatest—of the musical hierarchy; but unfortunately they are just exactly *not* what his theories support or account for, and just exactly *not* what is representative of his influence on

others. No one, after marvelling at the opening tune of *Tannhäuser* or the opening act of the *Meistersinger*, goes home and writes a twin to it; but it is only too easy to take the hint that bits of impressive or attractive motive are things as important to *ménager* as they are hard to make; and that the public will enter no protest if the gaps between them are filled up with declamatory odds and ends, provided something on the stage be more or less occupying their attention, and the accompanying crashes and currents of orchestral noise be sufficiently full and varied. Why waste time in racking one's brains like Haydn, or stamping and fuming like Beethoven, for ever seeking out and rescuing from dim dispersion the rarities of melodic and harmonic form, for ever toiling, Pygmalion-like, over those vexatious delicately-poised organisms whose limbs and features must gather into lovely shape in the unity of close vital combination, or not at all—when it will do as well to tack on bar to bar, and passage to passage, that have never gathered shape out of dispersion nor found their life in unity; to stir the many-hued sound-waves, and call them 'dramatic' for now lapping, now thundering on the ear; to lash chaos into iridescence, and call it alive because it glitters?

Here, then, in the dazzling wealth of the modern orchestra, lay the great temptation; and Wagnerism in modern music means, before all things, succumbing to it. Not, of course, that in an opera the orchestra need be pedantically restricted to its highest mission, that of revealing, or helping the voices to reveal, really noble form. The form may be far from melodically inventive, may even run very much to mere figure-passages or chromatic scales on a rudimentary basis of brass and drum, and yet, as long as it is rhythmically coherent, may produce really successful and exciting scene-painting; as notably in the ride which opens, and the fire-charm which closes, the last act of the *Walküre*. But such scenes, necessarily few and far between, are not in the least representative of the verbal parts of the opera; and it is in these latter that Wagner's orchestral opportunities, flanked by his theory of 'spreading his melody boldly,' lead perpetually to such disastrous results. Professing to cast off Beethoven's shackles, *i.e.* the conditions of key and time by which alone successions of sound can be made organic, he 'throws himself fearlessly into the sea of music;' and sinking, finds himself naturally in the variegated home of invertebrate strains, things with no shape to be squeezed out of, no rhythmic ribs to be broken, tossed hither and thither, as hard to grasp as jelly-fish, as nerveless as strings of seaweed. And to realise what this entails on the hearer, we have to translate these shapeless shapes, just like any other sound-forms, into terms of motion—of something which we do not just look at, but have in a way to live: they mean *our* enforced hurry, *our* active impotence. But their creator is wise in his generation. Give the public from a couple to a score of firm bars they can seize and feel reliance in, and keep their

eyes employed; and on those terms their ears will be quite content to stray about without landmark or clue, arrested a moment by the trumpets, looking vainly for direction to the voices, hustled on again by the fiddles (to whom, as to the rest of the orchestra, the chase is the best fun in the world), any way and every way, for the next quarter of an hour; or, if they are in danger of turning restive amid these 'passages that lead nowhere,' these keyless flounderings on the ever-shifting quicksands of diminished sevenths, let one of the established motives crop up now and again for their support, and the faithful creatures will welcome it as an undeserved gratuity.

But are they quite so content? We seem to have got a long way from Rousseau; but what would he have said? He stated very distinctly his opinion of Rameau's recitatives, 'que tout le monde admire en bâillant:' how would he have regarded the 'noble declamation' of the modern 'melos'? Brave words, and still confronted, after the lapse of a century, with the same humble fact. Successions of sound which have no melodic cogency, which as they proceed impress the ear with no sense that their notes ought to have, or to have had, this direction or duration rather than that or the other, not only have no possible element of nobility, but are all exactly on a par. The unshaped, the fortuitous, the abortive, as such, admits neither development nor degree; and it would specially have interested Rousseau to remark that an enormous proportion of the notes sung by Wotan and his companions, and standing not in musical subordination to some interesting orchestral motive but on their own declamatory legs, might just as well have been written by Rameau as by Wagner. Still, I think that on the whole he would have admitted a considerable improvement. Not only are Wagner's dramas, however crude in conception and lame in language, yet often redeemed in parts by well-imagined scenic effects; but none of his representative works are wanting in splendid musical features. The second act of *Lohengrin* itself has, between the part which is strongly repulsive and the part which is feebly attractive, about a score of bars of that ineffable kind which makes one doubt whether music should be called a spinal or a cutaneous affection. But, clearly, if the scores are ever to become thousands, the first point is that the somewhat blind combination of faith, hope, and charity which supports the public through the formless tracts should not be mistaken for an *artistic* exercise; and that each inarticulate member of that public should learn explicitly to distinguish mere sensuous thrills and transient surprises of the ear from the true abiding objects of his and every musician's ideal world. Some natural tolerance of ungrasped or ungraspable sound may be admitted: there are doubtless persons who easily resign themselves to regard its presence as a vaguely emotional background to the passing scene, getting subdued or emphatic, bright or gloomy at appropriate places, like the

gestures of the actors or the clouds that figure so largely in the Wagnerian stage-effects. But the average opera-goer, the 'naïve layman' for whom Wagner expressly professes to write, is far more distinctly 'musical' than this; and, while accepting as the normal operatic dispensation an immense amount of sound that has no significance for him, still lives musically only for the passages of tangible form—genuine specimens of what I have elsewhere called the 'Ideal Motion.' And by this I do not mean merely bits that are rhythmically and tonally coherent; for Wagner's phrase-building, even where not incoherent or violently strained, is often singularly uninventive; witness (to take a single instance which can be suggested without music-type) the shamelessly frequent piling up of a sham crisis, by the mere repetition of a tuneless fragment on successively higher steps of the scale. Still less do I mean mere bits of *Leit-motiv*, real or spurious,³ which may dodge in and out of the petty hubbub of the *Rheingold*, or drift despairingly amid the turmoil of the second and third acts of the *Götterdämmerung*, too helpless themselves to help even a drowning ear. I mean passages of genuine musical invention that can be welcomed and clung to; passages in which the ear's path seems new indeed, but pre-ordained; whose mastery the ear owns in the process, not of being dragged about at their mercy, but of itself mastering them. And these, for all the treating them as belonging to 'one large melody,' and concealing their transience by the avoidance of frank full-closes, are often just as truly tit-bits as if they were embedded in *recitativo secco*, just as much the plums of Wagner's as of Verdi's confectionery. Music of the most individual and haunting kind it would indeed be absurd to demand throughout a long operatic scene. But there are many grades from the order of excellence which ensures vivid and loving remembrance to that which merely ensures pleased and active recognition on acquaintance; and sufficient individuality to satisfy the latter test is surely the least we can accept in the majority of the musical sentences of any scene that aspires to the dignity of healthy popular art.

'But how splendid the plums can be when we get them!' Yes, indeed; that is what so greatly complicates the Wagner question;

³ The list of ninety motives set out in that wonderfully humorous little book, *Guide through the Music of R. Wagner's 'Ring of the Nibelung'*—which, not content with the 'dusky harmonies of the cooking motive and the coaxing crawling-motive,' familiarised us with the 'spook' and with the mysteries of 'brangling' and 'brustling'—is made up in great part of minute fragments of note-combination, arbitrarily selected and interpreted, and having no pretension to any melodic character—some of them moreover occurring only once, so that it seems impossible to find in what possible sense the term *Leit-motiv* can be applied to them. The manner of demonstrating the relationship and transformation of various members of this list may be perfectly exemplified, without the use of music-type, by the following extract from an almost equally amusing work, the *Benjamin Franklin Primer*. 'Nag is an English term derived from the Latin *equus*, a horse, from which we get *equine*. *Equi* is dropped, and the final *e* changed to *ag* for euphony.'

simply because no composer approximately so great as he in his day has had approximately so few days. What may be the accurate measure of his greatness, as judged by his best efforts, we need not here particularly enquire: a valid answer must depend not on argument but on evidence, scarcely yet attainable, as to the width, the depth, and above all the permanence, of the effect. It may be worth remarking, however, that for those whose personal instincts on the matter are equally removed from both extremes of current opinion, the setting of this best work of his in the very highest class is, just because of their genuine admiration of it, a more vexatiously puzzling phenomenon than the description of it as simply dull and unmelodious. In *Tristan*, for example, which contains considerable tracts of exciting and, for Wagner, unusually sustained beauty, is not the cloying quality at least as distinctive as the exciting, the sense of strain and mannerism at least equal to that of achievement? To the melody, even at its finest, there clings a faint flavour of disease, something overripe in its lusciousness and febrile in its passion. And this effect is strangely cumulative. Steadily through the whole evening one feels a growing sense of being imprisoned in the fragrance of a musical hot-house, across which the memory of some great motive of Handel's or Beethoven's sweeps like a whiff from breezy pine-woods by the sea. Or take a more compact instance, where, even if there lurk a certain strain of coarseness, there is certainly no hint of disease, the familiar overture to *Tannhäuser*—a piece of such superb popular qualities that, had Music done nothing greater, she might well hold up her head among the arts. Only—when one thinks of the *Leonora*? How the sphere of musical possibilities, which seemed so wide and perfect, breaks up on a sudden to unfathomable depths and heights; to ignore which is surely no true compliment to the lesser work. But the pursuit of such comparisons would carry us too far, even were it possible to make it profitable. Keeping to Wagner himself, one may still find the problem sufficiently puzzling, and the innocent question 'Are you a Wagnerite?' the hardest in the world to answer in anything under five minutes. How singular is the art in which it is even possible for so lovely a will-o'-the-wisp as that burden of the 'Rheingold, reines Gold' to lead on the trustful ear into so blind a morass; lightened indeed by some melodic rays from the fire-god, but not to be forgotten or forgiven even when, after two hours' eclipse, the 'pure gold' of the earlier strain flashes out on the further side. How strange must be the conditions of invention, for the brain that had filled the air of Europe with the haunting delight of the march in *Tannhäuser*, to produce afterwards in the same *genre*, as an elaborate masterpiece for a great occasion, anything so turgidly tame, so saliently flat, as the main 'subject' of the *Huldigungsmarsch*. To do Wagner justice, however, he has often shown himself tolerably knowing as to where the

plums come: in the *Walküre*, for instance, he has sweetened one of the longest of operatic love-scenes with the flavour of a single one, and has spread out another, like jam, through pretty well the whole of the *Meistersinger*—which alone would go far to account for the just popularity of those delightful works. But it is this very fineness of the plums which is a chief aid to disguising their paucity. It enables the composer to take advantage, not only of the long habituation of the operatic public not to dream of finding more than a small fraction of their evening artistically exhilarating, but also of their modesty; in that, finding a certain amount of exhilaration of a fine quality, they are always ready to attribute the sparseness of it, not to his want of invention, but to their own want of insight. Then, too, those opposite modes of listening, the drifting and the alert, which we just now distinguished, though typical are not constant. Few ears perhaps exemplify either of them for long together. They shift and alternate almost as uncertainly as sense and nonsense, form and fog, in the actual strains; and the facility of transition for the listener means also the facility of imposture for the composer, in the turning to fraudulent account of that indiscriminate cloak of colour which in these days he can throw at will over every part of his work. All the more imperatively must the alert attitude, and the right of verdict which it gives, be urged on the public. For, indeed, except those to whom Music presents itself, not as an art of engrossing beauty, but only as a suffusive stimulant favourable to some independent play of thought, few can really so surrender their ears as to find pleasure in restless sonority for many minutes at a time. In a favoured minority (especially if committed by a previous pilgrimage to Baireuth) the swallowing of dry unsweetened doses of 'noble declamation,' though rather suggestive of sulphur without treacle, may produce some pardonable self-satisfaction—the Teutonic pleasure-taker's diligent pride in fulfilling his task getting quite a cultured tinge from a vague notion that this sort of thing was highly relished by 'the Greeks.' But that the 'naïve layman' is not careful to measure the dose, means simply that he takes the affair *en bloc*; that this is 'music,' which is of course presupposed to be enjoyable, and comes all in one performance with what really is enjoyable; in short, that it has never occurred to him to ask, with Rousseau, 'Did I find that last minute worth having? Do I want another like it?'

'But,' it may be said, 'are you not getting quite away from the normal conditions of average musical appreciation? Does not the more vivid enjoyment almost habitually come in fragments?' Now, while altogether demurring to this in respect of the numerous classical works which have won the truest popularity in this country, I admit of course that non-perception of form by any particular hearer is no proof of its absence, and that the blaze of sonority may cover fulness as well as emptiness. Rousseau's question might well be

answered in the negative by many an honest amateur, on first introduction to many a masterpiece. The only mode of distinction I can here suggest is the *subjective* one, the much ignored test of repeated hearings (best realised often in pianoforte arrangements), whereby the forms, if they are there, may be seized and recalled—a test as truly satisfied of course by Wagner in his great moments as by any one else, and only the more recommended by his self-stultifying dread of it; by his express scorn of any theatrical music which is at all reproducible by untheatrical means; and by his express declaration that his ‘melody’ is not meant to be seized and recalled, and that anyone who complains of it on that score might with equal wisdom seek to whistle the vague multitudinous hum of a forest. *Objectively* to prove the emptiness I speak of, and the amazing hardihood of Wagner’s claim to have advanced on his greatest predecessor by applying the principles of symphonic construction to Opera, would require technicalities; and indeed could only be adequately done by confronting hundreds of pages of his figureless counterpointless see-sawings with some popular samples of the closely-wrought movements of Beethoven, perspicuous through all their elaboration and with all their living threads woven into a single larger life.

‘But,’ again it may be urged, ‘music in Opera is not a structure but a stream; it is not meant primarily to gratify the ear, but to illustrate the passing action; it is expressive and dramatic; who wants it to be symphonic?’ I, for one, certainly do not; only Wagner so repeatedly assures us that he does; that that is just what it ought to be, and what (in spite of being a forest-hum) his own is. However, let that pass; grant that it is to be expressive; what are the senses and the conditions of the expressiveness? The two views on this subject admit of no compromise. Either musical sounds can be artistically expressive of ultra-musical ideas and emotions without giving the ear anything it wants or cares about on its own account,⁴ can press on to the common centres of artistic sensibility and association without paying their respects on the way to the head of their own department; or they cannot. I say *artistically* expressive: *mechanically*, no doubt unbeautiful sounds *can* be expressive, and that in two ways. By a mechanical *convention*, a particular personage or idea may be ‘expressed’ by a particular label of notes, just as well as by the printed letters of a name; and by a mechanical *symbolism*, dismal sounds may express dismal emotions, and soft sounds soft emotions, and wabbly sounds uncertain emotions, and emphatic sounds determined emotions. In either case the sounds

⁴ This is an under-statement. Passages of the ‘Oper und Drama’ go the length of asserting an absolute incompatibility between dramatic expression and the power of independently satisfying the ear. Equally amazing is the statement that it is impossible for *invention* to appear in any composition belonging to a recognised class or scheme, as aria, minuet, rondo; which is just like saying that invention cannot appear in any poetry written in a recognised metre.

are read or recognised by the lamp, not of beauty, but of reason: they make the hearer think to himself, 'this is to show that the hero feels soft,' or 'that is to suggest that the heroine feels wabbly'—'this combination means the motive of the treaty, and that the motive of the forge.' Granting to the symbols, in their broader aspects, some æsthetic content of the sort above referred to, in the various ethical colourings, exciting or depressing, light or solemn, that may tinge the impression of sound on a simply drifting ear, I need hardly point out how transitory and intermittent must be the value of such a background for dramas constructed on ordinary principles—not consisting of a series of highly emotional tableaux, but of scenes where words tell the whole story, and where the personages carry on the logical machinery of intercourse in the usual way. The idea of making a dim emotional atmosphere for scenes of the sort of ponderous pettiness that abounds in the *Ring des Nibelungen*, is truly as vain as that boasted interpenetration of the finest tissues of note and word, which has so conveniently enabled *soi-disant* poetry and music to shelter their shortcomings each behind the stalking-horse of the other. But even were the possibility of such a vague atmosphere continuous, we have seen that normal ears will never for long forget their instinct of closer attention. A forgetfulness which would be a *reductio ad absurdum* of Opera, if engendered by an exciting libretto, is not likely to engender itself under the influence of a dull one. And where the attention does not get what it can musically assimilate, the only scope offered to it will be in discovering such appropriateness as it may in the purely external character of the sounds; in observing, *e.g.*, that the instruments have a little bit of flurry when the sentiment is violent, calm down again when the sentiment is slow, or take lugubrious steps when the sentiment is doleful; and in recognising here and there the labelling phrases. And it can scarcely need proof that such abstract qualities as recognisability and appropriateness, in things which are neither pleasurable nor useful, do not come even within the outer circle of the æsthetic.

Clearly, then, if sound is to get beyond the barren stage of being readable, if it is to become artistically expressive and not merely crudely symbolic, it must take on something of its own, *i.e.* it must take on independent musical quality by developing purely definite musical contour; just as the crude symbol of early pictorial art might be developed, say, into definite human contour. And of the presence and the interest of such contour the unreasoning ear is the sole arbiter. Its arbitration, too, is decidedly despotic, and its scrutiny of the strictest. For, first, it must be remembered that the ear has a rare way of attending to one thing at a time. It cannot shift about like the eye from point to point, and grasp in a moment a multitude of relations. The section of the series now being evolved before it is what engrosses it; and even in the most elaborate work, the sort of relations it may perceive in that section

to other more or less contiguous sections are broadly reducible to the two simple ones of recurrence (with or without modification) and contrast. And, secondly, the things attended to by the ear being things *per se*, and having their life in independence of that outer life from which our knowledge and ideas are gathered, are, even when most suggestive of that outer life, yet wholly lacking in those instantaneous glimpses down numerous vistas of association which word after word opens up in Poetry. This is enough to suggest how it is that, while in Poetry and Painting neutral and even ugly things may be grouped round beautiful things or minister to a fine strain of thought, in the presence of which their presence is perceived and accounted for, in Music what is ugly and incoherent reveals itself in unrelated nakedness. And the ear's strictness is thus at once accounted for and justified. It must take kindly to the strains which salute it, and find in them the coherent stuff it wants, before it will at all credit them with emotional messages or pass those messages on further. It must frankly enjoy the label before it will permit the slightest artistic appreciation of the labelled idea. Only give it its due, and it will open the channel with astounding, almost with indiscriminating, readiness to every sort of artistic association and fusion. But no outside signs of expression, no noisy stamps of determination, no spasms of exaggerated intervals, will take it in; no juggling with the labels, or mixing them up together, will move it to more than scornful amusement, unless the juggling be the true magician's juggling, and produce the musical magician's prime result—beauty. And inasmuch as this beauty is essentially an attribute of form, and musical forms are built, just as much as human ones, out of definite elements, the substitution in opera of the dramatic *stream* for the symphonic *structure*—however rightly descriptive of the general arrangement of the larger musical sections—is a perpetual trap. For that most intimate and organic sort of structure, which lies in the constant vital necessity of each bar as it stands to its neighbours as they stand, can never be abandoned while the ear holds the keys of emotion—a musical ear being nothing more nor less than one which is percipient of such structure.

Here again, then, is the place for self-questionings à la Rousseau. We need not go even this short way in the examination of the claim of structureless sound to be dramatically expressive before asking ourselves whether expressiveness so produced is what we like. The personages of the *Ring* make many pages-full of remarks which are simply typical of their dull and disreputable characters, but which—since words and music profess to well up from the same inward source—it would be self-stultification to say cannot be set to notes: and as it would be highly inappropriate to give them beautiful notes, Wagner has appropriately given them ugly ones. Let the hearer discover for himself how far the abstract fact that they satisfy that condition is a nourishing piece of imaginative food; or how far, under the surrender

of the musical sense to hours of sustained incoherence, it becomes really a subject for delighted contemplation that the story is also a trifle higgledy-piggledy, and much of the dialogue very unsuited to fine rhythmic setting. And if he is so fortunate as to be able for a time to take refuge in passive self-abandonment to the shifting tides, and can forget to care what particular ways the notes go, so long as he feels that a good number of them are going, let him still consider how far this formless effect, this relapse to the vaguest, most general, and least musical of musical attitudes, testifies to the 'bold regeneration' we hear so much about, and is calculated to 'be the fair beginning of a time' in Art.

And here we have really merged into the assertion and vindication of our second cardinal point—Music's constant and characteristic independence, alike at its highest and lowest, of ideas and emotions known and nameable outside itself. The reason why Wagner has been safely able to ignore this elementary fact in musical psychology is this—that the clear perception of it demands something quite alien both to the actual impressions of the art, and to the habits of mind of most of those impressed, namely a moment or two of deliberate analysis. For want of this, those whose every intuition of musical beauty exemplifies the fact are often the first to deny and resent it. 'You talk about beautiful music not expressing things,' one of them will urge; 'why to me the bits of music I most care about express things beyond all words, whole worlds of emotion, and infinity and eternity into the bargain.' Quite so; that is accurate; that is a way they have; and it is just what is *not* (however much compatible with) the expression of this or that particular emotion—*i.e.* of that which is proved *not* to be beyond all words by being accurately definable in words, as gaiety, dejection, yearning, triumph. And whoever remembers the places where he gets this ineffable feeling will find on looking that, while it is only *occasionally* connected with the sort of definable expression which makes him say 'That is very melancholy,' or 'That is very jubilant,' it is absolutely *invariably* connected with a piece of sound-movement of which each unit and fragment in turn has its irresistible rightness, and comes charged with the sense of a necessary 'whence' and 'whither'—that is to say, a piece of objective and organic form. But as long as those who truly enjoy do not exercise this amount of reflection on their enjoyment, then, however clear be their intuition, they will always be in danger, when they talk about it, of confounding the occasional and definable with the essential and undefinable emotion; and of attributing their delight in some passage of music which is as much an individual object as the Venus of Milo, to some perfectly general ground—as that it 'expresses peace'—instead of to the fact of its notes going not any other way but just that one way, which is delightful to them, and able permanently to remain so, just in proportion as genius went to the divining it and fashioning it forth. And as long as this confusion is possible, Wagner

and his school can always take refuge in the *ad captandum* fallacy that the expression of definable emotions and ideas is the one great thing for Music to aim at ; can discredit the opposite view as a narrow plea for 'absolute music,' in the sense of music which has no need or power of fusion with poetry and drama ; and can ignore the all-essential work of divining and fashioning forth the cogent way for notes to go, to which the makers of modern music devoted their whole energy, and which, so far from excluding any more definable sort of expression, will alone lift such expression out of the mechanical into the æsthetic region.⁵ And I would fain pause for a moment on the wanton injustice that is done to Opera itself by not recognising that even here, in the very sphere where Music is summoned to take on the depiction of definable passions to the utmost of her power, the vague but powerful expression of these is but a fraction of what she has done and is ready to do for word and scene ; that the emotional element in her which is her own, and therefore unnameable, is not on that account condemned to an isolated existence ; that the ethical suggestion may become so fragmentary, or the tinge of special sentiment so faint, as practically to vanish in the atmosphere of purely musical delight, and yet that that delight will glorify and transfigure and seem part of the inmost essence of any at all artistic elements in that to which it is wedded. In that transfiguration, what is serious takes on sublimity, and what is ludicrous gets edged with loveliness ; nay, even hackneyed things will become haunting, and commonplace things possessing. It would be an immense gain if composers would only put to various specimens of music commonly called 'expressive' the simple test of asking how far, if heard in detachment, each would inevitably suggest some particular nameable idea or sentiment and no other ; and would thus learn explicitly to recognise how extremely loose and general are the conditions of external reference within which Music, *if true to itself*, may still be most genuinely dramatic in the sense of enormously intensifying dramatic effect. To those who had thus consciously confuted for themselves the central principle emphasised in almost every page of the 'Oper und Drama,' we might readily concede the advantage of possessing, in word and scene, a definite starting-point, *raison d'être*, and control, for their inventive stream ; without having always to fear the chartered libertinism so characteristic of modern 'dramatic' writing. And truly a theory which would exclude from the stage such music as half the solos in the *Beggar's Opera* and half the concerted pieces in *Fidelio*, as 'Batti batti' and the minuet in *Don Giovanni*, as the prize-song in the *Meistersinger* and the shadow-

⁵ As Music stands so singularly apart among human interests, so the various things that can be said about it always seem to me in a special degree connected among themselves, and incapable of being supplied from analogy. The result is that an omission (and in a paper of this length very much, of course, has to be omitted) may suggest a flaw. To guard myself against this, and still more against a possible charge of oneness and dogmatism, I may perhaps be allowed to refer especially to the chapters on Colour, Expression, Opera, and Criticism, in the *Power of Sound*.

song in *Dinorah*, as the pilgrims' hymn in *Tannhäuser* and the gipsy-chorus in *Preciosa*—inventions whose power to impress the hearer may be proved in any popular concert-room to lie just in expressing themselves, but which borrow from their stage-concomitants almost as much romance as they lend—is negatively as great an outrage on this joint art of Opera as the positive one which 'unites' Poetry and Music by dogging bald words with intervals flung out of a bag.

Here, then, in the false theory of expression, lay the second great trap. The prosaic fallacy that the essence of Music is vague nameable expressiveness, instead of definite unnameable impressiveness, is only carried out by making the expressiveness itself mechanical and independent of any impressiveness whatever. And the root-fallacy was the more dangerous to Wagner, in that just as colour was the practical, so this is the theoretical mode of excusing and concealing the fitfulness of his enormous musical gift; besides affording scope to that other gift, always a hazardous one to non-literary art, of considerable literary ingenuity. I need not repeat what I have said before in this very Review, about the particular mode of support selected for the theory—the solemn joke of making out Beethoven (poor Beethoven! with his uncouth mutterings and shoutings, driving his invention along the rhythmic tracks where alone melodies will ever be surprised and caught) to have been dependent on 'preconceived poetical ideas'; and of setting a gulf between his sources of inspiration and those of his predecessors. Some of the ideas have even been written down for him by Wagner, in the mountains of flabby verbiage known as 'Programmatische Erläuterungen' which occasionally figure in our concert-books—impotent heavings of that portent of prose *Dichtung* which is so apt to entrap the Jonahs whom Poetry casts overboard. The convenience of this means of claiming descent from the greatest of musicians on the side of 'poetical ideas,' when musical ones too obviously fail, is undeniable; and a theory born of a deficiency may appropriately be bolstered by a blunder—historic neatly replacing melodic invention. But I must hurry on to a final word—as to the further bearing of these latter points on production in general. The first great bane of contemporary music lay, we saw, in displacement of coherent form by incoherent colour; the second no less certainly lies in a cognate displacement of steady effort to produce the distinctively musical exaltation by random attempts at definite representation and suggestion. Wagner's successes in this line—e.g. the wonderful passage where Siegfried is breaking through the ring of fire⁶—of course defy imitation, because they result from splendid musical

* Alas for the uninitiated! Having been forewarned of this passage, I felt my pleasure in listening to it distinctly increased by the idea that the hero's advance through the flames was typified by the manner in which the melodic strain seems again and again to force its way through the changing harmonies. What, then, was my chagrin, on consulting the *Guide through the Music* above mentioned, to discover that the strain was the 'slumber-motive,' and that what was really being typified was Brünnhilde's repose!

invention, in other words, from the presence of the distinctive exaltation; equally, of course, the *genre* without the invention is imitated. Would that the evil influence were confined to the theatre! But it only needs now to salute some loose jumble of images and sentiments as 'poetry,' for that alien parentage, which all great musical work from Handel and Bach to Schumann and Brahms scornfully disowns, to become a true Sycorax for the monstrosities of the modern programme-music; while Caliban can go through his pantomime bedizened in all the gaudy trappings, can wield all the thunderbolts and turn on all the lime-lights, of the wonderful modern orchestra.

And here, again, no hearer should be so humble as to refrain from asking himself how much he really likes it. A most natural impulse to that humility is found in the reflection that technically-instructed musicians, who must 'know more about it' than he does, encourage and perform in such exhibitions. But it cannot be too strongly urged that the conditions of enjoyment in performing and in listening may be widely different, and that Music, being so much in the hands of performers, runs a peculiar risk from that very fact. All skilful performance of difficult things, and accurate thridding of labyrinthine things, and collaboration in the production of overpowering things, are exciting outlets of energy; and in these respects connoisseurs, who appreciate technical difficulties and can see how the thing is made, are more or less one with the performers. But I am speaking of the average music-lover: it is surely for him rather than for exceptional experts that Music must be held to exist. All this may be amusing for *them*: is it amusing for *him*, whose attention is mainly occupied in verifying the printed assurance that the noise means this, that, and the other? Or even if it be for a time amusing, is not that the utmost that can be said for it? unless or until perchance the strains wander, sure of a forgiving welcome, into the paths of musical beauty, still seeking there, if they will, such delicate suggestiveness of outer things as under Schumann's wand could make of a humble piano a joker of divinest jokes. At any rate, whoever it be who truly finds his poetry in the 'desolate disarray' of ordinary programme-images and his music in their broken sound-reflexion—if this is what he prefers to the art which is no more truly typified by *Volkslied* and chorale, by Beethoven's sonatas and Schubert's songs, than by the noble melodies that have won Wagner the popular heart—let him at least say so and recognise the distinction, that we may know where we are. For it would be speculatively interesting, however mournful, to mark how, so far as his taste prevails, the symbolism from which Painting and Sculpture were able to emerge, just because in their case it was frank and rigid and expressionless, need only seize in sound the chance of making itself ingenious and fluctuant and pseudo-expressive, to become the engulfing death of the sister art.

EDMUND GURNEY.

THE 'CANKER-WORM'—OUTDOOR RELIEF.

It has been suggested to me to bring to the notice of the public, facts which may tend to form opinion as to the poor-laws in Ireland, especially on two points now much pressed on the Irish Government : outdoor relief and decentralisation.

It is difficult to tie one's mind to these two required subjects. How many reflections rise up not foreign to the poor-laws ! The miserable poverty caused by the refusal of all capital to be invested in Ireland, and that caused by the lawlessness of the Irish people, and by that alone. I will not enter on the sources of this last, but will merely observe that, if it be true that the Duke of Wellington said that anything was preferable to a single day of civil war, he spoke of the then alternative of Roman Catholic emancipation, an obviously just and necessary measure, and did not consider another alternative, now before our eyes, the demoralisation of a whole people.

This last having been effected, I will not now say how it was promoted, or by what palliatives it has been fostered ; I will lay before my readers the experience of one who has acted as a guardian of the poor for nearly half a century, both in England and in Ireland.

First I will touch on 'outdoor relief,' an enormous evil in England, hitherto much controlled in Ireland. It is now several years since it was stated in the House of Lords that 'outdoor relief was the canker-worm of England.' On that occasion I remember hearing the late Lord Derby say to the late Lord Chelmsford, 'What is that he says ?' The words were repeated, but no denial was given by any peer. In fact, the matter is so tremendous, the disease so rooted, that no one dares to touch it, for reasons which I will presently give. However, something was done to mitigate its excesses about fifty years ago, when the present English poor-law was introduced by the then Whig Government, against the cruelty of which a torrent of invective was launched, but which saved the country from ultimate absolute ruin. Up to that period the operation of the poor-law, since the introduction of outdoor relief, was, in that part of an English county with which I was connected, as follows. Outdoor relief was usually granted by a single magistrate without any check, to persons claiming it, in proportion to the numbers of their families, legitimate or illegitimate. A woman with half-a-dozen illegitimate

children was looked on as a kind of heiress, and sought in marriage accordingly. In order to get something in return for the heavy rates, the farmers had adopted a system of employing gratuitously so many paupers in turn, called 'rounds men,' who of course shirked their work as much as they could, but did not the less injure the honest labourers' interests. The establishment of a central authority much mitigated this; but not a day too soon, for the poor-rates had grown to such an extent in some places, that they absolutely swallowed up an entire parish in Buckinghamshire, which was for a time abandoned by the occupiers.

Some twenty years afterwards, under the existing law, it was my lot to act as an *ex-officio* guardian in a manufacturing town in England, with a large agricultural district included in the Union. To my astonishment, accustomed as I was to the scanty garments of my poor Irish fellow-countrywomen, on the day of administering the outdoor relief, a crowd of well-dressed women in smart bonnets filed past the guardians, and received each a loaf and 1s. 6d. This was very pleasant. But I looked behind the scenes in an effort to lessen the amount of outdoor relief; and then I learned the hideousness of the system, and how difficult it would be to extirpate it unless by slow degrees. For nearly two generations children, legitimate, still more illegitimate, had been brought into the world on the strength of outdoor relief. The very ties of nature were loosened, children abandoning their parents to outdoor relief; parents caring little for their children, because they knew that in time they might themselves be so abandoned. Such is, according to my experience, a picture of the moral effects of outdoor relief on a population far more self-reliant than that of Ireland; my readers may judge what will be its effect there.

I now come to the second point to which it has been suggested that I should address myself, decentralisation, or, in other words, lessening the powers of control by the Local Government Board, and increasing the powers of self-government by the various Boards of Guardians. I do not look on this question from a point of view entirely Irish; I might again mention my English experience as an *ex-officio* guardian of the poor—how far inferior the working of the poor-law in England appeared to me to be to that of the Irish poor-law—the shocking condition in which I found an English workhouse, a state of things which never could exist under the greater powers of the Irish Local Government Board and their able and diligent inspectors.

I will now state my Irish experience, and I will begin at a time when the Local Government Board, and the Imperial Government itself, were totally unable to cope with the real and frightful destitution of Ireland. In 1847 almost the entire staple food of the majority of the people of Ireland had rotted away. Indian meal, now the usual and admirable food of the people, had not been introduced. God works good out of evil, and the use of Indian corn was

the result of the great famine. Public works, chiefly on roads, were, we know, set going with the best intentions; but a system more wasteful and more demoralising could hardly be conceived. How could it be otherwise, without organisation, without a staff of assistants, to cope with a great perishing population, and without the means of procuring at once an adequate supply of food? In giving the vast supplies which at length poured in from other countries, one body was pre-eminent, both in extent of charity and judicious application of it. I mean the Society of Friends. It was then that Mr. Forster, in the discharge of his humane duties, began to acquire that intimate knowledge of Ireland which, combined with his courage, ability, and firmness, fitted him more than any other man for the office of Irish Secretary, and made his retirement from office, to say nothing of the unhappy cause of it, a deplorable loss to Ireland.¹

But my business is with the Boards of Guardians. There was of course an immediate outcry for outdoor relief, and this is the way it was met by three contiguous, and very similarly circumstanced, Unions. If one of these, as I shall show, distinguished itself by prudence, foresight, and high principle, it does not tell against my argument—'the exception proves the rule'—I fear it was a very rare exception. As outdoor relief could not be given while there was room for paupers in the workhouse, there was a rush made to fill the houses; when they were full, outdoor relief began.

The valuation of the wealthiest of these Unions was 34,612*l.*, and its expenditure for the year ending September 1848 amounted to 4,469*l.*, or 2*s.* 7*d.* in the pound. The valuation of the poorest of these Unions was 20,394*l.*, and its expenditure to that date was 7,821*l.*, or 7*s.* 8*d.* in the pound. The valuation of the third, and medium, Union was 30,264*l.*, and its expenditure was 2,186*l.*, or 1*s.* 5½*d.* in the pound. Now whence was this? Simply because the Board of Guardians of this last Union were wise enough to see the vast danger of outdoor relief. They increased the accommodation of the workhouse; they announced that, when the workhouse was full, they would hire subsidiary workhouses; they took a lease of twelve acres of stiff land, and set the able-bodied paupers to trench and drain that by task work. A great number of these forthwith announced that if they were to work they might as well work for themselves, and left the house, which has never been full even for a day. During that terrible famine there was not a single death from want in that Union, and upon its experience I propose to build a proposition for the relief of one of the most painful districts in Ireland. I will instance a district which I believe to be typical of many others on the west coast of Ireland, and which has lately been

¹ Since the late 'revelations,' men and women of all politics in Ireland, excepting Land-Leaguers, are grateful to Providence that Mr. Forster's high principle and retirement from office, rather than be a party to a disgraceful compromise, saved him from almost inevitable death.

inspected by the Chief Secretary in person. It consists of some thirty thousand acres, the rental very small, the population considerable, one hundred and ninety-five tenants paying less than 2*l.* a year rent. The owners and agents were for generations the best bepraised of their class, simply because they never interfered with the tenants, otherwise than by collecting the rents—when they could be collected; some of these last being as low as half-a-crown. The tenants so far had practically fixity of tenure, fair rents, if low rents mean fair rents, and free sale; they divided and subdivided their farms as they pleased, and of course came down at last, the most of them, to a bare and precarious subsistence.

The scenery is most beautiful, and a wealthy Englishman wished to buy the estate. I told him that it was worth four times the rental, but reminded him that you cannot expect rent from tenants whose farms give them but a bare subsistence. Another wealthy gentleman bought the property, laid out large sums upon it, and now the question is not a matter of rent, but how to keep the people alive.

Such is the result of an estate managed according to 'Irish ideas,' by which we are told we are some time or other to be ruled. Do people know what Irish ideas are? Do they know that, politically, they mean separation from England; socially, contempt of all the ordinary laws by which the tendency of the poorer classes towards destitution is arrested; and, finally, a shriek for relief from a starving population to the Imperial Government, which they have been taught to curse and repudiate?

At present the condition of this district is most pitiable. The potatoes have not ripened; the storms have blown away the grain crops; the fish (many of the inhabitants have much subsisted by fishing) have to a great degree left the coast. Dog-fish now destroy the fish once plentiful in Donegal Bays; harpies prey on the land.

And now what remedy? It is easy to state Ireland's evils, easy to trace their causes and their aggravations, but very hard to name a remedy. One man only in 1870 took a statesmanlike view of the main source of the dangers looming before Ireland. The great danger of Ireland lay in a multitude of tenants on large encumbered estates, every man of whom had, for the purposes of others, been educated in the belief that the land did not rightly belong to the owner but to them. Strange that such beliefs should exist in a country where twenty years' uninterrupted possession confers a freehold. The Bright clauses of the Act of 1870, coupled in necessary cases with a certain consolidation of small farms insufficient each to support a family, might have done much. They were rendered nugatory by the Act of 1881. Emigration would do much, very much, provided whole families emigrated, and the farms they might leave, insufficient for their support, were added to neighbouring farms. But that is not at all the idea of the people. I fear very few will give up their

wretched holdings, while they will take advantage of the emigration clauses only for the purposes of able-bodied sons and daughters.

Such is the state of Ireland; so has her recovery from her depressed condition been thwarted by legislation, that I look round, and I cannot see what remedy to suggest as a general measure, but I can make a suggestion in particular, for the particular and, I believe, typical case I have quoted.

The extremity, the poorest and most thickly-populated portion, of the estate to which I have referred, lies twenty-five miles away from its Union workhouse. I would suggest, for the relief of that district in the present, and its comparative safety in the future, and in conformity with a system which I have shown to have been successful in 1847, that a subsidiary workhouse should be built in Glencolumbkille, and a considerable portion of land attached; in both ways employment might at once be given to the people. How far this could be applied to other districts in other parts of Ireland I know not. There is an outery now, not for more workhouses, but for closing some which now exist. A more short-sighted policy can hardly be imagined; a workhouse, under proper regulations, is in fact an insurance, not only against death from destitution, but against a too lavish expenditure on relief. It contains the machinery by which those in authority may obtain somewhat reliable information as to the actual state of the districts in the Union. How necessary that is was proved during the sham famine of three years ago, when masses of false information were poured into Dublin Castle by persons of every class, founded on the fact, that then, as now, there was considerable distress in a few isolated districts, especially on the west coast. Of the county of Donegal it was stated to the Government that there was not a potato left in the whole county. At that very time we were exporting potatoes to Scotland. These were bought in Scotland for the purpose of supplying seed in Ireland. They came back to their own country, they were supplied to the farmers on loan for that purpose, they were sold again by these last, and, in some cases, actually came back to the workhouse in the same bags in which they had been delivered. 'Who is sufficient for these things?' A knowledge of Ireland by the English people is of vital importance. I have done my best to give, within reasonable bounds, the result of my experience on two points of Ireland for nearly half a century. If I have been dull, my subject is a dull one. I will endeavour to make amends to my readers, and, at the same time, to increase very largely their knowledge of Ireland. Two small and very entertaining books appear to me to surpass, in accurate and faithful painting, any pictures of Irish character since the days of Miss Edgeworth. I refer to *Pictures from Ireland*, by Terence McGrath, and *Twenty Years in the Wild West*, by Mrs. Houston. I shall be pardoned by any one whom I may induce to read them.

COMMON SENSE IN DRESS AND FASHION.

IN an article upon 'Taste in Dress' in the *Nineteenth Century*, January 1883, Mr. Watts says: 'In all matters where it is necessary to lift ideas out of an established groove and bring about reform, those are wanted who will speak with the bitterness of conviction and the weight of authority.'

Unfortunately those who speak with 'the bitterness of conviction' on the topic Mr. Watts so ably enlarges upon are generally men, and therefore wanting in the weight of authority; they speak theoretically, and in consequence are apt to exaggerate; or they point out defects without saying how to remedy them. No authority could outweigh that of Mr. Watts as far as the beautiful and the artistic view of the question goes; but there is the practical side to be considered, and that will always, in the end, carry the day, at least with the masses.

What I propose to show is, how the practical may be united with the beautiful, or, rather, that one is the natural outcome of the other. There is no doubt that tight-lacing is, as Mr. Watts says, the root of many evils. You see its ruinous effect in the sunken eye, the muddy complexion, the puffed features, and rounded back; you see it in every movement, even to the forced smile of the victim; all life and buoyancy seem to vanish from the doomed form; but I think it does not follow that every woman who has what is called a small waist is laced tight. 'The stiff unyielding machine, crushing the ribs and destroying the fibre of the muscle,' to which Mr. Watts alludes, is not, fortunately, what sensible women wear; and the well-made, dainty production of a good French 'artiste,' manufactured of lightest material and delicate whalebone, is no greater impediment to free breathing or movement, than the elastic jersey recommended by him.

Supposing the Venus of Milo or that of Medici were to become flesh and blood, these slight stays would no doubt turn them into women with small waists, upon whom one of Mr. Worth's dresses would not look out of place.

The two greatest arguments against dispensing with stays (always

supposing we do not adopt the Greek costume) are, first, the utter impossibility of appearing neat and tidy; and, second, the expense entailed by the additional but indispensable strength of the bodices, which would, however, not prevent them becoming shapeless and wearing out very quickly.

If women would only allow common sense to govern them, they would feel that for the inch or two they diminish the circumference of their waists by tightening themselves in, they become unattractive in so many other ways; quite leaving on one side the hygienic part of the question, which, alas! the vain and foolish will never consider. There are few indeed, who, like the clever and beautiful Maréchale de Soubise, Louis the Fourteenth's faithful friend, will make the sacrifice of giving up all meat except chicken, and never wearing stays, for fear of injuring their health or their complexion.

Another absurd practice is that of tying the skirts so tight that walking becomes an agony; there is no doubt that many have thereby been debarred from healthful exercise for years. Much harm has also been done by the profuse use of perfumes, of which musk, patchouli, jessamine, &c. form the basis. These ingredients are depressing to the nervous system, acting upon it as poisons; just as they would, if given inwardly and at the right time, prove the most powerful medicines. Ladies quite forget the inconvenience and discomfort caused by this practice to their more sensitive neighbours in church, at the theatre, or at dinner; for mutton tasting of musk, or chicken à la patchouli, is not likely to increase the appetite. At the best of times the suggestion of the perfumer's shop is not a poetic one, and the faintest suspicion of violets, lavender, or

The new-mown hay
Gives a sweet and wholesome odour,

and are quite sufficient to remove any disagreeable smell that might cling to such textures as wool or lace.

Cosmetics and paints, too, are at present much used, especially in England. They are as fatal to health and beauty as they are misleading in effect. The blackened eye may look larger and the painted lip redder under the uncertain flare of the gas-lamp; but when seen at home in the broad and honest noonday sun, the eye is lustreless, the flaming carmine distorts the mouth, the powdered skin loses its transparency, and the soft brown hair which formerly enhanced the whiteness of the skin, now appears a lifeless growth of metallic yellow or mahogany red without light or shade in it. The very men who pretend to admire these artificial dolls, would hesitate to range their sisters amongst or choose their wives from their ranks, thus once more verifying the old dictum, that a thing may look well in the shop window and yet not be adapted for home wear and tear.

Lady Coventry, the most lovely of the two beautiful Miss Gunnings, died at twenty-seven a cripple and in fearful sufferings, entirely owing to the use and abuse of cosmetics; but had she died yesterday, before the eyes of her fair imitators, I doubt whether it would deter them for a week from so silly and repulsive a practice.

Mr. Watts deserves our thanks for calling attention to the mistaken notion of attaching undue importance to the smallness of hands and feet; they ought always to be in proportion to the rest of the body, or they are ugly. The high-heeled, pinching, pointed shoe has not even beauty to recommend it; if the shoe must be pointed, why not wear it long, thus obviating any harm to the foot or creating any impediment to the walk?

There is so much character in a hand, that, even if somewhat enlarged by use, a little additional size will not detract from its beauty. The open, generous palm meting out bread and wine to the poor, the young mother's protecting fingers as they steal round the crying infant, the firm and loving touch that smoothes the ruffled pillow, and gives comfort and courage to the sufferer—none of these suggest the helpless and undersized hand so many appear to envy. Vandyck's much-admired hands are not small; he knew that, had he made them so, the heads would appear heavy; they are white, long, refined, but always large enough to cover the face entirely with them.

The great beauty of a small head is widely appreciated in England—too much so, almost, I should say; for hundreds of young girls squeeze and plait up their beautiful hair into the very smallest compass, till it is more like a pigtail than anything else, under the impression that ampler, softer coils would make the head look large. It is only false hair piled up in hard masses and in unnatural places that increases the size of the head. Hair that grows can always be disposed of in such a way as to obtain its full value and yet show the shape of the head. Look at the kneeling woman in the 'Transfiguration': what a wealth of hair, and yet how small and compact the head!

A small head does not always mean a small face; and when what the French call *le masque* is large, the hair ought not to be dragged away, but, on the contrary, allowed to encroach upon it. A person with a large nose will do well to wear much at the back of her head, so as to re-establish the balance. A long face is improved by something on the top of the head—a short one, by a small and flat head-gear. The pretty fashion of uncovering the nape of the neck is only adapted to the young, and specially to those with small features; it shows that greatest beauty, the spring of the head from the neck, and all those *boucles folles* so often praised by Balzac and other French writers of the days of crops.

The dressing of the hair ought, if necessary, to be modified somewhat, so as to be in harmony with the attire. For instance, the

Louis the Fifteenth, Louis the Sixteenth, and Directoire costumes so much worn now ill accord with the strictly classical *bandeau* parted on the forehead, or the small clump of plaits in the nape of the neck.

All beauty in this world is based on harmony—two separate things may be good, when together they appear incongruous. It is in this incongruity that the mistake of the present day seems to lie. Every woman, old and young, pretty or plain, no matter to what rank in society she may belong or what avocations she may follow, wears the same colours, the same shapes, and the same things: the only check imposed upon her appears to be that of her purse-strings.

The effect of this system cannot conduce to comfort or beauty. The housemaid's shapeless and exaggerated crinoline or crinolette impedes her in her work and does not set off her cotton frock; but she wears it because her mistress does, for whom (though never really pretty) it may be almost a necessity, to help her to support the heavy pleats of silk or velvet on her skirt.

Small women are crushed and dwarfed by large patterns, besides which a design gains in beauty by frequent repetition. A bad colour spoils everything, but a true colour can be used in endless combinations. The make of a dress must be adapted to the material: a rococo stripe cannot be made up into a Renaissance shape; it would be like putting a Boucher into a Quattro-cento frame.

Those will be well dressed who wear the right thing at the right time. The example ought to come from the educated and refined. We constantly hear French dressing extolled; the reason is that the Frenchwoman, being of a more positive turn of mind, is less prone to the effective and picturesque, and her appearance, therefore, will generally be in harmony with her surroundings. The *bonne* in spotless cap and apron going to the market; the *grisette* in sober-coloured but well-made merino, the plain straw bonnet relieved by a touch of crimson; the *grande dame* walking to mass in her rich but simple black silk, trimmed with a few yards of Chantilly round neck and wrists—are all dressed in reference to the hour of the day and the errand they pursue. Here it is different: the neat muslin cap is replaced by the charwoman's greasy black bonnet—a soiled lilac flower, and crumpled blue strings, being the invariable accompaniments; tawdry black satin and a hat or bonnet profusely ornamented with light-coloured feathers—not the freshest—meet the eye instead of the *grisette's* neat costume; and, should you chance to take a walk in the park one morning, you encounter figures of every hue and shape, clad in every texture from limpest cotton to canary satin, covered with lace, flounces, beads, and embroidery, regardless of expense, harmony, or fitness. It is not that many of these dresses are not very pretty and picturesque in themselves—for instance, that maroon velvet, trailing along in the dust and suggestive only of heat

and discomfort this hot summer morning, would look beautiful and rich at a five o'clock tea on a January afternoon. In yonder red plush parasol there can be no redeeming point; it always must be an anomaly; but that slim girl in pink muslin with huge fur tippet on her shoulders would have done much better had she worn a warmer dress or a more appropriate covering. It is, of course, not easy to have clothes adapted to every occasion, especially if they are to be picturesque. A Frenchwoman contents herself with a few very well made and not too showy dresses, with everything thereto pertaining complete. Should some opportunity arise when none of them will do, she remains at home. Now, though an Englishwoman often possesses many advantages over women of other nations, the very charm and originality of her appearance proves her snare. She is apt to be misled by ideas taken from pictures and poetry, but

A sweet disorder in the dress,

and

A careless shoestring in whose tie
I see a wild civility,

are better in verse than in prose. Dress may and ought to express the character and idiosyncrasy of the wearer, but never at the expense of fitness and neatness. The impress of the mind upon dress is often seen in the case of ladies who hunt and race. The necessity of taking quick decisions clears their ideas, and they always know exactly what they want. Their appearance is the acme of neatness, but shows neither variety nor imagination. With artists it is the contrary: a certain negligence of attire and eccentricity in shape and colour indicate a turn of thought speculative and ideal.

Anything too much like a costume, be it ever so pretty, will look out of place in the streets or other public resorts; but it is quite legitimate to go for inspiration to the apse of 'Michel Angelo's Bride' for a dressing-gown to be worn only in your own sanctum.

Dressing for effect in bad or inferior stuffs ever denotes an unreal and unrefined mind; simplicity of outline is the basis of grace; richness ought to depend upon the fabric itself, not upon the mass of trimming.

Cottons and muslins must be simple and dainty, easily washed and cleaned; their charm depends entirely upon the sensation of crispness and freshness they give to the beholder.

Bows and buttons ought to be put where they are wanted or where they might appear to be of use, and not unmeaningly scattered about in promiscuous places. The wonderful dignity and finish we admire in mediæval dress depends mainly upon all the ornamentation being based upon necessity.

The German slashed sleeve in its hundred varieties is produced by the thrifty housewife slipping on and off the tight sleeve that impeded her in her work; and in all the older pictures and engravings the

sleeves are invariably secured to the bodice by hooks, ribbons, or buttons. Albrecht Dürer and Cesare Vecelli are inexhaustible mines from which to adapt ideas, care being, however, taken not to indulge too freely in the flowing veils, ribbons, and draperies to which the former especially is partial. In real life long limp folds are uncomfortable and apt to look untidy.

We might derive many useful hints, too, from such galleries as that at Versailles, especially seen by the light of the numerous memoirs of that day. Dress after the sixteenth century begins to adapt itself to the exigencies of every-day life; it becomes less unwieldy from the moment that women walk in the streets and frequent public places. The great ladies of the court of Louis the Fourteenth, instead of having their trains attached to their dresses, used to put them on and off half a dozen times a day, if we are to believe La Grande Mademoiselle and St. Simon, because it was not etiquette to appear before Le Grand Monarque without them, and yet they could not move with them. We also gather from these memoirs that in those days and up to the French Revolution, which levelled good and bad, the dress of the old and young was quite distinct, thus insuring dignity and variety. In our days we see a frisky mother in tulle and daisies skipping alongside of a stately daughter in sombre cut-velvet folds.

The constantly revived fashion of trimming dresses in front arose in the first instance from wearing aprons to protect the skirt; these aprons soon became purely ornamental, and covered with masses of lace and embroidery till they in their turn were discarded for the decoration of the dress itself. Thus one fashion is the natural outcome of another when they are directed by ladies, for necessity generally gives the first impulse, and a certain harmony will follow. If left entirely in the hands of dressmakers, it is not unnatural that in their own interest they should strive to invent something quite opposed to what went before. This is the history of many fashions as senseless as they are ephemeral.

Variety is the salt of life; the prettiest colours and most graceful shapes, if seen continually and in masses, will weary the eye. The reason why fashions change so rapidly now is because they at once spread through every stratum of society, and become deteriorated and common. But even this ought not to goad us on in a wild race of senseless and sometimes ugly experiments.

Be plain in dress and sober in thy diet,

is advice on the side of which it is safe to err, and the excessive craving for something new is often bred by idleness. When the mind is occupied, outside objects assume their true value. What was beautiful yesterday is beautiful to-day, and remains so until some new necessity springs up to replace it. We ought ever to remember

that repose of mind and body is a paramount charm; repose of mind is fascinating, repose of body is dignified; neither can exist without complete comfort and fitness in dress. To see a lady wildly struggling in rain and wind in a tight skirt with long train appears ridiculous to us; to her it is pain. A well-dressed woman will always look happy in her clothes. It is everybody's duty to appear as nice-looking as possible—

Still to be neat, still to be drest
As you were going to the feast.

We rarely catch a sight of ourselves in the looking-glass, but others are constantly obliged to see us. We bestow care and thought upon our houses and gardens, then why not upon ourselves? A little thought, a little knowledge, and a little common sense will help us far more than wasting time, money, and artifice. The smallest thing of beauty is a joy for ever; beauty elevates our thoughts and lightens our troubles, and when brought up to it our children's minds take the impress, and are guided by a fitting sense of form and colour, and learn easily to distinguish and appreciate what is good in art.

The organs of music can be formed and improved by constant cultivation through generations; why should it be impossible to obtain the same result as regards the sense of sight? At all events understanding and appreciation can always be secured.

Much has been done within these last twenty years to render all our daily surroundings beautiful and attractive; but with many it is still an effort instead of being, what it ought to be, an instinct.

Dress is too frivolous and futile a subject to warrant our going very deeply into all its bearings; but we ought to remember how constantly the world judges by appearance, and that an harmonious and pleasing exterior inclines us to presume a refined and well-balanced mind. Let us, therefore, not forget Polonius's warning to his son:

Costly thy habit as thy purse can buy,
But not expressed in fancy—rich not gaudy;
For the apparel oft proclaims the man.

W. PAGET.

Rome, February 1883.

FRENCH ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

IN reference to the question of elementary education it is unfortunately the case that political parties and the general public are more interested in side issues and in matters of ecclesiastical or political controversy than in the really important matter—the universality and thoroughness of the education given.

We find in England that both in Parliament and in School Board elections it is too common to raise a tempest of discussion over such paltry questions as that of the twenty-fifth clause of the Education Act of 1870, whether the fees of indigent children shall be paid for them by the School Board in voluntary schools—a storm, by the way, which was laid to sleep ‘*pulveris exigui jactu*,’ which may be translated, by throwing dust in the eyes of the persons who were agitating; for now that the fees are compulsorily paid by the guardians, equally from the ratepayers’ money, but in a more offensive manner, we hear no more complaints. Again, when a School Board election comes round we usually find the candidates classified as Church and Nonconformist, instead of as friends to the extension of popular education and opponents, and unfortunately it seems that generally the electors can only be induced to vote in respectable numbers by stirring up in them the embers of sectarian controversy. So, too, in France, if we were to judge by the newspaper correspondents, and even by the debates in their parliament, it would seem that what stirs the depths of passion is the question whether the Roman Catholic Church or the nation shall have the direction and prevailing influence in the education of the children of France; and yet far beyond and outside of the shrill noise of this ecclesiastical conflict is the really important question whether the coming generation in England and in France shall have the very best education that it is possible, within the limited years of the school age of the poor, to give to them.

A short visit to Paris, at the end of November 1882, enabled me to gain some information as to what is being really done at this minute for the education of the children over whom sects persist in fighting, but whose schooling has now become in France a matter of national concern.

The French law of elementary education provides that:—

1. Primary instruction is compulsory from the age of six to thirteen (law of March 29th, 1882).

2. Primary instruction is gratuitous (law of June 16th, 1881).

3. Primary instruction in the public schools is limited to secular subjects.

As to compulsion there remains freedom for parents to educate their children at home or in the voluntary schools (*écoles libres*). But if parents teach their children at home these children must yearly, from the end of their eighth year, be examined in subjects equivalent to the course of instruction suited to their age in the commercial school. These examinations will be conducted by a committee called a 'Jury d'Examen,' composed of the school inspector or his delegate, who is president, a 'délégué cantonal,' and a third person, holding a university degree, or a certificate qualifying as a teacher. If this committee find that the child is insufficiently taught, and no valid excuse is furnished them, they make an order for the child to attend some public or private school within a week, the parents having the choice of school; failing their choice the child is put on the roll of the communal school. For children attending private schools there are fewer guarantees for sound teaching. In order that a person may conduct a private school he or she must have a *brevet de capacité*, or certificate of ability to teach. Then the inspector has no power over the school, except for hygiene, as to the locality where the school is taught, and as to morality. If the teacher uses text-books which attack the constitution and the law, he may be interfered with, or if his teaching is repugnant to morality; but subject to these restrictions he is free.

All teachers of schools, public and private, must keep registers of attendance, and mark all absentees, and furnish a copy once a month to the mayor of the commune and to the inspector of schools. The only absolutely valid reasons for absence from school are illness of the child, death of a member of the family, hindrances resulting from accidental difficulty of access to the school; all other excuses will have to be judged by the scholastic commission, a body constituted for the purpose of enforcing regular school attendance. This law of compulsion is quite new; but without any compulsion the percentage of attendance in the Paris schools has for several years been far in advance of anything we can get in London. Thus in the valuable report by M. Gréard, entitled *L'Enseignement primaire à Paris et dans le Département de la Seine de 1867 à 1877*, we find, p. 241, that in May 1877 in all the schools of Paris (not including the *salles d'asile*, or infant schools) the number of absences which were not absolutely justified (*par des raisons de force majeure*) was only 3.64 per cent. If we add five per cent. for cases such as sickness, death in the family, &c., we shall have an average attendance of more than

91 per cent. in boys' and girls' schools, and I may mention that the names of absentees seemed from my inquiries to be kept as long on the rolls of Paris schools as of London ones. Since then the percentage of attendance has improved in Paris, and ten per cent. of absence for all causes is, according to what I could learn, a maximum for any school in Paris, while in a very large number of schools the total average of attendance exceeds 95 per cent.

When I state that for all London we have only reached about 80 per cent. of average attendance for boys and girls, it will be seen that there must be a far more hearty co-operation on the part of parents and a higher sense of the value of education in Paris than there is in London. Another advantage which the Paris schools enjoy is in the much less frequent migration of the children from school to school. Some years ago, while the new streets of Baron Hausmann were being made, there was a considerable displacement of population; but there is no such disturbance of education from the constant removal of children from school to school in Paris as there is in London. As an illustration of the difficulties of London teachers in this respect, I may mention that in a school opened in Battersea about eight months ago 250 girls had been admitted to and had left the school in that time, and there are schools, especially in Southwark, where with a thousand names on the roll there may be as many as six or seven hundred new admissions in a year. These facts should be borne in mind in appreciating the comparatively small educational results which the London School Board has thus far effected. The social condition of London presents exceptional difficulties which are not met with to the same extent in any other English town. In Paris the elementary schools are, as far as I could judge, considerably in advance of ours, but they are working under more favourable conditions both as to the children and as to the provision of teachers and the school accommodation.

Though compulsory attendance extends in France up to the age of thirteen, yet a child is relieved from this obligation by obtaining a *certificat d'études*, which he may get at eleven, and often gets at twelve. This represents an amount of knowledge not covering exactly the same ground, but fairly equivalent to what a child would know who passed in the sixth standard, and had been taught the other subjects usually taught to that standard in a good school. The elementary schools of Paris have been going through a process of reorganisation in the last three or four years by the substitution of lay teachers for those belonging to the religious congregations. Even now there are two or three infant schools which have not yet been reorganised.

But a few years ago a very large number of the communal schools of Paris were conducted by these congregations, and the friends of education should be candid enough to admit that for many

years the schools of the congregations were in advance of the lay schools; the great distinction between them was that while the schools of the congregations, and especially the schools of the *Frères des Écoles Chrétiennes*, always insisted upon the subdivision of the classes, and the giving each class a separate adult teacher, the lay schools, from the time of the Restoration of Louis the Eighteenth, were conducted almost entirely on what was called the mutual system, that is, the system of monitors, which we still suffer from in England under the guise of the pupil-teacher system. As long ago as 1680 Jean Baptiste de la Salle, the founder of the *Frères des Écoles Chrétiennes*, by his rule forbidding his teachers to live isolated, secured that in schools belonging to his order there should be a subdivision of classes and separate teaching. In 1833 the schools of this order in France numbered 369, divided into 1,039 classes with 1,100 teachers; thus each school had on an average three teachers, and though the classes then were somewhat large, yet they were minute compared with the mobs of children entrusted at that time to a single teacher in the lay schools.

The Liberal party in France have at length learned the method of good teaching from their clerical opponents, and the communal schools of Paris are now organised in a thoroughly efficient way. The basis of classification is the division of the school into three sections: the *cours élémentaire*, which contains generally the children from six to eight or nine; the *cours moyen*, which takes those from eight or nine to about eleven; and the *cours supérieur*, which goes on to thirteen or fourteen.

These *cours* are subdivided into classes according to the number of children in the school. The usual size of an elementary school in Paris is from three hundred to four hundred boys or girls; in such a school there will be from six to eight classes; and, in the schools which I visited, I found the grading so far satisfactory that the upper classes were well filled, and the bulk of the school was not found—as in too many of our London Board schools—in the *cours élémentaire*, which would correspond to our first and second standards. The aim is to have classes of not much more than forty; the regulations permit of fifty on an average. I found some classes of sixty, but I should say that about forty-five was the average throughout the schools to a single teacher. In no case did I find two classes being taught in one room, and the head is in all cases free from the responsibility of a class. Indeed, the title *directeur* points to his duty being that of superintendent, not of teacher.

Thus a school of some three hundred and thirty would have about seven classes with seven teachers and a *directeur*; there are in addition special professors who come to the school for such subjects as drawing, music, and gymnastics. Moreover, the Municipality of Paris has caused to be introduced in its schools instruction in handicrafts. This is not yet universal, on account partly of the want of suitable ac-

commodation ; but it is already introduced in many schools ; as a rule the teaching is limited to carpentry and wood-turning, but in one school I saw some teaching of working in iron ; skilled artisans are employed to give this teaching. In the school situated Rue des Prêtres St.-Germain, the workshop had four lathes and twelve carpenters' benches ; the teachers get one franc fifty centimes an hour, and the boys over ten years of age are taught. They are expected to work six hours a week. The times for this teaching are from seven to half-past eight in the morning, and from four to six in the evening. This teaching is nominally compulsory ; but I was told that it was not possible to enforce this strictly, and though the teaching was generally popular, yet it was not carried out universally. It may seem strange to those who have to do with English schools that these extra six hours a week should be obtained at all, but not only do the boys, many of them, do this, but the ordinary school hours are longer than in England, being thirty hours a week in school, and the amount of time given to home lessons is longer, being generally from half an hour to three-quarters of an hour in the *cours élémentaire*, from one hour to one hour and a half in the *cours moyen*, and one and a half to two and a half hours in the *cours supérieur*. These figures vary of course from school to school, and in some schools they expect no home lessons from the *cours élémentaire*, but generally the amount considerably exceeds what is got in England.

With an average attendance of 95 per cent., with classes subdivided so that an adult teacher has a class of from forty-five to fifty in a room to himself, and with special teachers for special subjects, with thirty hours a week of school time, and with from one to two hours per day of home lessons, no wonder the children make considerable progress. The drawing instruction is more advanced than in our schools. Each school has its separate drawing class-room, often well fitted up with plaster casts, and used for advanced drawing teaching for evening classes. The French make much more use of drawing from models, as compared with freehand drawing, than we do, and no doubt this has a very good result. As to singing, this has been hitherto taught from notes in the upper classes, but it is now being taught systematically throughout the schools. This, however, is at present only just being started ; but indeed in all the schools the rapid extension which is being given to the studies makes the present state of the schools transitional. It is a question whether, in the laudable desire to give as good an education as possible, there may not be a danger of overloading the programme of subjects taught. In the Paris schools there is a piano or harmonium in the school for the purpose of teaching singing, while we in London have hitherto preferred to teach without the help of any instrument. It will be for musical experts to say which is likely to be the more efficient way of teaching.

The Paris schools are well provided with maps; in each class-room there is a map of the arrondissement, one of Paris, and one of the department of the Seine. There has also lately been introduced into the schools a plaster model in relief of the basin of the Seine in and around Paris, which is very useful in teaching geography to the younger classes. There are also two globes—a larger one for the teacher to demonstrate with, and a smaller for use in the hands of the children.

In the newer schools, as a rule, there are dual desks, but not of a very good pattern; there is no possibility of a pupil standing up in his seat. In the older schools there is old-fashioned furniture—long desks with benches, and the seats generally without backs. The desks are made, as far as I saw, of oak or other hard wood, and the floors of the rooms, I noticed in several cases, were of oak. This additional initial cost is, no doubt, well incurred, with a view to the future and to the great wear and tear to which school furniture is necessarily subject. Every school, in addition to its class-rooms, drawing class-room, and in the newer schools its workshops for instruction in handicrafts, has a hall, called *préau*, where the children who stay during the dinner hour take their meals, and where the children can march or perform gymnastic exercises and have recreation in rainy weather. The playgrounds that I visited were smaller than those in London Board Schools. In many schools there is a canteen established, kept by the school-keeper; the children who dine at the school bring their bread and their wine, but they are furnished with a basin of soup at a charge of a penny. At one school I was told that this payment not only covered the cost of the soup, but left a profit to the school-keeper. At another I was told that the children's payments did not cover the cost. But in addition to the children who get their meal for a penny, there are some who get their dinner for nothing. These are paid for by the arrondissement from the 'caisse des écoles,' which is a local fund not levied over the whole of Paris, but collected in each arrondissement, partly from charitable gifts, partly from municipal sources. The children who get free food have the 'carte d'indigent,' which is given at the Mairie on application, after investigation into the circumstances of the family. But there are also some children who get free food who are classed as 'nécessiteux,' and the admission of these on the list is determined by the director. In one *asile* which I visited, with 154 children on the roll, there were 22 having free dinners, holding the 'carte d'indigent' and four classed as 'nécessiteux.' The *asiles* or 'écoles maternelles,' as they are now called, did not seem in as high a state of efficiency as the schools for the elder children, though there was some remarkably advanced teaching in one situated on the Boulevard de Villette, where the results in the case of children of six years old were most remarkable. But in these schools also great reforms are being introduced, a training college for infant school-mistresses is being established, and in the new regulations a

very large application of Kindergarten principles is enjoined. In the senior schools some modifications are now being introduced. In some cases the *cours élémentaire* has been separated from the boys' school, and has been organised as a separate school under mistresses, and in some few schools the youngest class of boys is being taught by a mistress under a headmaster. In one school where I found an assistant mistress at work, the directeur spoke in the very highest terms of the results produced and was thoroughly pleased with the change. With a view to a further development of elementary education for those who are willing to stay on, an extra class has been organised in certain schools, to go beyond the *cours supérieur*. Such a class, and possibly two classes, if the numbers should justify it, is to be formed in one school in each of the twenty arrondissements of Paris. But a promising boy is not limited to the elementary schools if he is desirous of continuing his education. There are in Paris what are called the *écoles primaires supérieures*, six in number at present for boys, and one for girls; more no doubt will be established. These schools resemble the Real Schulen of Germany, and give as good an education, though different in kind, as the Lycées do to those who desire a classical training. They have boarders, half-boarders, and day-scholars, and now the admission of the day-scholars whose education is free, is by an open competition—last year there were 2,000 candidates, and 1,056 gained admission. There is also for those who intend their sons to become artisans the École municipale d'apprentis on the Boulevard de Villette, which takes boys for a three years' course from about 14 to 17. None can enter this school without having obtained the *certificat d'études* or passed a corresponding examination. When admitted they work as half-timers, being taught, in school, besides other subjects, English, geometrical drawing, the elements of physics, mechanics, and chemistry in their relations with industry. There is also a technological course, including the study of different tools, of raw materials, of methods of working, &c. The pupils are also taken to workshops, where they have the processes explained to them. The practical teaching is carried on in workshops, both for carpenter's and smith's work. For the first year the pupils are made to work generally in all departments; they are then allowed to specialise and select the trade which they will follow for the next two years. For the first two years the pupils work six hours in the workshop, and four hours in the school-room; in the third year eight hours in the workshop, and two hours in the schoolroom. The whole of this course is absolutely free. Any who wish to know further details about this interesting establishment are referred to a pamphlet entitled *Les Écoles d'apprentis*, par Alphonse Pagès (Paris: Librairie des connaissances utiles, 43, Rue du Four-St.-Germain).

These notes will show that much thorough work is being done quietly in Paris, and that what is going on is not a revolutionary or

freethinking propaganda, but a serious effort to give a thorough practical education to the children of France. I have not the figures in detail to show the cost of all this, but I have no hesitation in saying that the Paris schools are conducted far more liberally than our London schools. Salaries of teachers no doubt are somewhat lower, as all salaries are in France than in England; but salaries of teachers have been substantially raised, and are much nearer our English level than are the salaries of higher officials—such as Government inspectors and high administrative officials—and in Paris the ratepayer does not grumble. Though he has no direct control over the administration, which is a branch of the National Government, yet he is always willing, through his representatives on the municipality, to pay liberally, and to call for further expenditure. The French democracy, from what one is able to learn, is not warlike, and is anxious for instruction; and is certainly not tainted with the apathy which to too great an extent characterises the English voter for whom popular schools exist, and who has so much to gain from their efficiency.

E. LYULPH STANLEY.

THE CARDINAL AND THE SCHOOLS.

A REJOINDER.

THE educational policy of Cardinal Manning is passing through a process of rapid development. In December 1882 he said, 'To propose the repeal of the Education Act of 1870 would be like proposing the repeal of the Gregorian calendar. We cannot go back twelve days behind the rest of the world.'¹ After two months' reflection the courage of his Eminence has risen, and he has come to the conclusion that to repeal the Gregorian calendar is not so formidable a task after all. A living Cardinal is not afraid to undo the work of a dead Pope.

The complaint of his Eminence in December was against the exclusion of 'voluntary' schools from a share of the Education Rate. Judging from his article he would have been satisfied if School Boards were made universal, and if the clauses which were in Mr. Forster's original Bill permitting the Boards to grant aid to 'voluntary' schools were restored and made compulsory.

But in February he adopts a bolder tone. The advantages at present enjoyed by the Board Schools appear to the Cardinal so enormous and so unjust, and the perils of the 'voluntary' schools so imminent, that he now proposes that only 'voluntary' schools shall receive aid either from the rate or from the Consolidated Fund. The clauses of the Act of 1870, under which School Boards are enabled and required to establish schools wherever there is a deficiency of school accommodation are to be repealed. The Boards are to have no power to establish schools of their own. If, in any district in which there is deficient school accommodation, no voluntary movement is initiated for enlarging existing schools or building new ones, the present proposals of the Cardinal would leave the deficiency unsupplied.

Had such a scheme for remedying the alleged injustice inflicted on the denominationalists been suggested by some anonymous writer, I should have supposed that he was a young and ardent priest who had just come from Maynooth to share the charge of a Mission Chapel in Manchester or Leeds, and who was driven to distraction by the

¹ *Nineteenth Century*, December 1882, p. 958.

difficulty of finding funds for the Mission schools. Or I might have supposed that he was an impetuous young rector in a country parish with a small living, who had quarrelled with the squire and who was at his wits' end to make up the salary of his schoolmistress without the squire's subscription. But Cardinal Manning, though he retains in a singular degree the ardour of youth, has had a long experience of public affairs. He is a man of the world as well as a great ecclesiastic. He has great administrative ability; he associates with statesmen; he watches the currents of public opinion outside his own Church; he knows the difference between theoretical and practical politics; he occupies a great public position and bears great public responsibilities. If the educational policy which he advocates had been proposed by any unknown person, it might have been dismissed without discussion. Covered with the sanction of the Cardinal's authority, it demands the gravest consideration.

The policy—if I may say it without discourtesy—is so audacious and so desperate, that when I first read the sentences in which it is stated, I thought that I must have mistaken their meaning. But no mistake is possible—

'I would give to the Board Schools a share in the school rate in proportion to the voluntary contributions of those who desire to found such schools. . . . The schools of the whole country would depend on four kinds of support; the consolidated Fund, the school-rate, the contributions of founders and managers, the school-pence paid by the parents. . . . No school ought to exist without voluntary contributions as well as State aid.'

The courage of the Cardinal is very admirable, but I trust that he will forgive me for saying that there is a touch of amiable human weakness in him. He knows that if he told us that he proposed to abolish Board Schools altogether, there are some of us who would hardly survive the shock, and so he breaks the bad news to us as gently as he can. We are to have 'Board Schools' still. There is to be a School Board in every district of the country for raising and distributing an education rate. And if in any district there are people willing to contribute a few thousand pounds out of their own pockets to build an Elementary School, and willing to guarantee an annual subscription list, they may, if they please, transfer the management of the school to the Board, and then it will be a 'Board School.'² This is the only kind of Board School which the Cardinal would allow to exist. The definition of a Board School is henceforth to run in terms like these:—A Board School is a school erected and partly maintained by voluntary contributions, but the management of which is transferred to the School Board by the voluntary donors

² The Cardinal does not say it, but I think he would probably be willing to revive building grants, to be made on the same terms to all founders of new schools—to those who propose to keep the management in their own hands, and to those who propose to transfer it to the Boards.

and subscribers. But the Education Act of 1870 was not passed in order to provide additional public funds for schools founded and partly supported by voluntary zeal; additional funds could have been appropriated to schools of that kind, without an Act of Parliament, by alterations in the Code of the Committee of Privy Council. Nor was it passed to enable the annual subscribers to 'voluntary schools'—while retaining their financial responsibilities—to transfer the responsibilities of 'management' to Boards elected by the rate-payers.

It was passed in order to provide efficient schools where voluntary zeal, supplemented by building grants and maintenance grants from the Privy Council, had failed to provide them. Till 1870 the 'initiative' had been left to the Churches, or to other voluntary organisations, and the State came to their aid with grants from the Consolidated Fund. The system had broken down; it was a conspicuous failure; more than a million children were not at school at all; a large proportion of those who were at school were miserably taught; and the characteristic principle of the policy of 1870—its supreme merit, the root of its efficiency—was the refusal to trust to voluntary initiative any longer. Till 1870 the State assumed no direct responsibility for the education of the people. It made building grants, but private managers had to purchase the site of the school, and to sign the contract with the builder. It made annual grants to supplement the private subscriptions, and the school fees; in some cases the grants covered a large part of the cost of maintenance; on an average they covered a third of the cost; but if at the end of the year fees, subscriptions, and grants were insufficient to pay the salaries of the teachers, and to discharge the liabilities for the incidental expenses of the schools, the private managers had to make up the deficiency out of their own pockets, or to levy fresh contributions on their friends. The Bill of 1870 provided for the creation of School Boards with rating powers, and where the school accommodation was inadequate, the Boards were to be compelled to build and maintain additional schools. Mr. Forster said very justly that 'the most important part of the Bill' was that which related to the compulsory provision of schools where the accommodation was deficient.

'Though we have done well,' he said, 'in assisting the benevolent gentlemen who have established schools, yet the result of the State leaving the initiative to volunteers is that, where State help has been most wanted, State help has been least given, and that where it was desirable that State power should be most felt, it was not felt at all. In helping those only who help themselves, or who can get others to help them, we have left unhelped those who most need help. Therefore, notwithstanding the large sums of money we have voted, we find a vast number of children badly taught, or utterly untaught, because there are too few schools, and too many bad schools, and because there are large numbers of parents in this country who cannot, or will not, send their children to school.'

Cardinal Manning asks us to return to the policy which had left a million of children without any schools at all, and which permitted a large proportion of those who were at school to receive an education which was practically worthless. He proposes that the compulsory provision of school accommodation shall cease. Voluntary liberality cannot be enforced by law, and his Eminence asserts that '*no school ought to exist without voluntary contributions, as well as State aid.*' He asks the great masses of the working people of England to rely once more for the education of their children on 'the benevolent gentlemen' on whom they had to rely before 1870. If in any district where the schools are too few for the children, there are no 'benevolent gentlemen' able and willing to contribute money for the building and support of additional schools, the children must remain in the streets. We are to travel back, not 'twelve days,' but twelve years, and rather more, in our educational reckoning. His Eminence has come to the conclusion that it is not so difficult a thing as he thought in December, 'to repeal the Gregorian Calendar.'

As I have said, I admire the Cardinal's courage. But the same kindly touch of human weakness that has led him to leave us the Board Schools in name, while he proposes to abolish them in fact, has led him to make another concession to those who regard with an unfriendly eye the appropriation of public funds to the maintenance of the schools of the Churches. '*No school ought to exist without voluntary contributions, as well as State aid;*' but when those 'benevolent gentlemen' who have borne, either alone or with the aid of a building grant, the cost of buying a site for a school and putting a school upon it, and who have also engaged to provide out of their own pockets part of the annual cost of maintaining it—when, I say, these gentlemen have placed the management of their school in the hands of the Board, and so made it a 'Board School,' his Eminence thinks that it would perhaps be consistent with public justice that such a school should receive a larger proportion of the rate, and should be less dependent on private liberality than the schools of the Churches. '*For denominational schools it may be equitable to require that the contributions should be larger and the school rate less than in the Board Schools.*' But why? The concession does honour to the generosity of the Cardinal's heart, but it is fatal to his logic. His complaint rests on the inequality of our present educational policy, which gives the whole of the rate to the Board Schools.² He pleads that the schools of the Churches have an equal right to it, for the Churches supply a secular education as efficient as that supplied by the Boards. The 'inequality' of

² But, as I said in January, a considerable part of the rate is spent in enforcing attendance; and the law enforcing attendance fills the Denominational schools as well as the Board Schools.

which His Eminence complains would not be remedied if, though the denominational schools received some aid from the rate, the aid was less than that received by their rivals. If this remarkable scheme were accepted, we should have a new agitation against the injustice of inflicting a pecuniary fine on the supporters of the schools of the Churches.

I ventured to say that the Cardinal's educational policy is passing through a process of rapid development; it would have been more accurate to say that in February 1883 he has formally renounced one of the capital positions which he maintained in December 1882. A month before Christmas His Eminence said:—

Putting away all ecclesiastical questions, it cannot be denied that the State is justified in providing for the education of its people. It has a right to protect itself from the dangers arising from ignorance and vice, which breed crime and turbulence. It has a duty also to protect children from the neglect and sin of parents, and to guard their rights to receive an education which shall fit them for human society and for civil life. If the civil power has these rights and duties towards the people, it has the corresponding rights and powers to levy upon the people such taxes or rates as are necessary for the due and full discharge of such duties.

But a month after Christmas his Eminence proposes a scheme which places a fatal limit on these great powers of the State, and which bars it from the 'due and full discharge' of these great duties. Unless private zeal voluntarily assumes part of the responsibility of building schools, no schools are to be built. If, after the schools are built and opened, and crowded with children, private zeal fails to provide by voluntary contributions some part of the cost of maintaining them, the schools are to be closed. What becomes of the 'right' of the State if it can build no schools where schools are most urgently wanted? What becomes of the 'duty' of the State if, when the ignorance and misery of the children of the poor appeal to it for 'protection from the neglect and sin of parents' and for the assertion of their 'rights to receive an education which shall fit them for human society and for civil life,' the State is absolved from responsibility until private liberality has led the way? The principle which—'putting away all ecclesiastical questions'—his Eminence affirmed with such admirable force in December, is destructive of the scheme which he proposes in February. I cannot believe that the qualifying phrase about 'ecclesiastical questions' was intended to cut the sinews of the principle.

The Cardinal's criticisms of my January article are extremely courteous. I appreciate his courtesy the more highly because I did not succeed in conveying to him a just apprehension of my position in relation to several important points in the controversy. We are generally so fully assured of the intrinsic reasonableness and fairness of our own opinions that if an opponent understands us we receive his courtesy as a matter of course. But if, though he misunderstands us, he is still courteous, he has strong claims on our gratitude. There

are some accidental inaccuracies into which his Eminence has fallen, which I am strongly tempted to correct; but it is only the larger questions at issue between us which can have any public interest. There is, however, one very curious sentence to which I may be permitted to refer, as the mistake on which it rests has a very close relation to the main controversy. His Eminence says, 'I agree with Mr. Dale in thinking that it [the Education Act of 1870] was an Act carried by a Liberation Parliament, which began with the schools on its way to the Established Church.'

I have looked through my article to discover what ill-expressed and careless sentences of mine could have led the Cardinal to make this surprising statement. It is hardly possible to give him an adequate conception of the astonishment with which I read it. But let him imagine the impression which would have been produced on his own mind if I had written, 'I agree with his Eminence Cardinal Manning in thinking that the Vatican definitions of 1870 were the work of a Protestantising Council which began with undermining the Papal infallibility on its way to the destruction of the unity of the Catholic Church;'—this may enable him to understand my own surprise when I read the sentence which I have quoted. It may be that in the long run the Education Act of 1870 will enfeeble the defences of the Anglican Establishment; it may be—some outsiders have thought so—that the Vatican definitions of 1870 will, in the long run, seriously increase the difficulties of the Catholic Church. But the immediate effect of the Education policy of 1870 has been to multiply enormously the schools which are the bulwarks of the Establishment, just as the immediate effect of the Vatican definitions has been to concentrate the energy and to deepen the enthusiasm of the members of the Roman communion. The Vatican Council, in adopting the Definitions, had no thought of impairing the unity of the Catholic Church. The Parliament of 1870, in passing the Education Act, had no thought of striking a blow at the English ecclesiastical establishment.

I believe that his Eminence was in Rome during a great part of the session of 1870; but he was probably aware, though he has forgotten, that the 'Liberationists' were so violently opposed to those parts of Mr. Forster's Bill which touched the 'religious difficulty' that there was a formidable schism in the Liberal party. In every district of the country Nonconformist organisations suddenly sprang into existence to oppose those parts of the measure. There were 'memorials' to Mr. Gladstone and petitions to the House of Commons. Private members were worried with deputations, with letters, with telegrams from their Nonconformist constituents. 'Yes,' his Eminence may reply, 'and you had your way; you got the measure modified as you wished.' By no means. After the Act was passed the 'Liberationists' maintained the agitation. In January 1872 one

of the largest Nonconformist Conferences ever held in this country sat for two or three days in Manchester, and protested against the educational policy of the Government, on the ground that it violated the principles of religious equality. By many politicians the great Liberal defeat in the spring of 1874 was attributed largely to the resentment felt by the Liberationists against the manner in which Mr. Forster had treated them. The 'Liberationists' believed that Mr. Forster's policy was hostile to themselves, and unjustly favourable to the interests of the Establishment. Their enthusiasm for the Liberal party was quenched. They did not vote for Conservatives; but it was believed at the time that they did not work for the Liberals with their usual energy and vehemence, and that their indifference was one of the causes of the Liberal disaster. I have no desire to recall the divisions of that painful time, or to revive the controversy between the 'Liberationists' and Mr. Forster. It is generally understood that his religious and political sympathies are with the Anglican Establishment, but it would be unjust to charge him with a deliberate intention to weaken Nonconformity. He cared for schools; whether the schools were managed by the clergy or by the elected representatives of the ratepayers was a matter of indifference to him. He probably believed that the farmers in rural districts would know less and care less about education than the clergy, and he probably thought it better that the children of Nonconformists should go to good schools managed by Ritualistic rectors than to less effective schools under the management of School Boards, the policy of which, in his judgment, was likely to be controlled by 'economical' farmers with a keen horror of rates and a sluggish indifference to educational progress. He believed, and rightly believed, that his proposal for the compulsory provision of school accommodation, wherever the accommodation was inadequate, was necessary to the highest interests of the nation. To buy off opposition to this proposal he was willing to pay almost any price. 'Liberationists' thought that the price was excessive and unnecessary.

His Eminence will therefore see that it is impossible for me to regard the Act of 1870 as 'an Act carried by a Liberation Parliament which began with the schools on its way to the Established Church.' The Act and policy of 1870 touch the extreme limit of the concessions which the Liberal party can ever make to the demands of the Churches and the denominationalists.

The main controversy between Cardinal Manning and myself is comprehended in two questions: (1) Is the 'unsectarian' character of the Board Schools regarded with disfavour by the majority of the people of England? (2) Have the Denominationalists a just claim to a share of the Education Rate? I will discuss both these questions as briefly as I can.

I.

In February, as in December, his Eminence maintains that the 'Liberation Parliament' of 1870 is responsible for the creation of schools from which all definite doctrinal religious instruction is excluded; and he contends that by this exclusion it has created a class of schools 'which represent one, and only one, form of opinion, and that form which is repugnant to the majority of the people of the United Kingdom; namely, that such schools should be only secular, to the exclusion of religion.'

I reply that the Board Schools—very much to my regret—are not 'secular.' In nearly all of them the Bible is read; in the immense majority of them the teachers are authorised to give such 'explanations' of the Bible, and such 'instruction' in the principles of morality and religion as are 'suited to the capacities of children.' Nor is this all. In an immense majority of the Board Schools the school is opened with a religious service: hymns are sung, and prayers are offered. These are not innovations, as his Eminence appears to suppose. The religious instruction has been given, the hymns have been sung, the prayers have been offered from the first. I have no return at hand showing the number of Boards that have at any time during their history adopted the 'secular' policy; but my impression is that the number is not more than thirty.

I reply further—that in the Act itself there is nothing to prevent the teachers from giving the most definite doctrinal instruction. The Act itself would not prevent a ritualistic schoolmaster from teaching the children the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, and the doctrine of the Real Presence, or a Roman Catholic schoolmaster from teaching them the doctrine of the mass. What it forbids is the use of a 'religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any religious denomination.' Nothing that has been said by Cardinal Manning or by Canon Gregory appears to me to affect the position which I maintained in January, that this clause 'forbids the school to carry the flag of any particular religious denomination, but does not forbid the teaching of definite religious doctrine.'

It is perfectly clear that the mere terms of the clause, while they exclude catechisms and formularies, do not exclude definite doctrinal teaching. I ventured to say that Cardinal Manning 'can instruct a congregation on the great doctrines of our Lord's Divinity, His atonement for the sins of men, the future judgment, without the aid of any such document as the clause . . . was intended to forbid in the Board Schools.' His Eminence replies: 'If I had so interpreted the Act of 1870, I am afraid—*pace sancti Ignatii*—that I should have been called a Jesuit.' By no means. Mr. Jacob Bright's attempt to induce the House of Common to adopt an amendment which would have prevented definite religious doctrinal teaching was defeated. The temper of the House was so obviously hostile to any

further limitation on what was described as 'the freedom of religious teaching,' that other amendments were withdrawn in despair.

Among the notices of motion for Monday, the 20th of June, 1870, were the following amendments to clause 7:—

MR. WINTERBOTHAM: Leave out sub-sections 1 and 2, and insert, '4. In any school maintained wholly or in part out of local rates, under this Act, no religious instruction shall be given, or religious observances practised, other than the reading of the Scriptures.'

MR. HINDE PALMER: Insert, 'No religious catechism or formulary shall be used, nor any particular religious doctrine or denominational tenet belonging to any religious body or sect be taught,' &c.

To clause 14 there were the following notices of amendments:—

MR. CHARLES REED: Insert 'nor shall any instruction having reference to the distinctive opinions of any religious denomination be permitted.'

MR. DIXON: Leave out sub-section 2, and insert 'no creed, catechism, or tenet peculiar to any sect shall be taught in any such school during school-hours,' &c.

MR. JACOB BRIGHT: Add, 'In any such school in which the Holy Scriptures shall be read and taught, the teaching shall not be used or directed in favour of or against the distinctive tenets of any religious denomination,' &c.

The 'Liberationists' inside and outside the House of Commons maintained that clause 14 gave no security that the distinctive doctrines of a particular Church would not be taught in rate-aided schools. Some of them contended that the clause would be positively mischievous; they argued that if a Church which happened to be dominant in a school district took possession of the schools, and taught its own distinctive doctrines to the children, the ratepayers who held a different religious creed would be safer if the schools carried the sectarian flag. The Government never pretended that the clause was any protection against the teaching of the distinctive doctrines of any religious communion. Mr. Forster had no love for it. He accepted it under pressure. He would have preferred to leave the religious teaching absolutely unrestricted.

'Why,' he asked, 'was there an objection in the country to catechisms and special formularies? It was not so much on account of the actual words of the catechisms and formularies, but because the putting of them into the hands of children appeared to be like claiming those children as belonging to a particular Church. . . . He felt bound to admit that he still thought the original principle was the sound one.'

Canon Gregory appeals from the terms of the Act, and from the history of its passage through the House of Commons, to 'the commentary furnished by the acts of School Boards,' and he finds 'nothing that approaches to that perfect liberty of oral instruction which Mr. Dale contends that all are free to impart.' Nothing could afford a more decisive proof of my position than the 'acts of School Boards.' The elected representatives of the ratepayers in most—perhaps I might say all—the large towns in the country have decided that the Act itself did not place sufficient restrictions on the

religious instruction. The scheme of education adopted by the first School Board for London provided that the moral and religious instruction should be 'suited to the capacities of children, *no attempt being made to attach them to any particular denomination.*' This was an approach to Mr. Jacob Bright's amendment, which provided that 'the teaching shall not be used or directed in favour of or against the distinctive tenets of any religious denomination,' an amendment which the House of Commons rejected by a majority of 251 to 130.

The London resolution—generally, I believe, in the same terms—was adopted by the School Boards of Liverpool,⁴ Leeds, Derby, Plymouth, Wolverhampton, Exeter, Ipswich, Southampton, Bath, and other important towns. Manchester passed a resolution to the effect that 'instruction shall be given in the duties of religion and morality without denominational bias.'

But Canon Gregory replies again: Yes, but 'the School Boards have invariably said that they were bound by the spirit of the Act, and not by its letter only;' and the Canon thinks that this has led the Boards to impose limitations on the teaching of the schoolmaster which are not imposed by the Act itself. I can give him a far better explanation of their policy: the rate-payers have insisted that the Board Schools should be 'unsectarian.' In the great cities and towns no party has had the slightest chance of commanding a majority of the seats of the Board that did not pledge itself up to the lips to prevent the schools from being the schools of a denomination. Had the Cowper-Temple clause been rejected, its rejection would have done nothing to affect the action of the great Boards on this question. I know that in School Board discussions it has been customary to appeal to 'the spirit of the Act,' but the action of the Boards has been really determined by the spirit and resolution of the rate-payers.

The Canon has another argument which he thinks is decisive:—

If the Denominationalists had insisted upon their right of action as expounded by Mr. Dale, and if, when they were in a majority, they had taught the distinctive doctrines of their several confessions, they would have been denounced in newspapers, in placards, in public speeches, as violating the principles and spirit of the Act which they were bound to administer fairly and impartially; and there can be little doubt that to the average mind their conduct would seem indefensible. Though they might now plead Mr. Dale's authority for acting in the manner described, I fear they could scarcely expect to have him stand forth as their champion, prepared to justify them for doing what he asserts the Act authorises them to do.

The Canon is quite in the right in supposing that I should not have stood forth as the champion of a School Board on which a particular

⁴ The Liverpool Board strengthened the London resolution, and provided that 'no attempt be made thereby to attach children to, or detach them from, any particular denomination.' Some other Boards followed the Liverpool example.

denomination was in the majority, and which insisted on teaching the distinctive doctrines of its articles and confessions; or, if a confederacy of different denominations had secured a majority on a Board and agreed to divide the schools among them, the Canon is right in supposing that I should not have stood forth as their champion. On the contrary, if the chance had come to me, I should have denounced them for their unjust use of the powers which the Act of 1870 confers on them; and I should have denounced the Act itself for the licence which it grants to sectarian injustice. But I should not have said that they were violating the clause which forbids the use of sectarian catechisms and formularies.

There is a sense, no doubt, in which a policy of this kind might be described as a violation of 'the spirit of the Act.' The schools which are under the management of a board are supported by rates levied on rate-payers of every creed, and by grants from the Consolidated Fund; they are intended to be 'the common schools' of the people; they are not dependent on the special contributions of the members of any particular Church; their managers are not the representatives of any particular Church, but of the whole community. It would, therefore, be a flagrant violation of public justice for such schools to be made 'denominational.' If, for such reasons, Canon Gregory prefers to say that to make them denominational would be 'a violation of the spirit of the Act,' I have no objection; but in this sense the violation of the spirit of the Act would have been equally flagrant if clauses 7 and 14 had not been introduced into it.

Cardinal Manning has a curious passage in which he endeavours to show that the Board School system is an endowment of Nonconformity. No creeds or formularies are used in the Board Schools. But, says the Cardinal, 'Mr. Dale tells us that Nonconformists do not use creeds or formularies.'⁵ Then Board Schools are, after all, Nonconformist and denominational. They are the endowment of the Nonconformist religion.' Will his Eminence forgive me for saying that for a moment he must have forgotten the logic he learnt at Oxford? Will he throw his argument into a syllogism and test it by '*Barbara celarent*'? Suppose I were to say—the Koran is not used in the Board Schools; the Catholics do not use the Koran; then Board Schools are, after all, Catholic and denominational; they are the endowment of the Catholic religion, and there is no need to make grants to Catholic schools from the Consolidated Fund;—would his Eminence be convinced? But the logic is just as sound as that by which he has demonstrated his own thesis.

I maintained in January that the Act itself, while it excludes 'creeds' and 'formularies,' does not place any restriction on the oral

⁵ His Eminence has done me too much honour. I said that 'I never use a "catechism" or "formulary," and yet teach definite doctrines.' 'I' and 'the Nonconformists' are not equivalent terms.

teaching of the schoolmaster; and that the House of Commons definitely refused all amendments to place any restriction on the oral teaching of the schoolmaster. I maintained further that his Eminence could 'instruct a congregation in the great doctrines of our Lord's divinity, His atonement for the sins of men, the future judgment, without the aid of any such document as the clause in the Act of 1870 was intended to forbid in the Board Schools.' I might have added that his Eminence could instruct a congregation in all the characteristic doctrines of the Catholic faith—in the doctrine of purgatory, the reverence due to the Virgin and the saints, the doctrine of penance, the supremacy and infallibility of the Pope—without the aid of the documents which are excluded. I said that I myself am in the habit of teaching definite doctrines in the pulpit and elsewhere without a 'catechism' or 'formulary.' Whatever freedom in oral teaching the Act allows to those who hold my creed it allows to those who hold the creed of Cardinal Manning. The Act itself does not merely permit 'Nonconformist schoolmasters to teach in Board Schools the doctrines which Nonconformist ministers without creeds or formularies teach in chapels;' it permits Catholic schoolmasters to teach in Board Schools the doctrines which Catholic priests teach in Catholic chapels without creeds or formularies. It gives to all the same liberty of oral teaching, it imposes the same restrictions on all. The Catholic must not teach his catechism, which inculcates the doctrines of the Council of Trent; the Presbyterian—who is as much a Nonconformist as I am—must not teach his catechism, which inculcates the doctrines of the Westminster Assembly. But, under the Act itself, the Catholic schoolmaster could teach Catholic doctrines, and the Presbyterian schoolmaster could teach the doctrines of Calvinism.

I contended further that it is 'the rate-payers, acting through the School Boards, who have excluded, or have done very much to exclude, doctrinal Christianity.' The bylaws, resolutions, educational schemes adopted by the Boards have done what Parliament refused to do—they have endeavoured to prevent the oral teaching of the schoolmaster from being 'sectarian.' But the bylaws are as fatal to the characteristic doctrines of the various Nonconformist sects as to the doctrines of the Catholic Church or the Anglican Church. They prevent the Congregationalist schoolmaster from denying the doctrine of transubstantiation, as they prevent the Catholic schoolmaster from affirming it; they prevent the Baptist schoolmaster from teaching that only those who are of an age to confess their personal faith in Christ should receive baptism, as they prevent a Churchman from teaching that infants should be baptised in order to regenerate them; they prevent the zealous Protestant from teaching that the Scriptures are the only rule of faith, as they

prevent the Anglican from teaching that authority is due to the Fathers and Councils of the undivided Church.

The object of the great School Boards has been to secure a religious teaching that shall have nothing in it to which anyone that professes to have any religion at all can make any definite objection: all the churches are forbidden to colour the instruction with their distinctive *cæeds*. Cardinal Manning and Mr. Spurgeon fare alike. To call the Board School system a 'Pan-Nonconformist Church concurrently endowed side by side with the Established Church,' is a description as grotesquely inaccurate in its substance as it is grotesquely strange in its expression.

What this 'unsectarian religion' amounts to, it would be hard to say. The children probably 'get up' some of the history in the Old Testament and the New; are taught to distinguish between the Sea of Galilee and the Mediterranean; learn something about the Pharisees and the Sadducees, about Eastern dress, Eastern houses, and Eastern customs. I believe that under some of the Boards the children in the upper standards learn enough about the stories contained in Holy Scripture to pass a satisfactory examination. The oral teaching—so far as it does not consist of geographical and historical illustration—is, in all probability, mainly ethical, with some general appeals to the authority and love of God, and to future rewards and punishments.

It is no part of my present business to criticise Board School religious instruction. Some of the readers of this Review know that I have criticised it often, and criticised it severely, elsewhere. For many years I have contended—but with no great success—that School Boards have no religious function; that, from their constitution, they are incapable of discharging any religious function effectively. Their true province is to provide, organise, and direct secular instruction; for the religious education of the people the Churches are responsible.

II.

The second question at issue between his Eminence and myself—Have the Denominationalists a just claim to a share of the education rate?—I can discuss more briefly.

Canon Gregory, who is the natural ally of the Cardinal in claiming fresh grants from public funds for the support of denominational schools, thinks that in January I utterly failed in my 'attempt to answer the demand of Cardinal Manning.' That may be so. It can be answered only by the representatives of the English people in Parliament. My answer to Cardinal Manning's 'demand'—if I were in a position to answer it—would be a courteous refusal. But my attempt was to answer, point by point, the *arguments* of his Eminence in support of his position that the denominational schools

are being treated unfairly. The Cardinal is a controversialist of great experience and great skill; but, if I may say so without presumption, his rejoinder in February does not seem to me to have touched my reply, and I should be very well content to leave the case as it stands. But in January I was simply replying to the arguments of an eminent Denominationalist; it may be well that I should now state the case on the other side.

It is agreed that in the absence of any provision by the State for elementary education, large masses of the people would grow up in ignorance, and that their ignorance would be an immeasurable evil to themselves, and a serious peril to the nation; and, to quote once more the admirable words of Cardinal Manning, the State 'has a right to protect itself from the dangers arising from ignorance and vice, which breed crime and turbulence. It has a duty also to protect children from the neglect and sin of parents, and to guard their rights to receive an education which shall fit them for human society and for civil life.'

But whatever may have been the extent of the duties which the State might have properly undertaken when the religious belief of the nation was practically uniform, the State is now, by common consent, limited to the secular province. Ancient religious institutions which still survive, preserve the memory of a condition of national life which has long passed away; but no one asks the State to assume new religious responsibilities; the religious responsibilities which it has inherited from past generations are the occasion of great uneasiness, and are discharged with difficulty.

The educational policy of the last twelve years has really been the application of this principle. After the English manner, we have been carried along by the strong current of practical necessities, without asking into what new and strange regions the stream was carrying us. We have not grasped the principle firmly. We have not applied it intelligently. As yet, therefore, our system is chaotic. But, since 1870, the State in its educational policy has virtually renounced all responsibility for the religious faith of the people. It makes grants to denominational schools, but does not inspect the religious teaching. It would make the same grants with equal readiness to 'voluntary' schools that were absolutely secular. It empowers and compels School Boards to found schools of a new type; it insists that the secular instruction shall occupy a certain number of hours and shall be efficient, but for religious instruction it makes no positive provision; if it is given, it must be given at certain times; it must not be given by means of distinctive 'catechisms' and 'formularies'; no child need receive it. If it is not given at all, the State is content.

I repeat that in its educational policy the State has renounced all responsibility for the religious faith of the people. This is not

because the State has become *doctrinaire*. It is not because the State has consciously accepted any theory concerning the limitations of its province. It has reached this position unconsciously and as the result of the action of those immense religious, intellectual, social, and political forces, which may be roughly said to have begun to manifest themselves in the Renaissance of the fifteenth century; which revealed their tremendous energy in the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century; and which, after agitating all Europe for two centuries more, exploded violently in the great French Revolution. The old order is passing away; the life of all European nations is assuming new forms.

In this country, as the result of many causes—principally, as I think, of the great authority which a free and generous religious faith has exercised on the national spirit and temper—the change has been singularly peaceful and orderly. But the change is not less real. Whether we like it or not, we are practically all agreed in the conviction that there can be no assumption of fresh religious responsibilities by the State. Cardinal Manning does not ask the State to insist that Catholic parents shall train their children in the Catholic faith themselves, or shall send them to Catholic schools. Canon Gregory does not ask the State to enforce the teaching of the Church Catechism. It is the duty of the State to protect the right of all children to receive an efficient secular education, and to make provision that an efficient secular education shall be within the reach of every child in the country. When it has discharged these duties it has fulfilled its function. If it attempts more, it attempts a task which is altogether inconsistent with the actual circumstances of the country. *The schools of the State should therefore be secular schools.*

But Cardinal Manning and Canon Gregory are not satisfied with secular schools for the children of the churches to which they minister. His Eminence insists on having schools in which Catholic children shall be educated in the Catholic faith. The Canon insists on having schools in which Church of England children shall be trained in one or other of the various forms of religious faith professed by the clergy of the Establishment. The true reply of the State to their claims for aid in maintaining their 'separatist' schools is, in my judgment, perfectly clear. The claims should be wholly disallowed: not that I would have the present grants from the Consolidated Fund immediately withdrawn. The State will find it expedient to afford for a few years longer the aid which the 'separatist' schools require to maintain them in efficiency. But if a claim is made—if a right is asserted—the claim must be impugned and the right denied.

It is the function of the State to provide secular education, and at present it is agreed that this education shall be of an elementary character. If there are parents who wish their children to be taught

Greek and Sanscrit, and if they claim a grant from public funds to assist in the maintenance of schools in which Greek and Sanscrit are taught, the representatives of the State can only reply, 'You can send your children to these schools if you please, but the education which they are receiving is not of the kind which at present the State has undertaken to supply; your demand cannot be complied with.' If there are parents who wish their children to be instructed in the doctrines of any religious communion, and if they claim grants from Parliament or a share of the rates, to assist in the maintenance of the schools in which these doctrines are taught, the reply should be of a more decisive character. The representatives of the State should say to such parents, 'You can send your children to these schools if you please; we have no right to interfere if the schools supply an efficient elementary education; but it does not lie within the province of the State to provide, or to assist in providing, religious instruction—to maintain, or to assist in maintaining, schools in which such instruction is given.'

Roman Catholic schools are a part of the organisation of the Roman Catholic Church. The Roman Catholic Church has no claim either on the Consolidated Fund or on the rates for the maintenance of any part of its organisation. Denominational schools are founded and maintained for the purpose of propagating the denominational creeds of the Churches with which they are connected. The Churches have no claim, either on the Consolidated Fund or on the rates, for the maintenance of institutions for the propagation of their denominational creeds.

The great fault of the legislation of 1870 was that it did not prevent the enlargement of the public aid already given to the schools of the Churches. To have suddenly withdrawn the grants on which the schools already in existence relied for a large part of their support, would have been hard; but to have declined to make grants to new schools would have been perfectly equitable. Since 1870 the Denominational system has expanded to enormous proportions. The children in average attendance rose from 1,152,389 in 1870 to 2,007,184 in 1881. The total grant from the Consolidated Fund rose in the same period from 528,039*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.* to 1,570,201*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.* I will only refer to what I said in January about the injustice which this system inflicts on Nonconformists and on all others who have no faith in the creeds which these schools are established to propagate. There are nine millions and a quarter of the people of England and Wales living outside School Board districts; for them the only schools receiving Government aid are under the control of private managers, and the immense majority of these schools are for the maintenance of the doctrines of the Established Church. Within School Board districts, the 'vested rights' of the Denominationalists are defended by the Act of 1870; and the Boards are only permitted

to provide accommodation for the children for whom the Denominationalists cannot find places. Such a system is a flagrant violation of the elementary principles of public justice; it cannot last much longer; as soon as a few of the most urgent political questions now disturbing the national mind have been brought to a settlement, public opinion will demand its gradual extinction.

Cardinal Manning appeals to the great principle of 'liberty of conscience' in support of his demand. I trust that his Eminence will not think me discourteous if I say that, on the lips of a Prince of the Church those great words have an alien accent. There are many profound and noble lessons to be learnt from the ancient communion of which he is an illustrious ornament—from the zeal, the courage, the sanctity of its martyrs and saints—from the genius and learning of its famous theologians; but the English people listen with a certain surprise and distrust when they are instructed on the claims of 'liberty of conscience' by a Cardinal of the Romish Church. Canon Gregory is also earnest and emphatic in insisting on the necessity of honouring 'the principle of religious liberty.' He, too, I trust, will allow me to say that the traditions and environment of a dignitary of the English Establishment are not favourable to a clear apprehension of that sacred principle. It is a principle hard to learn. My own ecclesiastical ancestors, though their advantages were greater than his, were slow in learning it, so slow that, when I read the story of their almost incredible mistakes, I distrust my own apprehension of it. Those of us who have had most occasion to master it have probably mastered it imperfectly. On this subject therefore, as on every other, I am willing to be taught; but I am a little doubtful whether a Roman Cardinal and a Canon of St. Paul's are likely to be the most competent teachers.

Canon Gregory urges it as a grievance that to keep the denominational schools in existence, 'the sums levied on their supporters . . . amounted to 726,676*l.* last year, besides 146,825*l.* received from endowments, more than one-half of which has been obtained since 1870.' But where is the grievance? In the next sentence the Canon makes a very true statement which shows that it is no grievance at all: 'These sums, it must be remembered, have to be raised *solely because the managers of denominational schools recognise the importance of definite religious teaching for the children for whom they are in any way responsible.*' Precisely so. The sums have not to be levied on the supporters of denominational schools in order to provide that secular education for the people for which the State has made itself responsible, but to provide the 'definite religious teaching' to which the '*managers*' attach importance. Why should the nation or the ratepayers relieve '*managers*' of the cost of providing it? This 'definite religious teaching' is their concern, and only theirs. They are at liberty to provide it

for themselves, and this is all that the principle of religious liberty requires. The Canon appears to believe that religious liberty means the liberty to levy rates and taxes on other people to assist him in teaching his own religious creed.

But the Canon states his grievance in another form, which at first sight looks more plausible—

'It is now twelve years since the Education Act of 1870 came into operation, and we are still able to report that nearly a million is annually supplied by the benevolence of Christian people, for erecting and sustaining denominational schools. Why should they be thus taxed, when those who do not value distinctive religious teaching can have all the schooling they require at the expense of the community? Churchmen and dissenters, Roman Catholics and unsectarians, agnostics and atheists, are all citizens of a country which professes to give perfect liberty to all in matters of religion, and yet by a law recently passed it compels one portion of the community to fine itself annually to the extent of more than three-quarters of a million, in order to obtain that which the other portion of the community has secured to it without cost.'

These sentences are very suggestive; but to write a full commentary upon them in their application to the education controversy would require a volume. I must be satisfied with two or three brief observations.

(1) I must remind Canon Gregory that I am personally opposed to religious teaching of any kind in the Board Schools; but it is inaccurate to say, that in these schools one portion of the community 'has secured to it without cost' what another portion of the community has to obtain by consenting 'to fine itself annually to the extent of more than three-quarters of a million.' Those who contribute the three-quarters of a million obtain the teaching of the sectarian doctrines of the various churches to which they belong; in the schools under the great Boards, the teaching of these sectarian doctrines is forbidden. The supporters of denominational schools adopt measures to attach the children to their own churches; in the schools under the great Boards, it is provided that no attempt shall be made . . . to attach children to any particular denomination.' The Roman Catholic managers maintain their schools, because they want to keep their children in the Roman Catholic Church. Cardinal Manning recognises this very frankly. He says, 'Though Catholics desire all men to come to the knowledge of the truth, their work of education has their own flocks and their own children so emphatically in view that the presence of non-Catholic children in their schools is wholly unsought, and if their number be great it is a cause of great difficulty to us.' But the Baptists, the Congregationalists, the Unitarians, the Swedenborgians, and the Methodists, who send their children to Board schools, do not get them trained in their own special religious faith, and the schools do nothing to attach them to the churches of which their parents are members. The supporters of the denominational

schools obtain what other people do not obtain, and it is not unjust that they should pay for it.

Secondly, if Canon Gregory's argument is worth anything at all, it requires such changes in the law as shall altogether relieve the denominational managers from the necessity of raising voluntary contributions.

But, thirdly—and this, perhaps, is practically the most important point of all—Canon Gregory's grievance would not be removed if there were no religious teaching in the Board schools. His real complaint is not that some people are able to get in the Board schools, without voluntary contributions, all the religious teaching that they wish their children to receive; but that the Denominationalists, whose schools, as I have said, are a part of the organisation of their churches, cannot teach their own creed without paying for it. Make the Board schools secular—let no one be able to obtain any kind of religious teaching in them—and Canon Gregory's demand on the public funds would be as urgent as before.

The State should more distinctly renounce all responsibility for the religious instruction of the people of this country. It should limit itself to the provision of an efficient secular education for all children whose education is not otherwise provided for. With the schools of the churches which exist for the maintenance of the creeds of the churches the State has nothing to do, except to assure itself that the secular instruction which is given in these schools is efficient. On the funds of the State the promoters of these schools have no claim. Until this policy is clearly understood and frankly accepted, the injustice under which large sections of the English people have long been suffering will continue, and the country will still be agitated by constantly recurring educational controversies.

There would, I fear, be little use in discussing the questions raised by Cardinal Manning's solemn invitation addressed to 'all who value Christianity and education in England, to stand firmly together in defence of Christian education, and to press onward steadily for its extension throughout English homes.' I value education; and it is my firm belief that the gradual extinction of the denominational system, and the establishment of Board schools in every part of the country, would elevate the intellectual life and enlarge the intellectual resources of the English people. I value Christianity infinitely more than intellectual cultivation; and it is also my firm conviction that it would be greatly to the advantage of the Christian faith if the common schools supported wholly or in part by the State were made purely secular.

Like my venerable opponent, his Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, I have watched with profound anxiety, sometimes with alarm, the changes through which the religious thought and life of the country have been passing in recent years; but, on

the whole, I see no reason for despondency, much less for despair. My experience does not extend over so many years as his, nor has it been so varied; but I have come to the conclusion that the religious education given in the denominational schools has done very little for the maintenance of genuine loyalty to Christ, reverence for the authority and majesty of God, faith in the divine, and eternal things by which we are environed. Whatever the Christian Church may have done for Europe by her popular schools in other generations, I am convinced that her true wisdom in this generation is to leave the common schools in the hands of the State, and to attempt to discharge the great trust she has received from Heaven, by other and more effective agencies.

R. W. DALE.

THE SUPPRESSION OF POISONOUS OPINIONS.

MR. FROUDE, in his *Life of Carlyle*, incidentally sets forth a theory of toleration. Cromwell, he tells us, held Romanism to be 'morally poisonous;' therefore Cromwell did not tolerate. We have decided that it is no longer poisonous; therefore we do tolerate. Cromwell's intolerance implied an intense 'hatred of evil in its concrete form;' our tolerance need not imply any deficiency in that respect, but merely a difference of opinion as to facts. Upon this showing, then, we are justified in extirpating, by fire and sword, any doctrine if only we are sincerely convinced that it is 'morally poisonous.' I do not take this as a full account either of Carlyle's theory, or of Mr. Froude's. I quote it merely as a pointed statement of a doctrine which in some ways would appear to follow more directly from the utilitarianism which Carlyle detested. The argument is simple. A 'poisonous opinion' is one which causes a balance of evil. The existence of such opinions is admitted. Nor, again, is it denied that under certain conditions an opinion may be suppressed by persecution. The persecution, then, of a poisonous opinion must do some good, and must produce a balance of good if the evil effects of the opinion suppressed exceed the various evils due to the persecution. But that which causes a balance of good is right according to utilitarians; and therefore persecution may sometimes be right. If you have to suppress a trifling error at the cost of much suffering, you are acting wrongly, as it would be wrong to cure a scratch by cutting off a finger. But it may be right to suppress a poisonous opinion when the evil of the opinion is measured by the corruption of a whole social order, and the evil of the persecution by the death, say, of twelve apostles. In such a case it is expedient, and therefore right, that one man or a dozen should perish for the good of the people.

Mill attacked the applicability, though not the first principle, of this reasoning in the most forcible part of his *Liberty*. He argues in substance that the collateral evils due to persecution are always, or almost always, excessive. He could not, as a utilitarian, deduce toleration from some absolute *à priori* principle. But by pointing out evil consequences generally overlooked, he could strengthen the general presumption against its utility in any particular case. His utilitarian opponents may still dispute the sufficiency of his reasoning. They

urge, in substance, that the presumption is not strong enough to justify an absolute rule. Granting that there is a presumption against persecution generally, and that all the evils pointed out by Mill should be taken into account, yet, they say, it is still a question of expediency. We must be guided in each particular case by a careful balance of the good and evil, and must admit this general presumption only for what it is worth; as a guiding rule in doubtful cases, or where we do not know enough to balance consequences satisfactorily, but not as possessing sufficient authority to override a clear conclusion in the opposite sense. Practically, we may assume, the difference comes to very little. Mill's opponents might often be as tolerant as himself. He says, indeed, that toleration is the universal rule; yet even he might admit that, as in other moral problems, a casuist might devise circumstances under which it would cease to be absolute. On the other hand, his opponents, though holding in theory that each case has to be judged on its merits, would, in fact, agree that no case ever occurs at the present time in which the balance is not in favour of toleration. The discussion, therefore, has less practical application than one might at first sight suppose. One man says, 'Toleration is always right, but at times this, like other moral rules, may be suspended.' The other, 'It is not a question of right or wrong, but of expediency; but, on the other hand, in almost every conceivable case, toleration is clearly expedient.' It is only, therefore, as illustrating an interesting ethical problem—interesting, that is, to people capable of feeling an interest in such gratuitous logic-chopping—that I would consider the problem.

I remark, therefore, in the first place, that one argument of considerable importance scarcely receives sufficient emphasis from Mill. The objection taken by the ordinary common sense of mankind to persecution is very often that the doctrines expressed are false. Toleration, beyond all doubt, has been advanced by scepticism. It is clearly both inexpedient and wrong to burn people for not professing belief in mischievous lies or even in harmless errors. Mill extends the argument to cases where power and truth are on the same side; but he scarcely brings out what may be called the specifically moral objection. I may hold that Romanism is false and even 'poisonous.' I may still admit that a sincere Romanist is not only justified in believing—for, so far as his belief is logical, he cannot help believing—but also that he is morally bound to avow his belief. He is in the position of a man who is sincerely convinced that a food which I hold to be poisonous is wholesome, or, rather, an indispensable medicine. If he thinks so, it is clearly his duty to let his opinion be known. A man holds that prussic acid will cure when it really kills. He is mistaken, but surely he is bound to impart so important a truth to his fellows. So long, indeed, as men held that it was not only foolish but wicked to hold other religious opinions than their own, this argu-

ment did not apply. But I need not argue that sincere errors are in themselves innocent. The most virtuous of men will be a Calvinist in Scotland, a Catholic in Spain, and a Mohammedan in Turkey. And so far as this possibility is admitted, and as the contrary conviction spreads—namely, that the leaders of heresies are generally virtuous, because it requires virtue to uphold an unpopular opinion—the dilemma becomes pressing. The persecutor, as a rule, is punishing the virtuous for virtuous conduct, and, moreover, for conduct which he admits to be virtuous. For this is not one of those cases with which casuists sometimes puzzle themselves. The fact that a man thinks himself acting rightly, or is wicked on principle, is not a sufficient defence against legal punishment. If a man is a Thug, the government is not the less bound to hang him because he thinks murder right. A thief must be punished, though he objects to property in general; and a man who deserts his wife, though he disapproves of marriage. A man is in such cases punished for an action which the ruler holds to be immoral. But the persecutor has to punish a man precisely for discharging a duty admitted even by the persecutor to be a duty, and a duty of the highest obligation. If the duty of truthfulness be admitted, I am bound not to express belief in a creed which I hold to be false. If benevolence be a duty, I am bound to tell my neighbour how he can avoid hell-fire. The dilemma thus brought about—the necessity of crushing conscience by law—will be admitted to be an evil, though it may be an inevitable evil. The social tie carries with it the necessity of sometimes forcing particular people to do that which both they and we admit to be wrong. But the scandal so caused is one main cause of the abhorrence felt for the persecutor, and the sympathy for his victims. The ordinary statement of the impolicy of making men martyrs testifies to the general force of the impression. And it must, in fact, be taken into account upon any method of calculation, in so far, at least, as the revulsion of feeling excited by persecution tells against the efficacy of the method adopted. The persecutor, that is, must clearly remember that by burning a man for his honesty, he is inevitably exciting the disgust of all who care for honesty, even though they do not prize it more than orthodoxy. It must be in all cases a great, even if a necessary, evil, that the law should outrage the conscience of its subjects. And whatever conclusion may be reached, it is desirable to consider how far and on what principles the acceptance of this dilemma can be regarded as unavoidable.

The utilitarian can, of course, give a consistent reply. The ultimate criterion, he says, of virtue is utility. Sincerity is a virtue because it is obviously useful to mankind. That men should be able to trust each other is a first condition of the mutual assistance upon which happiness depends. But here is a case in which we—that is, the rulers—are convinced that sincerity does harm. We shall be

illogical if we allow the general rule derived from particular cases to govern us in the case where it plainly does not apply. We admit all the evils alleged; the suffering of a sincere man because of his sincerity, the encouragement to hypocrisy, the demoralisation of those whose lips are closed; but, after admitting all this, we still see so clearly the mischief which will follow from the spread of the opinions we question, that we pronounce it to exceed all the other admitted mischief, and are therefore still bound to persecute. Turn it and twist it as you will, the question still comes to this: Which way does the balance of happiness incline? Is it better that virtuous Romanists should go to the stake and Romanism be so stamped out, or that so poisonous an opinion be allowed to spread? We fully admit all the evils which you have noted, and willingly put them in the balance; but we must weigh them against the evils which will follow from the toleration, and our action must be determined by a final comparison.

Undoubtedly the argument has great apparent strength. It fixes the issues which are generally taken; and when helped by the assumption that belief in a creed may determine a man's happiness for all eternity, and that men or some body of men may possess infallibility, it makes a very imposing show. Nor do I wish to dispute the fundamental principle; that is, the principle that utility is in some sense to be the final criterion of morality. I think, however, that here, as in other cases, a thoroughgoing application of that criterion will lead us to a different conclusion from that which results from a first inspection. And, in order to show this, I must try to point out certain tacit assumptions made in the application of this principle to the facts. Granting that we must test persecution by its effects upon human happiness, I must add that we cannot fairly measure these effects without looking a little more closely into the conditions under which they are necessarily applied. The argument starts from the generalisation of something like a truism. The alleged fact is simply this, that pain, threatened or inflicted, will stop a man's mouth. It can hardly convert him, but it will prevent him from converting others. I do not dispute the statement; I feel, for my part, that, so far as I am able to form an opinion as to my own conduct, there is no creed which I would not avow or renounce rather than be burnt alive. I think that I might probably prefer distant damnation to immediate martyrdom. Many men, happily for the race, have been more heroic; but burning stopped even their mouths, and so far suppressed their influence. We have, however, to modify this statement before we can apply it to any serious purpose. We have to show, that is, that we not only suppress the individual but eradicate the opinion from society; and this raises two questions. There is a difficulty in catching the opinion which is to be suppressed, and there is a difficulty about arranging the machinery through which the necessary force is to be supplied. When we examine the conditions of success in the

enterprise, it may turn out that it is impossible in many cases, and possible in any case only at the cost of evils which would more than counterbalance any possible benefit. Only by such an investigation can we really measure the total effect of persecution, and it will, I think, appear to be still more far-reaching and disastrous than is implied even by Mill's cogent reasoning.

Mill, in fact, conducts the argument as though he made an assumption (for I will not say that he actually made it) which appears to me at least to be curiously unreal. His reasoning would be sometimes more to the purpose if we could suppose an opinion to be a sort of definite object, a tangible thing like the germ of a disease, existing in a particular mind, as the germ in a particular body, and therefore capable of being laid hold of and suppressed by burning the person to whom it belongs, as the germ is suppressed by being dipped in boiling water. This corresponds to what one may call the 'happy thought' doctrine of scientific discovery. Popular writers used sometimes to tell the story of Newton's great discovery as though Newton one day saw an apple fall, and exclaimed 'Ah! an apple is a kind of moon!' This remark had occurred to no one else, and might never have struck anybody again. If, therefore, you had caught Newton on the spot and stamped him out, the discovery of gravitation might have been permanently suppressed. Mill would, of course, have perceived the absurdity of such a statement as clearly as any one; yet he seems to make a very similar assumption in his *Liberty*. It is, he is arguing, a 'piece of idle sentimentality' that truth has any intrinsic power of prevailing against persecution. 'The real advantage which truth has consists in this, that when an opinion is true it may be extinguished once, twice, or many times, but in the course of ages there will generally be found persons to rediscover it'; and when, he adds, it is rediscovered in a propitious age, it may 'make such head' as to resist later attempts at suppression. Surely this is a most inadequate account of the strength of truth. The advantage dependent upon a chance of rediscovery is equally possessed by error; old superstitions are just as much given to reappearance as old truths. Every one who has examined stupid lads knows very well that the blunders which they make are just as uniform as the truths which they perceive. Given minds at a certain stage, and exposed to certain external conditions, we can predict the illusions which will be generated. So to quote the familiar instances: the mass of mankind still believes that the sun goes round the earth, and is convinced that a moving body will stop of itself, independently of external resistance. The advantage of truth is surely put in the other fact, that it can, as Mill says, 'make head.' It gathers strength by existing; it gathers strength, that is, because it can be verified and tested, and every fresh test confirms the belief, and it gathers strength again in so far as it becomes part of a general system of truths, each of which confirms,

elucidates, and corroborates the others, and which together form the organised mass of accepted knowledge which we call science. So far as we are possessed of anything that can be called scientific knowledge, we have not to deal with a list of separate assertions, each of which has to be judged upon its own merits, and each of which may stand or fall independently of all the others; but with a system of interdependent truths, some of which are supported by irresistible weight of evidence, whilst the remainder are so inextricably intertwined with the central core of truth that they cannot be separately rejected. To talk, therefore, of suppressing an opinion as if it were not part of a single growth, but a separable item in a chaotic aggregate of distinguishable theories, is to overlook the most essential condition of bringing any influence to bear upon opinion generally.

Consider, first, the case of any scientific theory. Newton's great achievement was supposed to lead to questionable theological inferences; as, indeed, whatever may be the logical inferences, there can be no doubt that it was fatal to the mythological imagery in which the earth appeared as the centre of the universe. Suppose, then, that it had been decided that the opinion was poisonous, and that anybody who maintained that the earth went round the sun should be burnt! Had such a system been carried out, what must have happened? If we suppose it to be compatible with the continued progress of astronomical and physical inquiries, this particular conclusion might still be ostensibly conceded. Kepler's discoveries, and all the astronomical observations assumed by Newton, might have been allowed to be promulgated, as affording convenient means of calculation, and Newton's physical theories might have been let pass as interesting surmises in speculation, or admitted as applicable to other cases. It might still be asserted that, so far as the solar system was concerned, the doctrines possessed no 'objective truth.' Something of the kind was, I believe, actually attempted; it needs, however, no argument to show that such a persecution would be childish, and would be virtually giving over the key of the position to the antagonist with some feeble ostensible stipulation that he should not openly occupy one dependent outwork. The truth would not have been suppressed, but the open avowal of the truth. The only other alternative, would have been to suppress physical theories and astronomical observation altogether, in order to avoid the deduction of the offensive corollary. In such a case, then, the only choice, by the very nature of the case, is not between permitting or suppressing 'an opinion,' but between permitting or suppressing scientific inquiry in general. There are, no doubt, bigots and stupid people enough to be ready to suppress speculation at large; but they would find it hard to induce people to suppress things of obvious utility; they cannot suppress the study of astronomy for purposes of navigation, and yet when the truth has been acquired for this end its application to others follows by a spontaneous and irresistible process.

The victory is won, and the only question is whether the conqueror shall march in openly or in a mask.

This familiar example may illustrate the extreme difficulty of catching, isolating, and suppressing so subtle an essence as an opinion. Stop all thought, and of course you can annihilate the particular doctrine which it generates. But the price to pay is a heavy one, and clearly not to be measured by the particular sets of consequences which result from the specified dogma. The same principle is everywhere operative. The greatest shock lately received by the conservative theologians has been due to the spread of Darwinian theories. How, granting that rulers and priests had at their disposal any amount of persecuting power, would they have proposed to suppress those theories? They object to the belief that men have grown out of monkeys. Would they, then, allow men to hold that the horse and ass have a common ancestor? or to question the permanency of genera and species of plants? Would they prohibit Mr. Darwin's investigations into the various breeds of pigeons, or object to his exposition of the way in which a multiplication of cats might be unfavourable to the fertilisation of clover? The principle shows itself in the most trifling cases; once established there, it spreads by inevitable contagion to others; the conclusion is obvious to all men, whether tacitly insinuated or openly drawn. To suppress it you must get rid of the primitive germ. When once it has begun to spread, no political nets or traps can catch so subtle an element. It would be as idle to attempt to guard against it, as to say that small-pox may rage as it pleases everywhere else, but you will keep it out of Pall Mall by a cordon of policemen to stop people with an actual eruption. The philosophy of a people is the central core of thought, which is affected by every change taking place on the remotest confines of the organism. It is sensitive to every change in every department of inquiry. Every new principle discovered anywhere has to find its place in the central truths; and unless you are prepared to superintend and therefore to stifle thought in general, you may as well let it alone altogether. Superintendence means stifling. That is not the less true, even if the doctrine suppressed be erroneous. Assuming that Darwinianism is wrong, or as far as you please from being absolutely true, yet its spread proves conclusively that it represents a necessary stage of progress. We may have to pass beyond it; but in any case we have to pass through it. It represents that attitude of mind and method of combining observations which is required under existing conditions. It may enable us to rise to a point from which we shall see its inadequacy. But even its antagonists admit the necessity of working provisionally, at least, from this assumption, and seeing what can be made of it; and would admit, therefore, that a forcible suppression, if so wild an hypothesis can be entertained, would be equivalent to the suppression not of this or that theory, but of thought.

The conclusion is, briefly, that, so far as scientific opinion is concerned, you have to choose between tolerating error and suppressing all intellectual activity. If this be admitted in the case of what we call 'scientific' knowledge, the dilemma presents itself everywhere. We are becoming daily more fully aware of the unity of knowledge; of the impossibility of preserving, isolating, and impounding particular bits of truth, or protecting orthodoxy by the most elaborate quarantine. It is idle to speak of a separation between the spheres of science and theology, as though the contents of the two were entirely separate. There is, doubtless, much misconception as to the nature of the relation; false inferences are frequently made by hasty thinkers; but the difference, whatever it may be, is not such as divides two independent series of observations, but such that every important change in one region has a necessary and immediate reaction on the other. If we accept the principle of evolution—whether we take the Darwinian version or any other as our guide—as applied to the history of human belief, we more and more realise the undeniable facts that the history must be considered as a whole; that the evolution, however it takes place, has to follow certain lines defined by the successive stages of intellectual development; that it consists of a series of gradual approximations, each involving positive errors, or at least provisional assumptions accepted for the moment as definitive truths; and that every widely spread belief, whether accurate or erroneous, has its place in the process, as representing at least the illusions which necessarily present themselves to minds at a given point of the ascending scale. The whole process may be, and, of course, frequently has been, arrested. But, if it is to take place at all, it is impossible to proscribe particular conclusions beforehand. The conclusions forbidden may, of course, be such as would never have been reached, even if not forbidden. In that case the persecution would be useless. But if they are such as would commend themselves to masses of men but for the prohibition, it follows that they are necessary 'moments' in the evolutions of thought, and therefore can only be suppressed by suppressing that evolution.

The vagueness of the argument stated in these general terms is no bar to its value in considering more special cases. It suggests, in the first place, an extension of one of Mill's arguments which has been most frequently criticised. He tries to prove this advantage of persecution by a rather exaggerated estimate of the value of contradiction. 'Even admitted truths,' he says, 'are apt to lose their interest for us unless stimulated by collision with the contradictory error.' It is, of course, obvious to reply that we believe in Euclid or in the ordinary principles of conduct, though nobody ever denies that two sides of a triangle are greater than the third, or doubts that water quenches thirst. An opinion, I should say, gains vividness rather from constant application to conduct than from

habitual opposition. But, so far as Mill's argument has to do with toleration, it seems to be cogent, and to derive its strength from the principle I am defending. Many opinions, if ever entertained, would doubtless die out by inherent weakness. It would be idle to punish men for maintaining that two and two make five, because the opinion would never survive a practical application. The prohibition of a palpably absurd theory would be a waste of force, and might possibly suggest to a few eccentric people that there *must*, after all, be something to say for the absurdity, and therefore, if for no other reason, it is undesirable. But it was, of course, not of such opinions that Mill was thinking. The only opinions which any one would seriously desire to frustrate are plausible opinions; opinions, that is, which would flourish but for persecution; and every persecutor justifies himself by showing, to his own satisfaction, that his intervention is needed. He rejects the argument by which Gamaliel defended the first plea for toleration. He holds that opinions, though coming from God, require human defence. He thinks that even the devil's creed would flourish but for a stake, and this assumption is the sole justification of the stake. That is to say, persecution is always defended, and can only be defended, on the ground that the persecuted opinion is highly plausible, and the same plausibility of an opinion is a strong presumption that it is an essential part of the whole evolution. Even if it be wrong, it must represent the way in which a large number of people will think, if they think at all. It corresponds to one aspect, though an incomplete or illusory aspect, of the facts. If there be no reason there must be some general cause of the error; a cause which, in the supposed case, must be the prevalence of some erroneous or imperfect belief in the minds of many people. The predisposing cause will presumably remain even if this expression of opinion be silenced. And, in all such cases, the effect of suppression will be prejudicial to the vigour even of the true belief. The causes, whatever they be, which obstruct its acceptance will operate in a covert form. Real examination becomes impossible when the side which is not convicted is not allowed to have its reasons for doubt tested; and we reach the dilemma just stated. That is to say, if thought is not suppressed, the error will find its way to the surface through some subterranean channels; whilst, if thought is suppressed, the truth and all speculative truth will of course be enfeebled with the general enfeeblement of the intellect. To remedy a morbid growth, you have applied a ligature which can only succeed by arresting circulation and bringing on the mortification of the limb. To treat intellectual error in this fashion must always be to fall into the practice of quackery, and suppress a symptom instead of attacking the source of the evil.

The assertion is, apparently at least, opposed to another doctrine in which Mill agrees with some of his antagonists. He says, as we have seen, that a belief in the natural prevalence of truth is a piece

of idle sentimentality; it is a 'pleasant falsehood' to say that truth always triumphs; 'history teems with instances of successful persecution;' and he confirms this by such cases as the failure of the Reformers in Spain, Italy, and Flanders, and of the various attempts which preceded Luther's successful revolt. Arguments beginning 'all history shows' are, I will venture to say, always sophistical. The most superficial knowledge is sufficient to show that, in this case at least, the conclusion is not demonstrated. To prove that persecution 'succeeded' in suppressing truth, you must prove that without persecution truth would have prevailed. The argument from the Reformation must surely in Mill be an *argumentum ad hominem*. He did not hold that Luther or Knox or the Lollards preached the whole truth; hardly, even, that they were nearer the truth than Ignatius or St. Bernard. And the point is important. For when it is said that the Reformation was suppressed in Italy and Spain by persecution, we ask at once whether there is the slightest reason to suppose that, if those countries had been as free as England at the present day, they would have become Protestant? Protestantism had its day of vitality, and in some places it is still vigorous; but with all the liberty of conscience of modern Italy, the most enthusiastic Protestant scarcely expects its conversion before the millennium. If, when there is a fair field and no favour, Protestantism stands still, why should we suppose that it would once have advanced? Macaulay, in a famous article, insisted upon the singular arrest of the Protestant impulse. The boundaries between Protestantism are still drawn upon the lines fixed by the first great convulsion. It is at least as plausible to attribute this to the internal decay of Protestantism as to the external barriers raised by persecution. In the seventeenth century philosophical intellects had already passed beyond the temporary compromise which satisfied Luther and his contemporaries. Protestantism, so far as it meant a speculative movement, was not the name of a single principle or a coherent system of opinion, but of a mass of inconsistent theories approximating more or less consciously to pure deism or 'naturalism.' Victories over Romanism were not really won by the creed of Calvin and Knox, but by the doctrines of Hobbes and Spinoza. Otherwise, we may well believe the Protestant creed would have spread more rapidly instead of ceasing to spread at all precisely when persecution became less vigorous. When we look more closely at the facts, the assumption really made shows its true nature. Persecution might strike down any nascent Protestantism in Spain; but it can hardly be said that it created the very zeal which it manifested. If no persecution had been possible, the enthusiasm of Loyola and his successors might (even if I may not say, would) have burnt all the more brightly. And if the orthodox had been forbidden to strike a foul blow, they might have been equally successful when confined to legitimate methods. The reasoning, in

fact, is simple. Protestantism died out when persecution flourished. But persecution flourished when zeal was intense. It is impossible, then, to argue that the extinction of heresy was due to the special fact of the persecution in order to account for the fact that it did not spread in the regions where faith was strongest. In any case, if we assume, as we must assume, that the old faith was congenial to a vast number of minds, we might be sure that it would triumph where it had the most numerous and zealous followers. Under the conditions of the times, that triumph of course implied persecution; but it is an inversion of all logic to put this collateral effect as the cause of the very state of mind which alone could make it possible. So, again, Protestantism died out in France (which Mill does not mention) and survived in England; and in England, says Mill, the death of Elizabeth or the life of Mary would 'most likely' have caused its extirpation. Possibly, for it is difficult to argue 'might have been.' But it is equally possible that the English indifference which made the country pliable in the hands of its rulers would have prevented any effective persecution, and the ineffectual persecution have led only to a more thoroughgoing revolution when the Puritan party had accumulated a greater stock of grievances. If, again, Protestantism had been really congenial to the French people, is it not at least probable that it would have gathered sufficient strength in the seventeenth century—whatever the disadvantages under which it actually laboured—to make a subsequent revival of vigorous persecution impossible? The ultimate condition of success lay, partly at any rate, in the complex conditions, other than the direct action of rulers, which predisposed one society to the Catholic and others to the Protestant doctrine; and if we are not entitled to assume that this was the ultimate and determining condition of the final division, we are certainly not entitled to seek for it in the persecution which is, in any land, a product of a spiritual force capable of acting in countless other ways.

Once more we come across that 'happy thought' doctrine which was natural to the old method of writing history. Catholics were once content to trace the English Reformation to the wickedness of Henry the Eighth or Elizabeth; Protestants to the sudden inspiration of this or that reformer. Without attempting to argue the general question of the importance of great religious leaders, this at least is evident, that the appropriate medium is as necessary as the immediate stimulus. There were bad men before Henry the Eighth, and daring thinkers and reformers before Luther. The Church could resist plunder or reform whilst it possessed sufficient vital force; and the ultimate condition of that force was that its creeds and its worship satisfied the strongest religious aspirations of mankind. Luther himself at an earlier period would have been a St. Bernard. Its weakness and the success of assailants, good or bad, was due, as no

one will now deny, to the morbid condition into which it had fallen, from causes which could only be fully set forth by the profoundest and most painstaking investigation. If this be granted, it follows that Protestantism, whether a wholesome or a pernicious movement, meant the operation of certain widely-spread and deeply-seated causes rendering some catastrophe inevitable. To apply an effective remedy it would have been necessary to remove the causes, to restore the old institutions in working order, and to renew the vitality of the faiths upon which its vigour essentially depended. So far as the opponents of reform relied upon persecution they were driving the disease inwards instead of applying an effectual remedy. Such observations—too commonplace to be worth more than a brief indication—must be indicated in order to justify the obvious limitations to Mill's estimate of the efficacy of persecution. In the first place, it is not proved that it was properly 'efficacious' at all; that is, that the limits of the creeds would not have been approximately the same had no persecution been allowed. Secondly, if efficacious, it was efficacious at a cost at which the immediate suffering of the martyrs is an absurdly inadequate measure. In Spain, Protestantism was stamped out when it might have died a natural death, at the price of general intellectual atrophy. Had the persecutors known that the system from which persecution resulted was also a system under which their country would decline from the highest to the most insignificant position, their zeal might have been cooled. In France, again, if Protestantism was suppressed by the State, Catholics of to-day may reckon the cost. Thought, being (upon that hypothesis) forced into a different mode of expressing dissent, has not only brought about the triumph of unbelief, but the production of a type of infidelity not only speculatively hostile to Catholicism, but animated by a bitter hatred which even the most anti-Catholic of reasoners may regret. I am unable to decide the problem whether it is worth while to save a few souls at the moment with the result of ultimately driving a whole nation to perdition; but it is one which even those who rely upon the hell-fire argument may consider worth notice. And if, in England, we have escaped some of these mischiefs, we may ask how much good we have done by an ineffectual persecution of Catholics in Ireland—a point upon which it is needless to insist, because every one admits the folly of ineffectual persecution.

The facts so considered seem to fit best with the doctrine which I am advocating. Persecution may be effective at the cost of strangling all intellectual advance; it may be successful for a time in enforcing hypocrisy, or, in other words, taking the surest means of producing a dry-rot of the system defended; or, finally, it may be ineffectual in securing its avowed object, but singularly efficacious in producing bitter antipathy and accumulating undying ill-will between hostile sections of society. When, therefore, the argument is

stated as though all the evils to be put in the balance against persecution were the pain of the immediate sufferers and the terror of sympathisers, I should say that the merest outside of the case has really been touched. One other consideration is enough for this part of the question. Persecution may discourage unbelief; but it cannot be maintained that it has the least direct tendency to increase belief. Positively it must fail, whatever it may do negatively. The decay of a religion means a decline of 'vital faith'—of a vivid realisation of the formulæ verbally accepted. That is the true danger in the eyes of believers; and, if it be widely spread, no burning of heretics can tend to diminish it. People do not believe more vigorously because believers in a different creed are burnt. They only become more cowardly in all their opinions; and some other remedy of a totally different nature can alone be efficacious. You can prevent people from worshipping another God, but you cannot make them more zealous about their own. And perhaps a lukewarm believer is more likely to be damned, certainly he is not less likely to be mischievous, than a vigorous heretic.

To complete the argument, however, or rather the outline of the argument, it would be necessary to follow out another set of considerations. Granting that you can suppress your heresy by persecution enough, we have to ask how you can get persecution enough. Persecution which does not suppress is a folly as well as a crime. To irritate without injuring is mischievous upon all hypotheses. In that case, if not in others, even cynics allow that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church. The danger of advertising your opponent is pretty well understood by this time; and popular riots, or a petty bit of municipal despotism, is the very thing desirable for the Salvation Army. It is agreed, then, that the weapon is one to be used solely on condition that it is applied with sufficient stringency. Now, if we ask further how this is to be obtained, and especially if we ask that question in the light of the preceding inquiry, we shall arrive at a conclusion difficult to state in adequate terms. It may be possible to stamp out what we may call a particular opinion. The experiment at least has often been tried, though I do not know that it has often succeeded. When it was criminal to speak of a king's vices, the opinion entertained about particular kings was hardly more flattering, though flatterers alone could speak openly, than it is now. But to suppress so vague and penetrating a thing as a new religious opinion is a very different and a very serious matter. The change may not be the less efficacious because it is not overt. Nothing, for example, could be easier than to advocate the most infidel opinions in the language of perfect orthodoxy. The belief in God is generally taken to be a cardinal article of faith. But the words may be made to cover any state of mind. Spinoza and Hobbes both professed to believe in a God who, to their opponents, is no God at all.

The quaint identification of 'deist' with 'atheist,' by orthodox writers, is an illustration of the possible divergence of meaning under unity of phrase. One set of theologians held to the conception of a Being who will help a pious leader to win a battle if a proper request be made. Another set, equally sincere and devout, regard any such doctrine as presumptuous and profane. Briefly, what is common to all who use the word, is a substance known only by attributes which are susceptible of indefinite variation. And what is true of this is true of all articles of faith. I will be a believer in any theological dogma to-morrow, if you will agree that I shall define the words precisely as I please; nor do I think that I should often have to strain them beyond very respectable precedents in order to cover downright positivism. How is this difficulty to be met? how is a nominal belief in Christianity to be guarded from melting away without any change of phraseology into some vague pantheism or agnosticism, or, in the other direction, to a degrading anthropomorphism? A mere chain of words is too easily borne to be cared for by anybody. You may crush a downright Tom Paine; but how are you to restrain your wily latitudinarian, who will swallow any formula as if he liked it? Obviously, the only reply can be that you must give discretionary powers to your Inquisition. It must be empowered to judge of tendencies as well as of definite opinions; to cross-examine the freethinker, and bring his heresy to open light; to fashion new tests when the old ones break down, and to resist the very first approaches of the insidious enemy who would rationalise and extenuate. And, further, as I have said, the same authority must lay his grasp, not only on theologians and philosophers, but upon every department of thought by which they are influenced; that is to say, upon speculation in general. Without this the substance may all slip away, and leave you with nothing but an empty shell of merely formal assertion. The task is of course practicable in proportion to the rarity of intellectual activity. In ages when speculation was only possible for a rare philosopher here and there, it might be easy to make the place too hot to hold him, even if he escaped open collision with authority. But in any social state approaching at all to the present, the magnitude of the task is obvious beyond all need of explanation.

This suggests a final conclusion. No serious politician assumes off-hand that a law will execute itself. It may be true that drunkenness and heresy would expire together if every drunkard and heretic could be hanged. But before proposing a law founded upon that opinion, the legislator has to ask, not only whether it would be effective if applied, but whether it could be applied. What are the conditions of efficiency of law itself? Opponents of toleration seem to pass over this as irrelevant. If heretics were bearable, heresy would die

out. Suppose that granted, how does it apply? The question as to the possibility of carrying out a law is as important as any other question about it. The Legislature is omnipotent in the sense that whatever it declares to be a law is a law; for that is the meaning of a law; but it is as far as possible from omnipotence in the sense of being able to impose any rule in practice. For anything to be effective persecution, you require your Inquisition—a body endowed with such authority as to be able not merely to proscribe a given dogma, but all the various disguises which it may assume; and to suppress the very germs of the doctrines by which the whole of a creed may be sapped without ostensible assaults upon its specific statements; to silence, not only the conscious heretic, but the most dangerous reasoner who is unintentionally furthering heretical opinions; to extend its dominion over the whole field of intellectual activity, and so stamp out, not this or that objectionable statement, but to arrest those changes in the very constituent principles of reasoning, which, if they occur, bring with them the necessity of correlative changes in particular opinions, and which can only be hindered from occurring by arresting the development of thought itself. When faith in the supernatural is decaying, it is idle to enforce internal homage to this or that idol. The special symptom is the result of a constitutional change which such measures have no tendency to remedy. How, then, is an administrative machinery equal to such purposes to be contrived, or the necessary force supplied for its effective working? Obviously it implies such an all-embracing and penetrating despotism as can hardly be paralleled in history; a blind spirit of loyalty which will accept and carry out the decisions of the political rulers, and that in the face of the various influences which, by the hypothesis, are bringing about an intellectual change, and presumably affecting the rulers as well as their subjects. And even so much can only be reached by limiting or asphyxiating the intellectual progress, with all which it implies. The argument, it must be added, applies to the case of erroneous, as well as of sound, opinions. That is to say, it is in all cases idle to attack the error unless you can remove the predisposing cause. I may hold, as in fact I do hold, that what is called the religious reaction of recent times involves the growth of many fallacies, and that it is far more superficial than is generally asserted. But, whatever its origin, it has its causes. So far as they are not to be found in the purely intellectual sphere, they must be sought in social conditions, or in the existence of certain emotional needs not yet provided for by the newer philosophy. To try to suppress such movements forcibly, if any such enterprise could be seriously proposed, would be idiotic. However strong our conviction of intellectual error, we must be content to have error as long as we have fools. For folly, education in the widest sense is the sole, though singularly imperfect,

remedy; and education in that sense means the stimulation of all kinds of intellectual energy. The other causes can only be removed by thorough social reforms, and the fuller elaboration of a satisfactory philosophy. Persecution, were such a thing really conceivable, could at most drive the mischief to take other forms, and would remove one of the most potent stimulants to the more satisfactory variety of regenerating activity.

LESLIE STEPHEN.

(To be concluded.)

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

(CONCLUDED.)

BOTH the late and the present Government have committed themselves to the introduction of a measure giving representative county government. The question of county government is by general concurrence treated as one of practical politics to be immediately dealt with. I shall therefore ask the readers of the *Nineteenth Century* to consider what form impending change should take in order to bring about improvement instead of deterioration. Lord Derby, Mr. Selater-Booth, and others have expressed or inferred doubts whether a County Board would find anything serious to do, if it were merely to take over the administrative work of the magistrates. Certainly a new board without enough to occupy its energies would be in danger of justifying its existence by taxing and spending at the cost of the unfortunate ratepayers. Not in the county as such, but in the innumerable and overlapping primary local areas, and by the ever-multiplying local bodies, have funds been most lavishly spent, debts most rapidly increased, and complaints of mismanagement and waste chiefly provoked. To create a County Board without bringing it into relation to, and enabling it to co-operate with the administrative bodies below it, would be simply to repeat the mistake which has contributed so much to the present confusion of Local Government, the mistake of adding a new board invested with governing and taxing power whenever it became necessary to provide for the discharge of any new function. To establish the County Board in this fashion is to begin with the superstructure before laying the foundation. As the dignified and dignifying head of a simplified and strengthened system of Local Government, assisting to make clear, simple, and effective what is now obscure, confused, and inefficient, a County Board would have ample work to do, and would find able heads and willing hands for its performance. Such a County Board is a necessary part of any complete scheme of representative Local Government. I propose to show how, without making one new experiment, we can secure all this merely by reducing to a system the experience which we now possess, by amalgamating the present organisations and putting them to a proper use, and by abolishing what

is superfluous, and therefore mischievous, rather than by introducing anything novel or untried.

Those who have done me the honour to read the article upon Local Government in England and Wales, published in the last number of this Review, may remember the principal heads of the indictment brought therein against our present system of Local Government. These were, firstly, the needless multiplication and interplication of areas and authorities created for the administration of local affairs; of authorities sometimes ill-constituted, and of areas often ill-defined for their respective purposes; secondly, the excessive subdivision among these areas and authorities of the several functions of Local Government; and thirdly, the disorder in local finance, and the unfair incidence of local taxation. In their combined result these evils produce the chaos of our local administration; an administration without unity and without method; an administration whose organs are adjusted neither to the whole of which they form part, nor to one another, nor to their own proper ends; an administration pervading the whole kingdom, and charged with the most important duties; yet so constituted as to elude the public censure or the public praise, and to repel those very citizens who are most able—and who, if practicable, would be most willing—to give it the benefit of their services. This administration imposes in each successive year increasing burthens upon the ratepayers, and in each successive year sinks deeper and deeper into debt. Whilst its proceedings become ever more momentous, the public grows ever less able and less willing to follow their course. This indifference has already done much harm, and, if it were to continue, would be fatal. The complex conditions of our modern social life, and, above all, the growth of democracy, have given to the reconstruction of our Local Government an importance truly incalculable. Such a makeshift for a Local Government as we now endure, a Local Government whose constitution and working not one citizen in a thousand could explain, a Local Government destitute of life, power, and dignity, defrauds our people of their best patriotic and political training. Such a Local Government as we may hope to enjoy might combine members of all classes in working for the common good.

At the conclusion of my former article I expressed the hope that I might be able to furnish some hints towards the amending of our Local Government. This I shall now attempt to do, adhering as much as possible to the order followed in the former article. I shall begin by considering how many distinct areas are really needed for the purposes of Local Government, and the principles which should guide us in selecting from those now in existence such areas as it may seem advisable to retain. I shall then offer some reflections upon the best way of constituting the authorities which are to preside over these areas, and the most convenient apportionment between

them of the functions now dispersed among some three-and-twenty various kinds of local bodies. I shall conclude with a few suggestions on the best method of restoring order, economy, and fairness to our system of local finance. The proposals contained in this article I do not claim as my own. Many I have directly derived from the communications of men far better qualified than myself. Neither do I offer them to the public as composing a complete and elaborate scheme of reform. Such a scheme could only be produced by a minister having at his command all the knowledge, all the experience, and all the practical skill of the various departments concerned with our local administration. Well knowing how much there is to be said on this subject—knowing, also, how imperfect is all that I can say, I offer these suggestions hoping that they may yet be in some degree useful.

In my former article we saw that, for the purposes of Local Government, there now exist in England and Wales no less than six or seven principal varieties of area: the parish, the union, the county, the borough, the local board or Improvement Act district, and the highway district. We also saw that these areas overlapped and intersected one another in the most vexatious and incomprehensible fashion. We saw that the parish does not respect the boundaries of the county, and that it is often broken up into separate fragments. We saw that the union breaks through the boundaries sometimes of the county, and often of the municipal borough, or of the local board district. We saw that the municipal borough is not always coterminous with the urban sanitary district, bearing the same name, and that the local board district sometimes comprises parts of various townships, unions, and counties. We quoted Mr. Hagger's statement to the effect that, within the area practically of a single town union, there may exist no less than two municipal councils, three boards of guardians, eleven local boards of health, twenty-four bodies of overseers, five burial boards, two school boards, and one highway board; in all no less than forty-eight local authorities acting often in overlapping districts, yet in almost complete independence of one another. And we found reason to believe that this random medley of areas and authorities was more than a mere anomaly; that it has proved the gravest obstacle to an enlightened and vigorous administration of local affairs; that it hinders many of the most capable administrators from taking part in the affairs of their several districts; that it prevents the public from ascertaining what they pay in rates, and what they obtain in return; and that it makes impossible any order or method in the raising and expending of local revenues. We cannot too often repeat that, without the extinction of this the first and gravest of local abuses, there can be no final and satisfactory reform of Local Government as a whole.

Nor is it hard to discern the principles on which a reformer should

deal with this question. In the first place, distinct varieties of area should not be more numerous than the purposes of local administration require. In the second place, the larger area should, as a rule be an exact multiple or aggregate of the smaller area. That is to say, the larger area and the smaller area should not overlap or intersect. Thirdly, for each area there should, as a rule, be one local authority, and no more. Only by a strict adherence to these principles can we make Local Government simple; and until Local Government has become simple, it will never become economical or efficient. Not until every ratepayer can see at a glance in what area he resides and to what authority he is subject, will public opinion exercise any perceptible influence upon the conduct of local affairs. Not until the local board has become a conspicuous and powerful body can we hope to secure all, or nearly all, the public spirit and ability available for local administration.

In selecting from the areas now in existence those which ought to be retained, it is imperative not to disturb more than is absolutely needful the arrangements and interests, and to utilise as far as possible the institutions which now exist. It is also of great consequence to select the area best suited for the most important function of local government to be exercised therein, and not the area which might be better suited for other functions of less importance. Bearing in mind these considerations, we shall attempt to ascertain the most suitable primary area for purposes of Local Government.

For this purpose we must, if possible, choose some area now existing in every part of the kingdom. Excluding the county, which could never be a primary area, we have only two which fulfil this condition—the parish and the union. Ought the parish or the union to be the primary area? Mr. Goschen's Bill of 1871 proposed to adopt the parish, at least in rural places. And the parish has some recommendations. It is ancient and venerable, old almost as the beginnings of our political and religious history, whilst the union has been made general within the lifetime of many middle-aged men. Besides, the parish rarely overlaps the county boundary, and has been made the primary unit of the union and the petty sessional division.

I do not wish to undervalue the arguments, whether of utility or of sentiment, which may be alleged in favour of the parish; but I think that the arguments against its adoption have much greater weight. In the first place, the parish for poor law purposes—the parish which we should have to adopt as the primary area for local administration—is not always the same thing with the ecclesiastical, the civil, or the highway parish. In the next place many parishes are so very small, or so very thinly peopled, that they could not furnish enough men willing and able to undertake the charge of local affairs, or enough work to engage the serious attention of such men. Other parishes are larger than a primary area should be. In the

process of grouping the small and breaking up the large parishes, much of the advantage which the parish derives from sentiment would be lost. Moreover, parishes now intersected by the boundaries of a borough or of an urban district would have to be remodelled. Then the vestry must be reorganised, and new parish officers must be appointed. At the same time the existing organisation of unions and of highway districts must be dissolved. Again, experience has conclusively shown that for poor relief an area much larger than the ordinary poor-law parish is absolutely necessary. Taken altogether, these objections appear to be conclusive against the adoption of the parish as the primary area.

We may allow that as a primary area the poor-law union is not quite satisfactory. In the year 1834 men were more concerned to assert its principle than to define its most convenient boundaries. The original limits of the union were often determined by conditions of temporary rather than of lasting expediency. They were modified by local influence, and by the situation of existing workhouses. They have often been rendered obsolete by the shifting of population, or by the prevalence of new modes of communication. In many other instances, the urban district has been rudely carved out of the rural union. But in favour of adopting the union as the primary area, we may allege that it has been constituted within the last fifty years for a definite purpose of local administration; that this purpose was one which, above all others, required a convenient area and a vigorous governing body; that the unions were mapped out by one central authority, presumably acting upon a single principle of utility, and that no general complaint has been made in respect either of the size or of the arrangement of the unions. The union already enjoys a representative constitution; a constitution with the capacity for improvement. It has intelligent and experienced officers. It is accustomed to control and audit by a central authority. In places where there is no school board, the board of guardians is the authority for purposes of primary education. It acts as the rural sanitary authority. And it may be said that in choosing the board of guardians to discharge these duties Parliament has committed itself to the principle of the union. On the whole, therefore, the union seems best fitted to answer the requirements of a primary area for purposes of local administration. We have next to consider what change in the constitution of Local Government its adoption for this end would involve.

Firstly, as regards the unions now in existence, some 180 of these extend into more than one county. If the larger area is to be an exact multiple or aggregate of the smaller area, such unions must be broken up. The parts contained in different counties must be respectively merged in some other union belonging to the same county, or erected into independent unions, if their size and importance so

require. There is no reason to suppose that the execution of this plan would be attended with any grave practical difficulty. The machinery which it requires has been supplied by the legislation of 1876 and 1879. And in the great majority of such unions the parts lying in a different county from that which contains the bulk of the union have a population of less, and often much less, than 2,000 souls. Single cases might arise in which disturbance would be really inconvenient; but these would furnish no valid argument against a general endeavour to simplify areas. The County Board, with its local knowledge, could advantageously assist in these adjustments.

Secondly, as regards boroughs and local board districts. These would continue to exist under the new order of things. But every borough and every local board district should be constituted a separate union. The local board districts which are too small to be safe or efficient primary areas for the principal purposes of local administration would have to be amalgamated with neighbouring districts. There are a few important places, such as Birmingham, Liverpool, &c., which will require to be specially dealt with in any plan proposed. I am well aware that this change involves much more than a temporary disturbance of local arrangements. For pauperism is not evenly distributed between town and country; and if we sever them for the administration of poor relief we raise grave problems respecting the incidence of the poor rate. But it is better to reserve the examination of these problems until we come to discuss the apportionment of the tasks of Local Government and the reorganisation of local finance. We may then be able to suggest a distribution of the burthen of poor relief fairer and more economical than is possible under our present system.

If the borough and the local board district were constituted as separate unions, all the remaining areas of local administration smaller than the county might be abolished, subject to certain reservations in the case of the parish. The highway district, the burial district, and the Improvement Act district would be altogether superfluous. In every union other than a borough or local board district, we should have to appoint a local board. In this way each county would be completely divided into boroughs and local board districts. The total number of such districts in each county would vary, but may be estimated at an average of thirty. In every place there would then be one and the same simple area for all the primary purposes of Local Government; and in this area one and only one authority, the council in a borough, and in every other union the local council, under whatever name, would have the power to tax and the power to spend. In order to attain this great result we need not constitute any new area.

In the reformed primary authority would vest all the powers now exercised by the authorities which would then be consolidated or

superseded, that is to say:—all the powers of the overseers, of the board of guardians, the local board, the school board, the highway board and the burial board, as well as all the powers now conferred on various local authorities by the Lighting and Watching Act, the Acts passed to encourage the establishment of public baths and washhouses and free libraries, and other Acts of a similar nature. Inasmuch as the borough would then be the union also, and the borough would have to bear all the burthen of its own pauperism, it might prove advisable to transfer the administration of indoor relief to the County Board; and reasons of finance point in the same direction; but these come to be considered at a later stage of our inquiry. For the present we shall return to the new local council. Charged with such a variety of functions, it would exert more power, and therefore enjoy more dignity than any of the other bodies which it had replaced. As compared with the present type of local board, some increase in its numbers and a partition of its various duties between district committees might be needful. But the detailed organisation of each committee, the scope of action to be assigned to each, and the degree of independence which it ought to enjoy, could only be determined by careful consideration, and unfolded in a methodic scheme. Our business at present is not to frame a complex theory, or to anticipate the details of legislation, but rather broadly to suggest those innovations which events have shown to be necessary, and which may recommend themselves to the plain good sense of every Englishman.

The constitution of this primary authority, as well as of the new County Board, is a much more delicate matter. We shall have got rid of the multitude of elections, the variety of modes of voting, and the different degrees of voting power. Every man who would be qualified to vote should also be capable of election. Members of local boards and town councils should have their term of office prolonged. A four years' term might not be too much, but if it were adopted, half the members, in whatever mode elected, should go out every second year. Lastly, the voting power of those who own property should be made less invidious in form and more certain in operation. For those financial reforms, of which we shall speak hereafter, will bring personal as well as real property, the owner as well as the occupier, within the range of direct local taxation. Property may with justice claim to be much more largely represented in the local than in the Imperial Parliament. I would not be understood to say that every Englishman has not a very heavy stake in the efficiency of local administration, or that the occupying rate-payers should not take the largest share in the election of local authorities. I would only observe that a great deal of the work done by these authorities, that part of their work on which they expend the largest sums, is very much in the nature of the management of

property. In the old times, when a man built a house he sunk his own well and his own cesspool; nowadays the community brings water to his very door and carries off his sewage in the common sewer. Those who have the benefit of this work should pay for it, should know what they pay, and should be taught to understand and take an interest in the mode of doing it. The distinction which I have endeavoured to express is not merely theoretical. Our constitution recognises the fact that the Imperial Parliament is principally concerned with legislation, and the local Parliament with administration, including the management of property. For while members of Parliament are, or soon will be, elected everywhere by household suffrage alone, in many local elections we have the plural vote; *ex officio* members sit upon the board of guardians, and the county government has been left altogether in the hands of the magistrates.

Few persons will affirm that these arrangements are satisfactory. But if both the taxation and the representation of property were made more direct and systematic, the one would be more economical, the other more effective, and both more just than they are now. Then the owners of property might reasonably claim to elect a certain proportion of members of the local board. Already owners can claim in the election of guardians and of local boards a voting power up to a certain point proportioned to their property.

Thus far we have discussed the primary area and the primary authority. We may assume that for some purposes of local administration a more extensive area and an authority invested with larger powers are also requisite. Such an area we have in the county. But the constitution and functions of the county government are matter of discussion. The late Government proposed, and the present Government stands pledged to introduce a measure for the establishment of representative County Boards. In this place, therefore, I may be permitted to remind the public of those wants which the new County Boards are intended to supply, and to give some slight indication of the duties which they may have to fulfil.

The establishment of County Boards has been demanded on two distinct grounds. The farmers and ratepayers claim that a body wholly nominated by the Crown, and in substance drawn from a single class, shall no longer administer the affairs of the county. The general public desires the creation of a body intermediate between the primary local authorities and the Imperial Government, authorised to deal with all matters in which those authorities have common or conflicting interests, and able to discharge at least part of that task of control and supervision which now belongs to the Local Government Board, perhaps even some of the duties of Parliament in respect to Private Bills.

The requirements of the farmers and ratepayers might be met by

associating a certain number of elected guardians, or of members of town councils and local boards, with the county justices when they sit in special or quarter sessions for administrative purposes. But the needs of the public at large can only be met by adopting some more thoroughly representative scheme of county government, and in the years 1877 and 1878 Parliament accepted at least the principle of elective County Boards. Whether or no these boards will have enough work to employ their time and attention, will depend very much on their relation to the rest of our Local Government.

If Parliament were merely to establish County Boards without taking any steps towards a general re-organisation of Local Government, County Boards would find very little to do. The County Board, if it is to be real, should take over all the administrative work of the quarter sessions. It should control and direct the valuation of property, not only for the purpose of levying the future county rate, but also for the purpose of all rates and contributions. We shall see hereafter that our local finance cannot be placed on a proper footing, unless we establish a single universal valuation and consolidate the numerous rates now levied. For reasons already hinted at, the County Board should take charge of the workhouses, and administer indoor relief. To it should belong the management of asylums and the maintenance of the county buildings. It should have the responsibility of granting licences to sell intoxicating liquors. The county bridges and such highways as are not intrusted to the inferior local authorities would naturally be under its care. It should exercise powers of approving, and in some degree controlling, the annual budgets of these authorities. It might watch and occasionally intervene in inquiries and legislation affecting watersheds, drainage, and rivers. Time and the changes of things would continually bring increasing business to the County Boards. And if the above suggestions are not wholly misleading, the County Board will not want work to do.

If, for the moment, we accept the above as a rude outline of the functions of the County Board, what may we infer as to its proper constitution? Here there is room for a great variety of opinion. But it seems the opinion of most of those who have proposed plans dealing with the subject, that the justices should elect some members of the County Board, although not necessarily out of their own body. Such members may be regarded as the special representatives of property. The remaining members would be elected by the general body of the ratepayers. On this point there has been much controversy between the partisans of direct and of indirect election. The indirect method is the less troublesome and expensive, and may be supposed to guarantee that the electors are themselves qualified to judge of the candidates. But the body finally elected on this method

might represent too exclusively the majority of the intermediate electing body. Direct election would secure us against this danger. Yet, if the County Board were chosen on the indirect method, the local board or town council would lose in dignity. For, in that case, those who aspired to sit on the County Board would not be obliged to pass through the board of inferior rank. And since it is equally important to give a thoroughly representative character to our County Boards, and to secure for our local administration, as well in its lower as in its higher stages, the service of our most competent citizens, we might well accept a compromise between the direct and indirect methods of election. One-third of the members of the County Board might be chosen by the justices and two-thirds by the ratepayers. Of the members representing the ratepayers, half might be chosen by the direct and half by the indirect method. How many members the County Board should contain must be determined separately for each county. For what space of time members should retain their seats, is a detail which must be left to the legislator. I do not profess to do more than to suggest topics for the consideration of those who are interested in the subject of this article.

Thus far I have dwelt upon the reform of areas and authorities. The changes above recommended would all tend, I believe, to secure the simplicity and unity of our local administration. Simplicity and unity will bring strength, and strength will be attended by dignity. The management of local affairs would then offer more attractions to men of ability and public spirit, and the labours of such men would be turned to the best advantage. In one word, we should have a thoroughly competent local administration. And in its competence we have the best, the only good security against that centralised administration so frequently censured by public men and developing so rapidly in spite of their censure. An immense work of government has to be done. If the local authority cannot or will not do it well, why then the Imperial authority is inevitably called in to do it. This is the history of the growth of centralisation in this country. But if our local administration were once placed on its proper footing, the tendency of things would be in the opposite and more natural direction. The local bodies might then relieve the departments of State, perhaps even the Imperial Parliament itself, from some of the labours which they are least fitted to perform with advantage. We should then have decentralised administration, and we should have done something to decentralise national life. We should have done what in us lay to enrich and invigorate the life of the provinces; to check the absorption into our vast capital of almost everybody who enjoys the blessings of education and independence.

It now remains to speak of local finance, and if I am obliged to speak of it at some length, the importance of the subject must be my excuse. Without a sound system of finance, good government, local or imperial, cannot be obtained. I have had to insist often heretofore, I shall often hereafter have to insist upon the wastefulness of our local finance as it now stands. But I would not have my readers conceive me as advocating a stingy or cheeseparing local administration. To spend great sums on great objects is often the truest and best economy. On some departments of Local Government we can hardly spend too much so long as we spend wisely. We should grudge nothing necessary to insure the health and education of our people. But at present we are burthened with heavy impositions, yet find it hard to know what we get in return. We put up with a condition of local finance which violates all the fundamental rules of public and private economy. Many authorities have power to institute valuations, to tax and to spend. Each of these authorities has its own system of accounts, and may have its own machinery of collection. The returns are not brought down to date. They do not enable the ordinary reader to grasp the details of the subject. The assessment of rates on real, to the exclusion of personal property, and on occupiers rather than owners, is an accidental result of judicial legislation or interpretation, and is in itself inexpedient and unjust. The cost and the benefit of improvements are not always distributed in due proportion. Finally the relief afforded by the imperial to the local exchequer is given in such a way as rather to stimulate local extravagance than to lighten local burthens.

The changes which we have above suggested will free us from some of these evils. If there were in each district only one primary authority, then there would be in each district only one machinery for collecting the rates, only one system of accounts to keep, and only one valuation. This valuation might be made by the primary authority, under the supervision of the County Board. The many local rates now levied should as far as possible be consolidated into a single rate. We saw in the former article that the general district rate, the rate levied by the Local Boards now in existence, is assessed on the principle of exempting railways, canals, and agricultural land to the extent of three-fourths of their value, whilst the poor rate and the remaining rates are levied upon the full value of all real property. It might, therefore, prove most equitable, and would certainly occasion the least disturbance, to divide the consolidated rate into two parts, the one to be levied on the same basis as the poor rate, the other on the same basis as the district rate. And in this way the reform of local finance might be carried out, yet leave unaffected the parliamentary and municipal franchises, which are based upon payment of the poor rate. These changes would lay the foundations of

a simple and intelligible system of local finance. Once it had become simple and intelligible, it would be open to criticism by the general public; and what we have next to suggest are the means of making this criticism as easy as possible.

It would be most desirable that both the local authority and the County Board should cause to be prepared, at a fixed period, full estimates of expenditure for each year. The estimates prepared for the local authority should be submitted for the approval as well of the County Board as of the Local Government Board. The estimates prepared for the County Board should likewise be communicated to the Local Government Board and to the various local authorities within the county. After they had undergone a scrutiny and correction of their kind, and had been finally approved, copies of the estimates both for the local authority and for the County Board should be kept at their respective offices, to be freely inspected by anyone interested in the rate levied under such estimates. Nothing could contribute more to a frugal husbandry of the public wealth than some system such as this, enabling every ratepayer to see at a glance how much he paid and what he was supposed to receive in return. For in local as well as in imperial finance there will always be extravagance where there is no publicity. Once exempted from general criticism, a representative government can be more wasteful, not to say more corrupt, than a despotism. As matters now stand, there is in local finance no sufficient publicity and no efficient criticism. Information can only be obtained by those who are willing to work their way through vast masses of confused and shapeless material. Few have the leisure, still fewer have the patience, to undertake a labour like this. Busy as we are with our private concerns, we cannot spare time to supervise our rulers under such difficulties. The reformer's first duty is to make it easy for the local opinion to act upon those who raise and spend the local revenue.

This plan of an annual budget of local expenditure, brought forward and discussed at a fixed period of the year, is so important a part of any orderly and efficient system of Local Government, that I shall be excused if I enlarge a little further on it. The local council, whether of district or county, should receive from its committees the estimates of their financial wants for the coming year, on, say, the 30th of September, and publish them; but the estimates should not come into effect for three months, say until the 1st of January; and in the meantime they would be discussed, and objections to them, if any, by ratepayers, County Board, or Local Government Board, would be considered. The consideration of finance would bring with it the consideration of past policy, and of any instructions to be given to the committees, or rules laid down for their guidance in the coming year. The annual debates on these topics would naturally attract public attention, and ensure public vigilance such as cannot now attach

to the multifarious action of innumerable authorities, and their generally uninteresting and unreported debates. The effect of such publicity and provision for due consideration is shown by experience to be so great as to make quite unnecessary the amount of interference on the part of the central power which we labour under now. Sir Charles Dilke's recent speeches in Chelsea show that the new President of the Local Government Board is fully alive to the importance of securing efficiency by publicity rather than central interference.

If these debates on local budgets were supplemented by an annual debate in Parliament on the vote for contributions towards local expenditure, separate from that on the general budget, we should have further security against abuse and aid to improvement; for the President of the Local Government Board might then point out for imitation improvements made in the best managed local districts, or hold up abuses for condemnation, thus showing how dangers may be avoided, or progress secured.

But it is not only of heavy taxation and profuse expenditure that the ratepayer may justly complain. The present incidence of local burthens rests on no principle of equity. Some of the principles on which it should be readjusted are not far to seek. I would offer the following suggestions as to the best way of mitigating this hardship:—

(1.) Personal as well as real property should be made to contribute to the expenses of Local Government.

(2.) Owners as well as occupiers should be made to contribute directly to the rates.

(3.) Those who are specially benefited by certain local improvements should also be charged in a special manner with their cost.

Let us examine these recommendations one by one.

(1.) We may assume it to be fair that personal as well as real property should contribute to the expenses of Local Government. How, then, is this to be effected? Neither political economists nor men of business would consent to give to our local authorities any power of indirect taxation. But the income-tax is derived from every description of property, and by charging upon the income-tax whatever sums the imperial granted in aid of the local treasury, we should relieve the pressure of rates upon real property. This relief, however, would not be adequate, unless the sums so granted were much larger than at present. Here we encounter in a more alarming form the difficulty already alluded to, I mean the difficulty of supplementing local revenue, without encouraging local extravagance. Merely to assign for local purposes a branch of the imperial revenue does no good. It should be so assigned as not to impair the motives to thrifty local administration. We shall hereafter have to consider the best means of attaining this end.

(2.) Next to adjusting the balance of taxation as between real and personal property, it is desirable to adjust that balance as between owners and occupiers. We have seen that in the present state of affairs the owner has over the occupier always an apparent and sometimes a real advantage. We have also seen that the owner in the end suffers for having this advantage; that it prevents him from discerning how great is his stake in the proper administration of local affairs; and thus emboldens him to neglect his duty in the public service. Such a neglect on the part of those who enjoy more wealth and leisure than almost any other class is as dangerous as it is discreditable. The proposal to divide the payment of rates between owners and occupiers is a truly conservative one. It has been recommended by two committees of the House of Commons in two successive Parliaments: in a Liberal Parliament for England in 1870, in a Conservative Parliament for Ireland in 1878, and has already been made by Mr. Goschen in his Bill of 1871. A proposal founded on the same principle was made as far back as the year 1843, in a report of the Poor Law Commissioners upon Local Taxation, signed by Sir George Nicolls, Sir George Cornwall Lewis, and Sir Edmund Walker Head. In that report the Commissioners express themselves as follows:—‘Then also the right of the landlord to a superior share of power in vestry and in the election of guardians, to protect himself from injustice in the imposition and from mismanagement in the administration of the taxes, to which he would then be seen to be the sole¹ contributor, would not be viewed with the present jealousy, if indeed it were at all contested. This result would be not only valuable for the sake of the abstract fairness of giving protection to those whose interests are really involved, but would be equally desirable for the sake of those classes who, though not interested as taxpayers, are otherwise deeply interested in the proper administration of the laws; for perhaps the greatest abuses which ever prevailed in the administration of the poor laws arose from this fact that the tax fell, and that it was found out by the occupiers that it did fall upon the landlords, while the administration, expenditure, and appropriation of the tax was given exclusively to the occupiers, who did not really bear the burthen.’

Landowners assert that the rates levied on agricultural land are in a large degree ultimately paid by the owner. Therefore it is for the interest of the owner that he should be seen to pay what he really

¹ Great as is the authority of Sir George Cornwall Lewis and his fellow Commissioners of 1843, I think few would now contend that the owner is the sole contributor towards local taxation. Permanent debt he no doubt bears; but expenditure made and discharged during the continuance of a lease, and even where there is no lease, expenditure caused by temporary distress falls, and falls most unjustly, and most cruelly, upon the tenant.

does pay. It is for his interest that the rise and fall of rates should come home directly to him. It is for his interest that the local bodies should not burthen the land with heavy debts, perhaps not discharged for generations. And it above all concerns him to be roused out of that apathy with which he too often views the administration of local affairs.

Some caution would be needed, however, in applying this principle to existing tenancies. In the case of tenancies for long terms, which commenced before the great increase in rates consequent upon the Acts dealing with public health and elementary education, where the rents were not fixed in contemplation of the recent and heavy burthens imposed upon real property, it seems unjust that the occupier should continue to bear alone the entire weight of such new burthens. In the case of recent leases entered into by both parties with a full knowledge of these impositions, it seems no less unjust that the owner should at once be charged with half the rates. Again, if a half of the rates were at once thrown on the owner, a general termination of tenancies from year to year, and a rise of rents corresponding to the added burthens of the owner, might ensue. Justice and expediency seem to demand a compromise. Thus it might be practicable to arrange that in the case of existing tenancies the owner should be charged immediately with one-fourth only of the rate, and not with the other fourth until the expiration of ten years, or of some similar period.

(3.) In the third place, those who are specially-benefited by local improvements should also be charged in a special manner with their cost.

To a great extent the expenses of gas and water supply are already met, not by a rate in the strict sense of the term, but by a charge on those who consume them. The principle already applied to gas and water supply should be applied thereto on a larger scale, and should be further applied to the making and maintaining of sewers where undertaken by the local authority. The principle of making people pay in proportion to the benefit received seems fairer than the principle of special districts, which must be arbitrarily formed and may become the means of doing great injustice. If it were adopted, works of the class above named could be carried out in places where they would be otherwise impracticable. For instance, a better supply of water to a village is felt to be necessary. The requisite measures are opposed by persons who reside in the same area, but at such a distance that they can reap no benefit. Their opposition would cease at once if the principle of payment for benefits received were adopted. It would provide for a portion of local expenditure already amounting to several millions a year, and always on the increase. It could not, indeed, be applied to the annual charge for existing water or sewerage

works, in so far as this charge represents the cost of construction and not the cost of maintenance and supply. For the cost of construction cannot fairly be shifted to the consumer from the ratepayer without the consumer's consent. But this exception would merely make it necessary to state in the demand note under a separate head the charge in respect of capital.

Thus far I have spoken of the best methods of rectifying the incidence of local taxation; but if the grants from the Imperial Treasury are to be continued and increased, we must also consider how best to do this without encouraging extravagance. Several expedients might be suggested; here I shall only touch on one or two.

The State might contribute to the charge of indoor as opposed to outdoor relief of the poor. Everyone will allow that of all modes of local expenditure, the administration of outdoor relief is the most open to abuse, and that its abuse is most mischievous and demoralising; yet a false economy often induces the guardians of the poor to prefer granting outdoor rather than indoor relief. Criticism and censure have not finally repressed this tendency to corrupt the public at the public expense. For waste of local revenue is by no means the worst consequence of injudicious outdoor relief; such relief encourages the indolent and improvident. It induces many to remain as hopeless paupers in their old homes, instead of going to other places where they could find employment. It is unfair to the independent poor, because it exposes them to the competition of those who live partly upon the rates and partly upon their own miserable earnings. On the other hand, a wise economy in outdoor relief has accomplished wonders. Sir Baldwyn Leighton has shown how the exercise of such economy in the Atcham Union reduced the number of outdoor paupers from 1,195 in 1834 to 139 in 1870, and reduced the expenditure on poor relief from 9,800*l.* for the year 1837 to 4,200*l.* for the year 1868. At the present time the proportion of paupers to population in the Atcham Union is only one-third of the average proportion elsewhere. And the same excellent authority computes that a like economy followed by boards of guardians throughout the kingdom would effect a saving of from 2,000,000*l.* to 3,000,000*l.* a year. Since, therefore, a strict administration of outdoor relief is on every ground desirable, each union should be left to bear the entire expense of outdoor relief. But outdoor relief and indoor relief stand on a different footing. There is not the same risk of abuse with indoor relief. A well-managed workhouse is from its very order, discipline, and work for the able-bodied, distasteful to the idle and dissolute, and the good management or otherwise is at once revealed to an experienced eye by a few simple tests. And the State can contribute to the expense of indoor relief without encouraging the guardians to extravagance.

An imperial capitation grant for every person receiving indoor relief, less than the smallest sum sufficient for his proper maintenance, but sufficient to do away with the delusive apparent economy of outdoor relief, would not be open to exception.² It would not weaken the motives to a thrifty management of the union. Every saving which the local authority could effect would still be felt by the ratepayers. And the local authority would be more disposed than at present to apply the workhouse test where on sound principles it was desirable to do so.

If the Imperial Government thought proper to assist the local authority to any further extent, it might contribute to the payment of superior officers, such as the clerks to guardians, relieving officers, or masters, matrons and trained nurses in workhouses and in workhouse hospitals, to the payment of all such officials as require a special training or hold responsible posts. It might give these subsidies on such conditions as would insure the fitness of the public servants whom it paid. But all contributions by the Imperial to the expenses of the Local Government should fulfil the same conditions. Instead of giving facilities for sloth and negligence, they should be the rewards of industry and economy. And I have already hinted that they should be so charged on the Imperial Revenue as to lighten the present unfair impositions upon the occupier of real property.

We may thus sum up briefly the above suggestions for the reform of local finance. The reform of local finance requires that within the limits of each area there should be one and only one taxing and spending authority, only one valuation, one rate, one machinery of collection, one system of keeping accounts and making returns; one invariable rule in the preparation and publication of estimates. The reform of local finance also requires that grants from the Imperial Treasury should be given on terms which promote local economy, and on condition of good and careful local administration; that personal property as well as real property should contribute to local expenses; that the owner as well as the occupier should be directly rated; and that, so far as possible, those who are more especially benefited by the local expenditure should, to some extent, make special contributions to the local revenue. Doubtless, objections may be made in one or two instances to the principle of these changes; and even those who may accept in every case the principle will continue to differ concerning the details. But none of these changes have been proposed in a spirit of merely wanton innovation; and it is my sincere belief that all or nearly all will have to be made before we can put our local economy upon the best and soundest footing.

² If the maintenance of an indoor pauper is calculated at 3s. 6d. per head, a grant of 2s. 6d. per head might thus be made to all well-managed workhouses.

I may point out that the proposed readjustments of rating and taxation, besides being just in themselves and calculated to promote efficient and economical local administration, are also calculated, if carried out in one complete measure, both to facilitate the passage and to smooth the working of the changes proposed. The proposals will give most substantial relief to agriculturists and other ratepayers, and remove a sense of injustice; while the owners of real property will be in the end more than compensated for sharing the direct, as they now claim that they bear the indirect, incidence of the rates by having one of the heaviest rating expenditures materially lightened. The necessity of dealing with the Licensing question asserted alike by the House of Commons and the Government makes it of great importance that there should be no unnecessary delay in establishing representative bodies to whom the country can with confidence entrust that difficult and delicate duty. The Government clearly realise this when they state that they propose to deal with the Licensing question as a part of Local Government. It is evident that liberal provision should be made for the compensation of any officers who would on a simpler system be no longer required, but this would substitute a temporary expenditure for a permanent and growing outlay.

During many years the vices of our Local Government have wasted the resources and enfeebled the political life of our country. Silently and steadily they have grown and have become almost inveterate. But at last those who have long anxiously laboured to interest the public in the reform of Local Government may hope to see that reform undertaken by a Cabinet which all allow to possess great administrative ability and courage, and by a Prime Minister able to make clear and interesting to everybody all the financial and political bearings of questions the driest and most intricate. The satisfaction which this prospect inspires is not confined solely to the friends of the Government. Feeling the intricacy of the question, more than one Conservative has expressed the wish that Mr. Gladstone would employ his great abilities at once in reforming our Local Government and in placing our taxation, imperial as well as local, on a just and sound footing. These tasks are closely connected the one with the other; both are of extreme difficulty, and that both should be satisfactorily performed must be the anxious desire of all parties and of all classes.

Since all political parties wish to see the question of Local Government settled, it would be wise and patriotic on the part of all to join in its settlement. Conservatives, no less than Liberals, might well take an active part in the work of restoring life, strength, and dignity to that local self-government, which has been at once the basis of our English liberty and our defence against disorder and

excess. A strong and efficient self-government, together with a just system of local and imperial taxation, is probably the strongest and most defensible bulwark against a violent or aggressive democracy. It would bring that class which enjoys most wealth and leisure to unite with other classes in performing their fair share of public duty. In this way, the only way now possible, it would preserve to them a large share of the power and pre-eminence which they have hitherto enjoyed. It would secure to every class as much of the leadership as that class deserved, which is all that any class can retain in an age of democracy. That he and his Government should achieve this double task would indeed be to Mr. Gladstone the glorious crown of a glorious life.

I may be pardoned for repeating that the suggestions offered to the public in this article make no claim to originality. On the contrary, their merit, if they have any, lies in this, that they are the outcome of the labours of many men who had nothing in common, save that they were reformers of Local Government and local taxation, of men belonging to all parties and of the most varied experience. Mr. Goschen pointed out the principles advocated, and Mr. Stansfeld laid the foundation of the simplification of areas and of governing bodies; while many leading Conservatives have declared the importance of the reforms which Mr. Whitbread and I have urged, and, in this article, I venture to press on the acceptance of the Government and Parliament. Many of these suggestions, again, are due to the Chairmen and Officers of Boards of Guardians and other local bodies, who have rendered to the country services invaluable, although too often unappreciated. Nor are these suggestions derived merely from theory. They are founded in some instances on the recommendation of Committees of the House of Commons, or of responsible Statesmen, but oftener on successful experience in branches of Local Government of the United Kingdom. The proposal that each local authority should prepare an annual budget of expenditure is an exception. But a similar rule has long since been enforced with the best results among the Dutch, who much resemble our people both in general character and in fondness for local self-government. In Holland they have made their system of Local Government strong, simple, and efficient. Consequently, it gives great satisfaction to those who live under it, which is more than can yet be said of ours.

How much the task of attempting the reform of Local Government has been lightened by the labours of Mr. R. S. Wright, will be understood by those who have studied his memoranda on the subject. Thorough in research, unsurpassed in legal and political acuteness, admirably clear and concise in expression, these papers have enabled any ordinary reader to understand in a day what, without them, only the ablest inquirer could have learnt by years of laborious

investigation. Indeed, some such exhaustive analysis ought to have preceded all attempts to meet by fresh enactments the ever-increasing demands of modern civilisation.

I cannot conclude without acknowledging the valuable assistance which I have received from my friend, Mr. F. C. Montague, in the preparation of this and the previous article.

WILLIAM RATHBONE.

THE WEAKNESS OF THE ARMY.

THE general annual return of the British Army for the year 1881, which has lately been published, contains a vast amount of information relative to the Army up to the 1st of January 1882, in a series of tables, covering 103 pages of closely printed figures, full of details of a highly interesting nature, but from their very fulness so intricate that it requires a great deal of attentive study to extract from them the facts which may be of use in forming an idea of the success of the administration of the Army up to the date to which the return refers. A careful analysis of some of this tabulated information, and comparison with previous returns, reveal some facts to which it might be of advantage that general attention should be directed; especially at the present time when the public are only too ready to infer, from the success which has attended the short campaign in Egypt, that the Army is in a perfect condition, and fit for any work it may be called upon to perform, and that no further changes are required.

The first striking fact is that with a paid army at home with a strength of 92,784 men of all ranks, we were compelled, in order to send a small expedition, comprising about 32,000 men, to Egypt, to have recourse to India for about 4,500 men, to our Mediterranean garrisons, which were reduced in strength by about 2,000, and to call in 10,800 of the reserves, so that, abstracting these extraneous sources of supply, this great home army contributed not more than about 20,000 men to the expedition.

The effort that was made to accomplish this object has been eulogised as a feat of the highest administrative order, and no doubt, as compared with previous displays of a like nature, it was highly creditable; but the fact nevertheless remains that the military machine possessing, to use an engineering expression, a nominal power of 92,000 fighting men, was very severely strained to place 20,000 of their number in the field; and not only so, but if general report is to be believed—and there is good ground for the belief—those that remained behind were by no means in a satisfactory condition as regards training and formation; so much so that if the remainder of the Army

Reserve had been called out, the utmost that could have been accomplished within a reasonable delay of a few months would have been to mobilise and place a force of about 25,000 more men in the field; a fact that is well known in foreign countries.¹ It may be objected that in making this statement no account is taken of the militia reserve; but the extent to which this reserve may be used for mobilising battalions for immediate action is questionable. Its strength appears from the return to have been on the 1st of January 1882, 27,274 men, who according to their terms of engagement are available in case of emergency; they are not, however, as a rule sufficiently trained to take their place at once in the ranks of a field force, and are in fact, after the absorption of the Army Reserve, the only source from which a supply can be obtained to replace the casualties which so rapidly occur on active service.

According to the experience of former wars the militia reserve, even if they all answered the call to duty and were fit (16 per cent. failed to come forward when the militia reserves were called out in 1878), would only supply the vacancies in a force of 50,000 men on active service for a very few months; and when this supply is exhausted there is no other to fall back upon but recruits, and volunteers from the militia, who, according to the experience of former wars, do not come forward in anything like adequate numbers. The expedients adopted during the Peninsular war to keep up the army then in the field—which, as judged of in relation to more modern armies, was comparatively small—and the difficulties experienced during the Russian war when only boys could be got, who went out, as Lord Raglan expressed it, to die like flies, only prove too clearly that, whatever may be the force mobilised for service in the field, it would be a most dangerous proceeding, and calculated to lead to disaster, not to leave at home an effective reserve in process of formation calculated to keep it up to its nominal fighting strength.

True economy and efficiency go hand in hand in requiring that this should be the case. Much care and thought have been given to the subject of the formation which is best calculated to promote these objects, and the result has been the establishment by authority of the strength of the various units, whether regiments, battalions, or batteries, which should constitute a force for active service. In the

¹ The organ of the Russian General staff, the *Russki Invalide*, describes the Egyptian war in its military summary for 1882. It says: 'The difficulty the [English] Government experienced in raising attenuated regiments to their proper strength, and the numerous cases that occurred of mere skeletons of detachments being sent to the seat of war, showed that, at the very utmost, England could not land more than 40,000 troops on the Continent of Europe, without considerable difficulty, and that even this could not be effected without leaving England completely bare of an army.'—*Pall Mall Gazette*, February 8, 1883.

late expedition to Egypt this establishment was totally ignored, the battalions having gone out some 200 men or more below the strength as laid down by regulation; as a consequence it comprised more regiments and was comparatively more expensive, and the number of cadres at home was reduced to correspond. This would have added greatly to the difficulties of a further expansion of the field force if such had been necessary; but, whether the cadres in the field are large or small, efficiency imperatively demands that they should not be allowed, as in the Crimea, to waste away in a manner which is most disheartening and depressing to all who serve in them; the reserves in second line should be adequate to fill up casualties, and to maintain them in a state of efficiency.

Although, therefore, a few of the militia reserves may, if absolutely necessary, be drafted on an emergency into battalions to complete them on their first mobilisation, the mass which are not fully trained should be regarded as a reserve in second line; without them there would be no such reserve at all, and therefore, in any statement of the force that could be suddenly mobilised, it is evident the militia reserve should not be included.

There is another strong reason for excluding this reserve from the calculation of the numbers available to complete the cadres of regular battalions on the first outbreak of hostilities. Care was taken to eliminate from the ranks of those which were sent to Egypt all boys under twenty years of age, or men who had been less than a year in the service, 450 men having been left behind from a single battalion, and their places supplied by trained men from the Army Reserve, who for the most part had passed six years in continuous service, and had only been out of it a short time; but still they handled their rifles so indifferently as to call forth loud complaints of the inefficiency of their fire. If militia instead of army reserve men were made use of to mobilise battalions for the field, it is only reasonable to suppose that their capacity to use their rifles with effect would be much lower, and the battalions, therefore, less efficient.

In making these observations it would not be just to lose sight of the fact that the battalions first on the roster for service had only lately been brought up to the high establishment as to numbers which Mr. Childers's scheme contemplates for the first twelve battalions on that roster, and that if the expedition to Egypt had taken place a couple of years later it would not have been necessary to leave so many inefficient behind, or to indent so largely upon the reserve. This no doubt is the case, but the extent to which it is so is one of degree. The arrangement inaugurated by Mr. Childers is an improvement upon that which preceded it; but as these battalions have each to feed one that is abroad as well as to keep up its own numbers, they must always contain a large proportion of recruits, seldom, if ever, less

than 300 in each, who, in the event of war, must be left behind as a *depôt*, and will then serve, although very inadequately, as the men become trained and developed, to feed both battalions under the greatly increased strain which will be brought upon them.

The discrepancy between the nominal force of 96,000 men in Army service with 24,000 in the Army Reserve, and the small effective force that can be put in the field, as shown by the experience of the late expedition to Egypt, is so great that no doubt many will be startled at the thought of the expense the country is put to in maintaining so large a force to produce so small a result. It will be well, therefore, to endeavour to discover some of the causes which conduce to this discrepancy, and the more so as a casual examination of the returns would mislead an uninformed reader to believe that the country possesses a large army ready for immediate service.

The first and chief cause of our difficulties is the same in 1881 as when Lord Airey's committee drew attention to the immense waste constantly going on from the ranks of the Army. They ascertained from returns prepared by the Adjutant-General from statistics extending over the eight preceding years—during which short service had been in existence, and 184,110 recruits had been enlisted—that an average of 123 men regularly disappeared from the ranks of the Army out of every thousand, before the end of the year in which they enlisted, or with an average of about three months' service; 246 per thousand (nearly one-fourth) before the end of the next year, or with an average of about eight months' service; and 290 per thousand before the end of the second year from that in which they enlisted, or with an average of about one year's service. Of these 290 men, 13 will have died, and 39 been invalided; 50 will have purchased their discharge; 160 will have been lost by desertion, struck off the rolls on conviction of fraudulent enlistment, or discharged for felony, with ignominy, or to penal servitude. The number of deaths is about the average of those which occur at later periods of service; but the number invalided is about one-half more than would occur in the same number of men with from six to eight years' service, indicating either that an undue proportion of men enlist who are physically unfit, or that the early training of recruits is too severe. The number of those who purchase their discharges, and the large sums paid by them for their liberty, testifies unmistakably to the unpopularity of the service. The 160 men out of every thousand lost by desertion and misconduct speak for themselves; some of the desertions are probably due to the same causes which induce men of respectability, who possess sufficient means, to purchase their discharges; but this mass of bad characters constantly passing through the ranks must make barrack life, what it

has often been described, utterly unbearable to a respectable man, and tend to prevent full benefit being derived from the improvements in the position of non-commissioned officers, recommended by Lord Airey's committee, and since adopted in a modified form by Mr. Childers, for the purpose of inducing a superior class of men to enlist. Lord Airey's committee calculated that this waste of men before the end of the second year from that in which they enlist, which has been going on for years, represents an actual expenditure of more than 500,000*l.* a year, which, they say, 'has not only been *absolutely useless*, but that it would have been far better for the public service if it had never been incurred.' The men themselves who have disappeared from the ranks could never have done any effective duty, and, as pointed out by the committee,

a great part of this expenditure tends to demoralise the lower orders of society, by encouraging fraudulent enlistment and desertion, and to bring the Government of the country into disrepute by sending back to civil life a number of men as invalids, with impaired health, and therefore with diminished prospects of earning their livelihood.

It may fairly be assumed that this large body of men, on their return to civil life, will assuredly bring what influence they have to bear upon their friends, to prevent them from yielding to the solicitations of recruiters. Their experience of service in the Army, combined with that of the vast numbers who quit it at later periods before completing their engagements, is quite sufficient to account for the difficulty there is in getting able-bodied men to enter the Army, even in seasons when there is a general lack of employment throughout the country, and for the comparatively small number of really good and respectable men who enlist, and are fit for promotion to the rank of non-commissioned officers.

The general annual return contains a statement of facts by which an opinion may be formed, whether this state of things has been remedied. It appears that out of 26,258 recruits enlisted during the year 1881, 3,449, or 131 per thousand, had disappeared before the end of that year. Also out of 25,622 enlisted in 1880, 6,125, or 239 per thousand, and out of 25,927 enlisted in 1879, 6,641, or 256 per thousand, had also gone before the end of 1881.

The losses among the recruits of 1881 are rather above, while those of 1880 and 1879 are rather below, the average, as calculated by the Adjutant-General. A closer scrutiny of the returns shows that the proportionate losses from the cavalry and artillery are greatly in excess of those from the infantry, which leads to the inference that possibly the experience of harder work required from recruits in those arms renders service in them more distasteful than service in the infantry. The general result of this analysis is that the waste continues, so that one-fourth of the recruits who join the Army are

out of it before the end of the second year from that in which they enlist, and before scarcely any of them can have rendered a day's effective service, having cost the country at the rate before stated of nearly 500,000*l.* a year, which had better have been thrown into the sea, because then, at any rate, although wasted, it would not have done harm.

This tremendous waste from the ranks of the Army does not stop with the third year of service, but goes on, although at a less rapid rate, in subsequent years. Being chiefly from the Army at home, it accounts for the large number of untrained and undeveloped men in its ranks (this number can never be less than one-fourth); and the consequent necessity of eliminating so many from corps before they can take the field. It also operates most prejudicially on the formation of the reserves.

This is clearly shown by the following facts extracted from the return :—

During the first six years, from 1870 to 1875 inclusive, since the introduction of short service, 64,588 men were enlisted for long service, and 57,693 for short service, making in all 122,281 recruits who joined the Army. At the date of the return, the periods for which these men enlisted had in no case expired, but of the long service men only 28,800 were serving on the 1st of January 1882. Of the short service men 7,811 were still in the Army, and not more than 22,062 in the reserve; so that the whole number still serving, or liable to serve, did not exceed 58,673, showing a loss of 63,608 men, or 529 out of every 1,000.

Out of 24,594 men enlisted in 1870, the first of the above years, not more than 9,823 were serving in the Army and reserve; in other words, they had lost at least 14,771 of their numbers, or more than 60 per cent., in less than twelve years. Similarly, out of 18,494 men enlisted in 1875, the last of these years, only 10,302 were serving in the Army and reserve; the loss having been 8,192, or 443 per 1,000, in less than six years. Of these last the number lost by death and invaliding was probably about one-fourth, while one-fifth paid heavy fines to be absolved from the honour of serving her Majesty, and more than one-half deserted, or were dismissed as incorrigible blackguards. This statement of facts will convince any impartial reader of the unwholesome state of the Army as it has existed hitherto; they account for the complaints which are made of the difficulty of getting respectable men to enter it, and for the failure of all efforts made with a view to raising the social status of the soldier.

The actual losses from the ranks of the Army in 1881 were as follows :—

6,663 casualties occurred among men before the end of the second

year from that in which they had enlisted, or, as before stated, before any of them had done scarcely a day's effective duty; 6,096 occurred among men of longer service, but who had not completed the period of twelve years for which they originally engaged; 2,836 men disappeared who had been re-engaged and were serving on after the completion of their first twelve years, but whose engagements had not expired. Total, 15,595.

Of this total number 6,282 died or were discharged as invalids; the whole of the remainder, 9,313, with very few exceptions, either purchased their discharges, deserted, or were dismissed for misconduct.

During the year also, 4,693 old soldiers were discharged on the expiration of their engagements, and 6,361 men were sent to the reserve and auxiliary forces, making up the total decrease of the Army during the year 1881 to 26,649.

To supply these casualties 26,258 recruits were enlisted, and 900 men were brought back from the reserve, making a total of 27,158, being an addition to the Army of 509 men.

The return shows, further, that the average number of recruits enlisted during the last three years, to which it refers, was 2,872 less than the average of the three preceding years, and that already in 1881 the supply of recruits was so defective that necessity had arisen for indenting on the reserve, of whom 900 were re-enrolled to keep the ranks of the Army up to their required strength, notwithstanding the adoption of territorial regiments, the changes in the method of enlistment which ensued thereon, and the improvements made in the pay and status of non-commissioned officers.

The *Times* now informs the public that the Inspector-General of Recruiting in his report, which is not yet published, announces that there has been a still further falling off in the numbers of recruits, to the extent of nearly 2,500 during 1882, leaving a considerable deficiency in the ranks of the Army.

The returns, however, show that the call on the labour market for recruits will be greatly increased in future years. About 7,500 men who were serving on the 1st of January 1882 completed their service and became entitled to discharge in that year, and about 10,000 more to claim their transfer to the reserve, making together 17,500 vacancies in 1882, as against 11,054 from like causes in 1881. These vacancies have been suspended in consequence of the hostilities in Egypt, which enabled the Government, under the powers conferred upon them by the Army Act, to retain the time-expired men with the colours; but, the power having ceased with the cessation of hostilities, these men will now be able to claim their dismissal, and, unless they voluntarily take on, will be released from army service at once. They will thus swell the ordinary demands for 1883, which from like causes will amount in all probability to not less than 18,000 men,

being an increase of about 7,000 beyond the number required in 1881. In 1884-5 and -6 the numbers that will be entitled to claim discharge or transfer to the reserve will also exceed on the average 19,000, after which the longer service with the colours, introduced by Mr. Childers, will begin to tell, by reducing the numbers who can claim to be transferred to the reserve.

The general result of this analysis is that, as 26,258 recruits were insufficient in 1881 to supply the demands of the Army, when only 11,054 were transferred to the reserve or were discharged on the expiration of the periods for which they were engaged, the number of recruits will have to be increased, as calculated by the War Department actuaries for Lord Airey's committee, to about 36,000 men during the present and each of the three succeeding years, unless measures are taken to diminish the waste.

The question, 'How this increased number of recruits is to be obtained?' is one, therefore, which will have to be solved without delay. If the expedients which have been usually adopted on the occurrence of similar emergencies be resorted to, the physical standard of recruits will be lowered, and the minimum age reduced, and an attempt made to supply the deficiency by immature boys. Judging by what took place in 1876, when a larger number of recruits were enlisted than in any year within the memory of man, these measures will fail to meet the demand. In that year more than 15,000 lads were taken below the nominal age of twenty years, of whom nearly 9,000 were below nineteen; but, even so, the market only yielded 29,000 recruits. It cannot be expected that the adoption of these measures will yield a larger result now, and, if not, the numbers obtained will fall far short of the requirements of the service.

The enlistment of immature youths and men of lower physique will, if permitted, undoubtedly increase the waste and useless expenditure, and will not add to the real fighting strength of the Army. They will, however, serve the purpose of humbugging John Bull, by appearing as units in the returns, and will re-open the much vexed question of boy soldiers—which all who had taken part in its discussion had fondly hoped to have been settled by the recent campaign in Egypt—in which the testimony of Mr. Childers and Lord Wolseley was practically given on the side of those who maintain the necessity of the ranks of the Army being filled with fully developed and mature men instead of immature lads, who, however willing and anxious to do their duty, sicken and waste away under the fatigue and exposure of war, filling the hospitals, requiring sound men to look after and protect them, and causing risk of failure to the operations of the Army, from mere lack of numbers and of powers of endurance.

The fact that all immature and imperfectly trained men were

left behind when their regiments were mobilised, and of their places having been supplied from the Army Reserve, so that the various corps in Egypt were almost identical, as regards age and length of service, with those that marched from Candahar to Cabul under Sir Donald Stewart, from Cabul to Candahar under Sir Frederick Roberts, and also with the army which crossed the Pyrenees under the Duke of Wellington, and the well-known fact that Lord Wolseley's reserve at Tel-el-Kebir was taken from the marine artillery, induced the belief that the uselessness of enlisting boys, and counting them as effective soldiers, was accepted officially as an axiom, and that the enrolment of immature youths in the ranks of the Army would never be resumed.

To revert to long service is impossible, and would not give the country what it requires, and what the experience already gained by short service has demonstrated to be practicable, viz. a force of moderate dimensions with the colours which can be supplemented, in case of necessity, from a reserve trained in its ranks, and whose services are secured by a retaining fee. The real question at issue is not one of long or short service, but rather of the enlistment of boys or men, and of retaining them in the ranks when enlisted. A highly experienced officer of rank, who served in Egypt, has expressed a very decided opinion that immature youths, of whom there were a few, were next to useless, as they had invariably to be sent on board ship after a few days' work on shore. This same officer had previous experience of the boys who were sent to Zululand. Lord Airey's committee, at p. 21 of their report, showed the extravagance of enlisting boys, by stating the cost to which they put the country before arriving at maturity, and becoming fit to endure the hardships of war, or even of service in India. They stated that

assuming for the purposes of calculation that it takes a year to train a man for the duties of a soldier, which is not excessive in the infantry, but is certainly too short a time for the purpose in the other branches of the service, it would appear that a recruit joining the cavalry at the age of 20, if he did not break down meanwhile in the process, would be fit for duty on reaching 21 years of age, at a cost to the country of 58*l.*, or thereabouts; whereas, if he had enlisted at 18, he would have cost the country 144*l.*, or 86*l.* more than if he had enlisted at 20; and similarly the cost of a trained infantry soldier fit for the ordinary duties for which he is engaged, and for which purpose alone the country goes to the expense of maintaining him, would be 135*l.*, 96*l.*, or 57*l.* according as he was enlisted at the age of 18, 19, or 20 years, these amounts being in every case paid for the trained soldier of 21 years of age. This calculation, they added, takes no account of the loss of those who might break down during training, and who, if their numbers could be ascertained, would add materially to the cost of those who remain.

Assuming, therefore, that the object of the country is to have an efficient army of mature men fit for war, and not to maintain 90,000 men at home, as was the case at the commencement of 1882, with a

reserve of 24,000, or 114,000 in all, of whom less than one-half were available for service, it will be true economy and add to efficiency, even though the numbers were somewhat reduced, if all men with the colours were effective and fit for service, except sick and such men as were actually untrained.

It is upon a basis of cadres made up of such men that the German army is capable of expansion. The men with the colours are all mature, able-bodied and fit for work, and constitute the nucleus which by the recall of the reserves is made up to war strength. Without such a nucleus the men who pass through the Army cannot be properly trained, nor can the officers acquire a practical knowledge of their duties and be fitted for service in the field. The miserable cadres of recruits and untrained soldiers left behind after the expedition had been sent to Egypt would have proved themselves, if hostilities had continued for a very few months, very poor and inefficient schools for the training of officers or men, and, in fact, the cadres on the lowest establishment in their normal condition are but little better.

The only way to maintain the Army in a state of efficiency as to physique, is to take another step in advance beyond that already taken, by adding to 'the advantages of the Army' as published by authority, for the purpose of inducing men, not boys, to enter it. The adoption of short service has virtually abolished pensions except for those who are injured in the service, or are allowed as non-commissioned officers to extend their engagements to twenty-one years, so that eventually the annual vote for pensions will be greatly reduced; in fact, one of the advantages claimed by many of the advocates of short service was the economy that would result from the abolition of pensions, and, although it has not yet been realised, there can be little doubt that in a few years the non-effective vote will be greatly reduced.

Pay with a prospect of pension on discharge was the former inducement held out to working men to enlist; the value of the pension as determined by its cost to the Government having been equivalent to about 4*d.* a day for every enlisted man. This sum might therefore have been regarded as deferred pay to be received on discharge. Since then a change has been made in the system of feeding the Army by which a ration of bread and meat is issued free of charge instead of on payment; being tantamount to an increase of about one halfpenny a day for each man. Lord Cranbrook gave a further increase of 2*d.* a day, to be paid to each soldier as deferred pay on quitting army service; so that, whereas by abolishing pensions the value of 4*d.* was taken away, 2½*d.* has since been added, leaving the actual pay of the soldier 1½*d.* a day less than it was before the introduction of short service. Since then wages generally through-

out the country have risen and education has progressed, so that the wonder is that recruiting goes on as briskly as it does.

Lord Airey's committee, which had the whole subject before them, after recommending certain improvements in the system of recruiting, which have since been in great measure adopted under Mr. Childers's administration, reported that if the terms offered should still be insufficient, 'the only means which suggests itself for maintaining an efficient army based upon voluntary service is still further to increase the advantages, so as to obtain what is required by the only legitimate means—fair competition in the open labour market.' Recommending that any increase of pay that may be necessary should be in the shape of deferred pay, they observed that soldiers have plenty of money for their immediate wants and amusements while serving, and that any increase would generally be squandered away; whereas a good sum paid on discharge would assist a man in starting in civil life, would promote habits of thrift, and tend to induce others who see men returning to their homes with a good round sum of money in their possession to engage for service in the Army.

The present deferred pay is not sufficient to afford a man much real help. At the end of eight years, which will be the usual length of Army service under the latest regulations, a soldier will return to civil life from India or the Colonies, where he will have passed the preceding six years, in a very unfavourable condition for immediately entering upon civil employment and earning his livelihood. It may, therefore, be expected that the greater part of his deferred pay (24*l.*) will be spent before he can establish himself; and as to the sum (9*l.*) he would receive if sent to the reserve after three years, it is so small that a few weeks' idleness, while seeking employment, would dissipate it.

It has been before shown that nearly 500,000*l.* a year is expended in a manner that is worse than useless. This sum alone would be sufficient to yield an addition of about 2*d.* a day to the pay of every man in the Army; but the immense waste from its ranks points to other large savings which might be effected, and applied for the improvement of the pay of the soldier, if only this waste could be prevented.

This undue waste was attributed by Lord Airey's committee to the following causes:—

1. The imperfect physical development of recruits.
2. Desertion.
3. Purchase of discharge.
4. Dismissal of bad characters.

With regard to the first, a step has been taken in the right direction, by the regulation that recruits are not to be taken unless they are of the physical equivalent of nineteen years of age, as shown by

their weight and general appearance. It is probable, also, that the medical examination is more stringent, but still the number of men invalidated soon after they join the service is excessive.

As to desertion, it is as rife now as it was when the committee reported that in eight years it had cost the country the enormous sum of 2,800,000*l*. The feeling of the country is adverse to the recommendation of Lord Airey's committee, that the whole Army, including officers of all ranks, from the field-marshal downwards, should be vaccinated in a particular part of the body where the marks might be discovered by the examining medical officer; but another of their recommendations, if carried into effect, would tend materially to the diminution of this evil.

The United Kingdom, as at present divided into seventy-three districts and sub-districts for purposes of recruiting, is organised almost as if purposely to give every facility for desertion and fraudulent enlistment. A man who enlists in one district, and after a few weeks or months deserts, is almost certain not to be detected on presenting himself for enlistment in another district. So profitable has the occupation been found, that a case is on record of a man who had been discharged with ignominy having subsequently re-enlisted six times within four years, and of another man who, having deserted six times, had been convicted and sentenced to imprisonment four times within a period of four years, having cost the State not less than 250*l*.

Lord Airey's committee, for reasons which are fully detailed in their report, recommended the formation of training depôts, to which all recruits from the sub-districts should be sent for six months before joining their regiments. If one such depôt were formed for every eight or ten districts, they would resemble those now existing and working with great success at Walmer for the Marines, at Winchester for the Rifles, and at Caterham for the Guards. The training of the recruits would cost far less, probably not more than one-third of the extravagant sum it now costs, would be better conducted, and need not in the least interfere with the territorial system as now existing. At present recruits are retained for a few, generally not more than three or four, weeks at the depôts, and are then passed on to their regiments to have their training completed. The only difference would be that, instead of going to their regiments, they would go to the training depôts where they would receive their instruction from carefully selected instructors, and the evils would be remedied to which they are subject by the injudicious and capricious treatment they too often receive at the hands of young and inexperienced non-commissioned officers, which is not improbably the cause of many purchasing their discharges and of numerous desertions.

If these training depôts were adopted and a system introduced

by which some of the non-commissioned officers could occasionally be transferred from one dépôt to another, fraudulent enlistment would be checked, and with it desertion. There would also be a probability that notoriously bad characters would be more readily discovered, and therefore a reduction would take place in the number of those annually discharged. It may be anticipated that nearly two-thirds of the desertions from the Army, which occur among men with less than twelve months' service, would be prevented; and the greater care as regards health which could be given at such establishments would tend to reduce the number of those who break down under training and are invalided. Their establishment will also be attended incidentally with the advantage that the dépôt buildings at stations not selected for training dépôts would, while serving as excellent centres for the reserves, be available as barracks and training stations so much needed for the militia.

The third cause of waste in the Army arises from discharges by purchase. No less than 1,245 men availed themselves during 1881 of their right to discharge on payment of 10*l.* within three months from their enlistment, and 2,171 more purchased their discharges after longer periods of service on payment of 18*l.*; so that more than 50,000*l.* was paid by soldiers in that year for their liberty, a sum which is about equal to the entire annual cost of a strong infantry battalion, officers and all.

Lord Airey expressed a hope that by lightening the recruits' duties a diminution would be produced in the number availing themselves of their right to discharge within three months, and were of opinion that it is questionable whether this right might not be restricted with advantage to one month; and that discharge by purchase at later periods should be allowed only upon a higher scale of payment.

The general result of these proposals would undoubtedly be to diminish to a great extent the waste now going on from the ranks of the Army, which, by rendering it necessary to have at all times an inordinate proportion of untrained recruits, causes regiments to be in a comparatively ineffective state, and to reduce that source of expenditure which has been shown to be so useless and mischievous. It is not at all unreasonable to suppose that if these various proposals had been carried out, the losses of the Army by purchase, desertion, and dismissal, which in 1881 amounted to 9,313 men, would have been reduced by at least 6,000, in which case there would have been no need to re-enrol men from the reserve, and the Army would have been kept complete with 20,000 instead of 26,000 recruits; and each battalion, while of the same numerical strength, would have had about 70 more trained and effective men in its ranks.

As regards the future, looking to the greatly increased demand

for recruits, which it has been shown must occur during the next few years, and to the difficulty, or rather impossibility, of obtaining sufficient recruits under the existing conditions of service as shown by the general annual return of the Army, it is certain that the required numbers will not be forthcoming on the terms now offered. It has also been shown that the pay and deferred pay now given is actually less than the pay, including the prospect of pension, given to soldiers previous to the introduction of short service. It is evident, therefore, that the pay of the soldier must be increased. What is recommended is tentatively to raise the deferred pay at once to sixpence a day, and that the amount due to each man should be entered from time to time in his ledger, as is done in the Postal Savings Bank books; and should carry interest, so that each man should be encouraged in habits of thrift, and would know the exact amount due to him, which he would forfeit if he deserted or committed any gross misdemeanour. It would thus serve as a pledge for good behaviour, and at the end of a few years, when the soldier passed to the reserve, amount to a considerable sum, sufficient to give him a fair start in civil life. The fact also of a man returning to his village with a good round sum of ready money at his disposal, which to many a working man would seem fabulous, would be the best publication of the advantages of the Army that could be effected, and would go far to make it popular and to bring in recruits.

To quote the report of Lord Airey's committee again—

It is evident that, dependent as the Army is on voluntary enlistment, it is useless to discuss any organisation unless there is a well-founded assurance that fitting materials will be forthcoming for its duties, and that when these materials have been obtained, they will not waste away as they have hitherto done,

and are now

doing, at such enormous rates without benefit to the Army or to the country, but, on the contrary, involving a vast useless and mischievous expenditure of money, impairing the efficiency of the Army, and retarding the formation of the reserves.

The only true method of maintaining an army by voluntary enlistment is to make it popular, not only in the ephemeral sense that people will cheer it when parading the streets on its return from a successful campaign, nor in that sense that the ordinary toasts at public banquets shall be received with cheers, but in the only sense in which it can be of any practical value—by inducing young men to surrender their liberty for a considerable portion of their lives, to enter its ranks, submit to its discipline, and endure its hardships, for the honour and safety of their Queen and country. It is neither fair nor right to expect young men to make such sacrifices while

giving them less wages than they can earn in civil life coupled with perfect freedom and the power to change their employers whenever they like. It may be doubted whether a sufficient number of young gentlemen would be found to serve as officers if they could obtain higher salaries elsewhere; and, if not, why should the working classes be expected to do so?

The railway companies and large contractors are not compelled to enlist boys; they have no difficulty in keeping up their establishments with able-bodied men of a physical type far superior to the Army. The reason is that they offer sufficient wages and advantages, whilst the War Department does not.

That such is the case is apparent from a table, appendix 23 to the report of Lord Airey's committee, being an estimate, furnished by the Accountant-General of the War Department, of the cost of a private soldier of each arm during his first and second years of service. Depôt and recruiting expenses run up this cost during the first year; but it will be new to a great many to find that, exclusive of these exceptional charges, but including pay and deferred pay, food, fuel and light, barrack furniture, washing, clothing, arms, accoutrements, ammunition, and medical charges, the total cost of an infantry soldier is 38*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.* a year, or 14*s.* 11½*d.* per week, and therefore far below that of an ordinary labourer or railway porter.

This inadequate wage is the real cause of the existence of bad soldiers and bad characters, and of the tremendous waste and useless expenditure incurred. It also accounts for much of the deterioration of discipline, and of the vast amount of crime and punishment which, as is revealed by these returns, is lamentably on the increase in the Army. The recruiter scarcely taps the stratum of respectable able-bodied labourers which exists throughout the country—and probably the majority of those he gets from it purchase their discharges—but is compelled to seek among lads who are not sufficiently mature to earn a fair day's wages, and who will naturally desire to leave the Army whenever they are strong enough to earn better wages elsewhere; or among waifs and strays who cannot obtain fixed employment, but wander up and down the country in quest of jobs, dragging out a precarious existence from day to day, it is to be feared too often by methods of a questionable nature. It is these latter who probably receive the larger portion of the huge sums expended year by year so mischievously and uselessly.

The suggestion to increase the deferred pay as an experiment would raise the cost of the infantry soldier from 38*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.* to 44*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.* a year, or from 14*s.* 11½*d.* to 17*s.* 3½*d.* per week, which approximates to, but is still less than, the ordinary wage of an able bodied labourer in most parts of the United Kingdom. If successful

in preventing the inordinate waste that is going on, and making soldiers content to remain in the service, it will stop the useless and mischievous expenditure now proceeding on so large a scale, and while being found a measure of true economy, add to the efficiency of the Army.

J. L. A. SIMMONS.

THE
NINETEENTH
CENTURY.

No. LXXIV.—APRIL 1883.

THE LAND OF PROMISE: A FABLE.

I.

A PILGRIM FOLK, o'er leagues of pathless sand
Long journeying patiently from far away,
Lured by the promise of a fairer land,
Reach'd ere the close of one eventful day
The craggy shore of a capacious stream :
And lo ! the Promised Land before them lay
All in a golden sunset, whose last gleam
Reveal'd between the rovers and their rest
No barrier save that river's bridgeless breast.

II

Each sufferer, sick and footsore from the waste,
Hail'd with reviving hope the blissful sight.
About the river-beach they pitch'd in haste
Their evening tents, and roam'd in dreams all night

IV.

A cry arose,
‘Rash fools, restrain this mad enthusiasm !
Behold with what enthusiastic blows
The battering current grinds its granite chasm !
What to its pitiless waves can you oppose ?
Your numbers ? They outnumber you. Your will ?
The water’s will is wilder than your own.
Your energy ? More energetic still
Is the tremendous drift that drags you down.
Rest in the rear when ruin’s in the van,
Reflect, return, renounce. . . . Alas, too late !’

V.

He who said this was an old grey-hair’d man.
His voice was answer’d by resentful cries,
‘Pedant, and craven-hearted renegade,
Preach not to us thy croaking homilies !
Farewell to those who fear, and those who wait !
Progress is prudence !’

Save the river’s roar,
The elders of the tribe (with prescient faces,
Gazing aghast, and listening) heard no more ;
But saw, still saw, in the fierce stream’s embraces,
Here a wild arm, and there a whirling head,
And then—the heaving of the funeral pall
By the grim, bleak, implacable river spread
Over the grave of an ideal.

VI.

All

Were husht with horror. In the silence said
That old grey-headed watcher of the tide,
'Friends, let us mourn for the untimely dead,
Whom impulse fair, with precept false allied
And inexperience, to their doom hath led.
They err'd in seeking, but they sought, the truth;
And we shall miss the force their fervour caught
From full hearts glowing with the fire of youth.
That generous warmth, alas, no longer ours,
We must replace by clear, if frigid, thought,
And toil that trains for triumph temperate powers.
Yon ravenous and remorseless element
Us from our promised rest doth still divide.
Let us, O friends, some dexterous dyke invent
To curb the current or divert the tide.
A faithless and a formidable foe
We have to deal with. No concessions vile,
No haste incautious! Grudge not labour slow.
Complete the plan ere you begin the pile.
To work!'

VII.

These words evoked but faint applause.
A few men to the speaker's side drew near,
And grasp'd his hand, after a thoughtful pause,
In silence; scorning by a single cheer
To recognise the Passions as allies
Of Reason's coldly-calculated cause.
Small was their number, but they seem'd the wise.
Meanwhile, from out the masses in the rear
A man stepp'd forward. His broad back was bow'd,
His form misshapen, like a wither'd oak
With strong limbs warp'd and naked. To the crowd,
Whence he had issued, bitterly he spoke;

VIII.

'Surely enough of perils and privations,
Of trust betray'd, and labour lost, enough,
And hopes deferr'd, whose fraudulent invitations
Lengthen the road they never leave less rough!
Dupe us no more. Foot-wearied fools we are,
Worn out with unrewarded agitations
In running after rest. Still, near or far,
The land we seek our cheated search belies.
Because it was a miserable land
We left our own; yet nought but miseries
We found elsewhere, a miserable band!
And miserably here beneath our eyes
Have we seen perishing the brave, the bold,
The young, the beautiful, who sought in vain
That better land. The selfish and the old,
Who, to augment our wretchedness, remain,
Now on our faint and weaken'd faith have laid
A heavier burden. What have we to gain
By labouring longer? And what right have they
To disregard the rule themselves have made?
Let them make good their promise. To obey
'Tis now their turn, and ours to be obey'd,
For we are the majority. Whate'er
The yet unpeopled Land of Promise be,
One thing, at least, is certain: everywhere
The wretchedest are the most numerous. We
Are both: nor need we any further fare
To find a refuge from the ills we flee.
After life, death; and after labour, sleep:
They do but live to toil who toil to live.
One gift, whose promise earth is bound to keep,
This soil, tho' niggard, to the spade will give
As soon as any other, and as cheap;
Life's goal, a grave.'

IX.

He turn'd upon his heel,
Follow'd by many. The remaining few
Began to build. In accents low and grave
'What, without us, would be the commonweal?
Mere common woe,' they murmur'd. 'Let us save,
In spite of its own self, society.'
And slow they rear'd, with unimpetuous zeal,
Rock-shoulder'd ramparts, fencing flood-gates high,
And sluices deep.

X.

'Astray is all your skill,
Nor ever will the work you do succeed !'
A meagre mocking voice exclaim'd one day.
It was a little, thin, dry, crooked man,
Who had from the assembly stolen away
When first the feud 'twixt young and old began,
And now, as furtively, return'd. 'I know
That river. It is mischievous and mad :
But there's some good in it, if you knew how
To make the best of what is not all bad.
Your dyke anon the rising flood will break,
And deluge all.' They answer'd, 'Other dykes
If needed, other sluices, we will make :
The stream rolls where it must, not where it likes.'
'Twill roll where you will like its rolling less.
You do not understand its nature. Hark !
No longer strive to oppose it, or repress.
I know a better system : follow it.'
'What is thy system?' 'I will build a bark'—
'And shipwreck all ! These plunging whirlpools split
Our stoutest planks to splinters. Noë's ark

With such a cataract would in vain have vied.
It is a foe to vanquish, if we can,
And not a friend to whom we can confide
Aught that we love.'

•

XI.

The little crooked man
With a low laugh to this reply replied
'Ay, 'tis a foe whom, for that very reason,
You should conciliate till his forces blind
(By craft beguiled to salutary treason),
Subvert his stupid power. I have divined
The river's secret. If you try my plan,
I guarantee success—on one condition,
Make me your leader.' 'Impudent charlatan,'
(They laugh'd, at that presumptuous proposition)
'We know you for a rogue in deed and word.
Make *you* our leader? Things are not yet there.
We'll make you nothing but one gift—a cord :
Take it, and go and hang yourself elsewhere !'

XII.

Those honest and most honourable men
In saying this said only what was true.
The man was all they said of him. But then
The man was also something more (and knew
That he was something more) which miss'd their ken,
For he was clever. Smiling, he withdrew.
Meanwhile, the dyke went forward painfully ;
For, as its bulwarks broaden'd day by day,
The stream's resentful waters rose more high ;
And their uprisings sometimes wash'd away
The best contrivances opposed to them.

XIII.

One morn the foil'd foundation-makers spied
A vessel throng'd with folk from stern to stern ;
Slant was her course athwart the strenuous tide,
And sloping, tugg'd by tumid sails, she went.
Safe to the wisht-for shore the strong winds blew,
Safe to the wisht-for shore the turbulent
But trusted waters their subduer drew ;
And with a shout, as on its pleasant strand
They lightly leapt, her captain and his crew
Proclaim'd their conquest of the Promised Land.

XIV.

The little crooked man his word had kept.
Long in the science of deception school'd,
The subtle student proved the sage adept.
That formidable river he had fool'd
As easily as if it were mankind :
Making its strength his own, and profiting
By forces it had been his luck to find
Contending with each other to be king
While he enslaved them sily—wave and wind.
But when at last they reach'd, and overran,
The Eldorado of their lifelong dream,
Unfit for their good-fortune proved the clan
Of covetous adventurers that stream
(In turn betraying its betrayers) led
To their destruction. Vagabonds they were,
Who loved not labour and who lack'd not bread :
Each to the other grudged his lawless share
Of promised plunder, till the land was red
With its invaders' blood. Their leader sly
(True to his principles) employ'd his skill

To govern by dividing them. Thereby
 He ruled and ruin'd them with ease ; until
 At last the sick survivors of the strife,
 Taught by experience, recognised the source
 Of all the shameful troubles of his life
 In that shrewd trick of setting up one force
 To set another down, and playing class
 Forever against class. Their chief found out
 That what he thought could never come to pass
 He had himself contrived to bring about—
 A populace united : and its mass
 The populace uniting against him,
 It flung him, head and heels, into the river ;
 Where he was lost, not knowing how to swim,
 Though he knew how to sail.

XV.

Vain each endeavour !

They who, to reach the Promised Land, relied
 On fervid impulse, passionately perish'd
 At the first plunge. The wretches who denied
 Its pitying promise, cheerless, and uncherish'd
 Even by the lost tradition of it, died.
 Some labour'd for it, and their labour lost,
 Though long and patiently they labour'd. They
 Perchance were those who merited it most ;
 But then, their way was a mistaken way,
 And they persisted in it. The vile host
 Of rogues and vagabonds on whom a wit
 Not theirs, to serve its own ambitious schemes,
 Conferr'd the Land of Promise, were unfit
 (Even when it blest them with its brightest beams)
 To find their promised happiness in it.

XIV.

The Land of Promise rests the Land of Dreams.

LYTTON.

PRACTICABLE SOCIALISM.

SOME time ago I met in a tram-car a well-known American clergyman. 'Ah!' said he, 'ten years' work in New York as a minister at large made me a Christian socialist.' The remark illustrates my own experience; and, as my opinions are based on my experience, I may be excused if I write (very briefly) of myself and my doings. Ten years ago we came to live in East London. The study of political economy and familiarity with the condition of the poor, had shown me the harm of doles given in the shape either of tickets or of out relief. I found that relief, so given, did not make the poor any richer but served only to perpetuate poverty. We came to East London determined to war against a system of relief which, ignorantly cherished by the poor, meant ruin to their possibilities. The work of some devoted men on the Board of Guardians, helped by the members of the Charity Organisation Society, has enabled us to see the victory won. In this Whitechapel parish there is no out relief and the charity is given only to those who, by their forethought or their self-sacrifice, awaken feelings of gratitude and respect which find an outlet in friendly gifts. The result has not disappointed our hope. The poor have learnt to help themselves and have found self-help a stronger bond to keep the home together than the dole of the relieving officer or the district visitor. The rates have been saved 6,000*l.* a year, and that sum remains in the pockets of ratepayers to be spent as wages for work. I say advisedly that by the new system of relief the poor are not only more independent but distinctly richer. The old system of relief has been conquered, and the result we desired has been won. What is that result? With what a state of things does the new system leave us face to face?

We find ourselves face to face with the labourer on 20*s.* a week. He has but one room for himself and his family of three or four children. By self-denial, by abstinence from drink, by daily toil, he and his wife are able to feed and clothe the children. Pleasure for him and for his is impossible; he cannot afford to spend a sixpence on a visit to the park, nor a penny on a newspaper or a book. Holidays are out of the question, and he must see those he loves languish without fresh air, and sometimes without the doctor's care, though air and care be necessities of life. The future does not

attract his gaze and give him restful hours in thought ; he cannot think of a time when work will be done and he will be free to go and come and rest as he will. In the labourer's future there is only the grave and the workhouse. He hardly dares to think at all, for thought suggests that to-morrow a change in trade or a master's whim may throw him out of work, and leave him unable to pay for rent or for food. The labourers—and it is to be remembered that they form the largest class in the nation—have few thoughts of joy and little hope of rest ; it is well with them, if in a day they can obtain ten hours of the dreariest labour, if they can return to a weatherproof room, if they can eat a meal in silence while the children sleep around, and then turn into bed to save coal and light—well, only because they are stolid and indifferent. Their lives slope into a darkness which is not 'quieted by hope.'

If the wages be 40s. a week, the condition is still one to depress some of us who every Sunday bless God for our creation. The skilled artisan, having paid rent and club money and provided household necessities, has no margin out of which to provide for pleasure, for old age, or even for the best medical skill. There can be for him no quiet hours with books or pictures while his children or friends make music for his solace. He can invite no friends for a Christmas dance ; he can wander in the thought of no future of pleasure or of rest. England is the land of sad monuments. The saddest monument is that erected to Thrift—'the respectable working man.' His brains, which might have shown the world how to save men, have been spent in saving pennies ; his life, which might have been happy and full, has been dulled and saddened by taking 'thought for the morrow.'

This ought not so to be, and this will not always be. The question therefore naturally occurs, 'Why should not the State provide what is needed ?' This is the question to which the Socialist is ready with many a response. Some of his suggestions, even if good, are impracticable. It may be urged, for instance, that relief works should be started, that State workshops should be opened, and starvation made impossible. Or it may be urged that the land should be nationalised and large incomes divided. To such suggestions, and to many like them, it is a sufficient answer that they are impracticable. Their attainment, even were it desirable, is not within measurable distance, and to press them is likely to distract attention from what is possible. If a boy who goes out 'in the interest of the fox' can spoil a hunt by dragging a herring across the scent, a well-meaning socialist may hinder reform by drawing a fair fancy across the line of men's imagination. All real progress is growth ; the new must be a development of the old and not a branch added on from another root. A change which does not fit into and grow out of things that already exist is not a practicable change, and such are some of the changes now advocated upon platforms.

The condition of the people is one not to be long endured, but the answer to the question 'What can the State do?' must be a practicable one, or we shall waste time, make mistakes, rouse up anarchy and destroy much that is good.

Facing, then, the whole position, we see that among the majority of Englishmen life is poor; that among the few only is life made rich. The thoughts stored in books, the beauty rescued from nature and preserved in pictures, the intercourse with mankind, stir powers in the few which lie asleep in the many. If it be true, as the poet says, that men 'live by admiration,' it is only the few live, for it is only they who know that which is worth admiration.

It seems a hard thing—but I believe that it is on the line of truth—to say, that the dock labourer cannot live the life of Christ; he cannot, that is, live the highest life possible to men of this time. To live the life of Christ is to manifest the truth and to enjoy the beauty of God. The labourer who knows nothing of the law of life, which has been revealed by the discoveries of science, who knows nothing which, by admiration, can lift him beyond himself, cannot live the highest life of his day as Christ lived the highest life of His day. The social reformer must go alongside the Christian missionary, if he be not himself the Christian missionary.

Facing then the whole position, we see first, the poverty of life among the many, and then that the remedy must be one which shall be practicable, and shall not affect the sense of independence which does so much to make life good. It is difficult to state any principle on which such remedy may be applied. If it be said that *needs*, not *wants*, may be supplied, then it is necessary to set up an arbitrary definition, and to define *wants* as those good things which a man recognises to be necessary for life, *needs* as those good things the good of which is often unseen by the individual to whose life, in the interests of the whole, they are necessary. Food and clothing would thus be an example of a man's *wants*, education of his *needs*; and it might, according to this definition, be a statement of a principle to say that the remedy for the sadness of English labour is to be sought in letting the State provide for a man's needs while he provides for his own wants. It is, however, a statement which, depending on an arbitrary and shifting definition, would not be understood. If, as another statement of a principle, it be said that means of life may be provided, while for means of livelihood a man must work, then it becomes difficult to draw a distinction, for some means of life are also means of livelihood. There is no principle as yet stated according to which limits of State interference may be defined.

The better plan is to consider the laws which are accepted as laws of England, and to study how, by their development, a remedy may be found. On the statute book there are many socialistic laws. The Poor Law, the Education Act, the Established Church, the Land Act,

Artisans' Dwellings Act, and the Libraries Act are socialistic. The Poor Law provides relief for the destitute and medical care for the poor. By a system of outdoor relief it has won the condemnation of many who care for the poor, and who see how outdoor relief robs them of their energy, their self-respect, and their homes. There is no reason, however, why the Poor Law should not be developed in more healthy ways. Pensions of 8s. or 10s. a week might be given to every citizen who had kept himself until the age of 60 without work-house aid. If such pensions were the right of all, none would be tempted to lie to get them, nor would any be tempted to spy and bully to avoid paying them. So long as relief is a matter of desert, and so long as the most conscientious relieving officers are liable to err, there must be mistakes both on the side of indulgence and neglect. The one objection to out relief, which is at present recognised by the poor, is that the system puts it in the power of another to act as judge in matters of which he must be ignorant. Pensions would be no more corrupting to the labourer, who works for his country in the workshop, than for the civil servant who works for his country at the desk, and the cost of pensions would be no greater than is the cost of infirmaries and almshouses. In one way or another the old and the poor are now kept by those who are richer, and the present method is not a cheap one.

The workhouses might be made schools of industry. As it is, many men and women fail because they don't know how to work. If such could be detained in workhouses until they had learnt the use of a tool and the pleasure of work, these establishments would be technical schools of the kind most needed, and yearly add a large sum to the wealth of the nation. Lastly, the whole system of medical relief might be so organised as to provide for every citizen the skill and care necessary for his cure. As it is, no labourer nor artisan is expected so to provide. There are hospitals, infirmaries, and dispensaries to supply his wants. By application or by letter he can gain admission, and is expected to be grateful. Medical relief is by these means supplied; to organise it is merely to take another step along a path already entered, and properly organised it need not pauperise. It is the necessity of begging for a letter, the obligation of humbly waiting at hospital or dispensary doors, the chance that real needs may be unskilfully treated—these are the things which degrade a man. If all the dispensaries, hospitals, and infirmaries were properly ordered, controlled by the State, and open as a matter of right to all comers, it would be possible for every citizen at the dispensary to get the necessary advice and medicine, and thence, if he would, to enter a hospital, and no one would be degraded. The national health is the nation's interest; at no additional outlay it could be brought about that every man, woman, and child should have the medical treatment necessary to his condition. The rich would still get sufficient advantage, but it

would no longer happen that the lives of most use to the nation would be left to the care of practitioners who, with all their kindness and devotion, cannot out of their small fees provide either adequate drugs or spare the time for necessary study. Without any break with old traditions, without any fear of pauperising the people, the Poor Law might be developed so as to make the life of England healthier and more restful.

In the same way might the Education Act be developed in conjunction with the provision made by the Church and the Universities. A complete system of national education might take the child from the nursery, pass him through high schools to the University, and then provide him with means to develop the higher life of which all are capable. Some steps have been made in this direction; but secondary schools or high schools are still needed, and the Church organisation must be made popular, so as to represent, not the opinions of a mediæval sect, but the opinions of nineteenth-century Englishmen. Schools in which it would be possible to learn the facts and thoughts new to this age, Churches in which, by ministers of their choice and according to forms of their direction, men could be lightened with light upon their souls, would add an untold quantity to the sum of national Life.

Alongside of such development much might be done with the Libraries Act and with the powers which local bodies have to keep up parks and gardens. It would be as easy to find in every neighbourhood a site for the people's playground as it is for the workhouse, and all might have, what is now the privilege of the rich, a place for quiet, the sight of green grass and fair flowers. It would be as easy to build a Library as an Infirmary. In every parish there might be rooms lighted and warmed, where cosy chairs and well-filled shelves might invite the weary man to wander in other times and climes with other mates and minds. In every locality there might be a hall where music or pictures or the talk of friends would call into action sleeping powers and by admiration arouse the deadened to life. The best things gain nothing by being made private property; a fine picture possessed by the State will give the individual who looks at it as much pleasure as if he possessed it. It is no idle dream that the Crystal Palace might become a national institution, open free for the enjoyment of all, dedicated to the service of the people, for the recreation of their lives, by means of music, knowledge, and beauty.

If still it be said that none of these good things touch the most recognised want of all, the want of better dwellings, then we have in the Artisans' Dwellings Act a law which only requires wise handling to be made to serve this purpose. A local board has now the power to pull down rookeries and to let the ground at a price which will enable honest builders to erect decent dwellings at low rents. Unwisely handled, the law may only destroy, and put heavy compensation into

the pockets of unworthy landlords and fees into those of active officials ; wisely handled, the same law might at no very great expense replace the houses which now ruin the life of the poor and disgrace the English name.

Thus it is—and other laws, such as the Irish Land Act, might be instanced as well—that without revolution change could be wrought. I can conceive a great change in the condition of the people, worked out in our own generation, without any revolution or break with the past. With wages at their present rate I can yet imagine the houses made strong and healthy, education and public baths made free, and the possibility of investing in land made easy. I can imagine that without increase of their private wealth, the poor might have in libraries, music halls, and flower gardens that on which wealth is spent, and find in old age rest. I can imagine the Church as the people's Church, its buildings the halls where they will be taught by their chosen teachers, the meeting-places where they will learn the secret of union and brotherly love, the houses of prayer where in the presence of the Best they will lift themselves into the higher life of duty and devotion to right. All this I can imagine, because it is practicable. I cannot imagine that which must be reached by new departures and Continental practices. Any scheme, whatever it may promise in the future, which involves revolution in the present is impracticable, and any flirting with it is likely to hinder the progress of reform.

But now there rises the obvious objection, 'All this will cost much money ;' 'Free education means 1*d.* in the pound ; libraries and museums mean 2*d.* ;' 'The suggested changes would absorb more than 1*s.* ; the ratepayers could not stand it.'

I agree ; the present ratepayers could not pay heavier rates. There must be other means of raising the money. Some scheme for graduated taxing might be possible ; but perhaps I may be told that such a scheme means the introduction of a new principle, and is as much outside my present scope as the scheme for nationalisation of the land. Well, then, there remains the wealth locked up in the endowed charities, the increase which would be brought to the revenue by a new assessment of the land-tax, and the sum which might be saved by abolishing sinecures and waste in every public office. The wealth of the endowed charities has never been realised, and if that amount be not reduced in paying for elementary education, might do much to make life happier. If men saw to what uses this money could be put, they would not be so ready to back up an agitation raised on the School Board to get hold of this money for School Board work. They would say, 'No ; we have the schools safe ; in some way they must be provided and paid for. We won't shield the Board from attacks of ratepayers by giving them our money to spend ; we want that for things which the Board can't provide.' This money would do more than we yet realise ; and there is besides a vast sum which might

be got by a new assessment—which in some cases would be a re-imposition—of the land-tax, and by a closer scrutiny into the ways of public offices. The land-tax returns the same amount as it returned more than two hundred years ago, while rents have gone on increasing. The abuses of sinecures and of useless officials are patent to all who know anything of public work; and it is perhaps possible that what is done in the vestry, on a small scale, may be developed by the atmosphere of grander surroundings into grander proportions. The parish reformer can put his finger on one or two officials who are not wanted, but whose salary of hundreds seems hardly worth the saving; perchance the parliamentary reformer might put his finger on unnecessary officials whose salaries amount to thousands. Out of the sums thus gained or saved, a fund could be entrusted to the governing body of London, sufficient to make that body as rich as the Corporation, and the responsibility would then lie with the electors to choose men capable of administering vast wealth, so as to give to all the means of developing their highest possibilities.

Perhaps, though, it is unwise to go into these details and attempt to show how the necessary money may be raised. In England poverty and wealth have met together. It is the fellow-citizens of the poor who see them in East London without joy and without hope. The money which is wasted on fruitless pleasures and fruitless effort would be sufficient to do all and more than has been suggested in this paper. There is no want of the necessary money, and much is yearly spent—some of it in vain—on efforts on societies and armies, which promise to save the people. When it is clearly seen that wealth may provide the means by which their fellow-countrymen may be saved from dreariness and sickness if not from sin, then the difficulty as to the way in which the money may be raised will not long hinder action.

The ways and means of improving the condition of the people are at hand. It is time we gave up the game of party politics and took to real work. It is time we gave up speculation and did what waits the doing. Here are men and women. Are they what they might be? Are they like the Son of Man? How can they be helped to reach the standard of their manhood? That is the question of the day; before that of Ireland, Egypt, or the Game Laws. The answer to that question will divide, by other than by party lines, the leaders of men. He who answers it, so as to weld old and new together, will be the man of the future.

SAMUEL A. BARNETT

OUR NATIONAL BALANCE-SHEET.

THE subject of the present article, though most important, is, I fear, very dry. Still it is well that we should understand the national balance-sheet, that we should know where the money comes from, and how it goes. Perhaps some may say that as the Chancellor of the Exchequer tells us all the important facts in his budget speeches, it is very presumptuous for any one else to attempt the subject. But the financial statement does not, and cannot, generally deal with the income and expenditure as a whole. The Chancellor of the Exchequer contrasts the current and the past years, and dwells of course mainly on those items in which he proposes to introduce changes. My object at present is quite different. I desire as far as I can, and as space will allow, to examine briefly the national balance-sheet, and to discuss the various particulars of which it consists.

To do so is by no means so simple and easy as it might at first sight appear. For instance, we are frequently told that last year, *i.e.* the year ending on the 31st of March, 1882, our income was 85,822,000*l.* and our expenditure 85,472,000*l.*, leaving a balance to the good of 350,000*l.* This is no doubt a correct statement, but nevertheless it is very misleading. Many deductions have to be made on both sides of the account. The real income from taxation was only about 72,000,000*l.*; but then, on the other hand, the true expenditure was in round numbers 20,000,000*l.* less than the sum above stated, namely about 65,000,000*l.*, and the real balance in our favour was not 350,000*l.*, but in fact 6,700,000*l.* The following is, then, our national balance-sheet as given at the commencement of the finance accounts, and I propose to examine each item separately. (See Table on next page.)

The first item on the credit side is that of 'Customs.' Our early kings maintained themselves chiefly from the produce of the Crown lands, requiring in addition, according to circumstances, military services and occasional money payments from their subjects. They became so exacting, however, that the people at length asserted their rights, and under Edward I. in the year 1297 the '*statutum de tallagio non concedendo*' was added to Magna Charta, by which it was

NOMINAL INCOME AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR ENDING ON THE
31ST MARCH, 1882.

Customs	£19,287,000	Debt	£29,886,000
Excise	27,240,000	Military services . .	29,201,000
Stamps	12,260,000	Civil	18,083,000
Land and house tax .	2,725,000		
Income tax	9,945,000		
	£71,457,000	Expenses of collection .	£76,950,000
Post Office	7,000,000		8,522,000
Telegraphs	1,630,000		
Crown lands	380,000	Balance	£85,472,000
Interest and advances .	1,219,000		350,000
Miscellaneous	4,136,000		
	£85,822,000		
			£85,822,000

enacted that no taxes could be imposed by the sovereign save with the consent of the people.

The 'Customs' are so called because they are the 'customary dues' levied on goods entering or leaving the Empire. Their primary object of course was to provide a revenue, but it gradually came to be supposed that it would be an advantage to the country to protect certain trades by checking the introduction of foreign products.

This of course is still the theory of protectionists; but free-traders reply that you can only protect one trade at the expense of others, and that the wise course is as far as possible to release trade from all restrictions and impediments. With this view it has been the policy of the country—a policy which we owe mainly to Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Gladstone, to Mr. Villiers, Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright—to limit the customs to a few articles, and especially to free all necessities, the raw materials of our manufactures, and the food of the people.

Fifty years ago more than 1,500 articles were taxed. Between 1842 and 1846, Sir Robert Peel swept away over five hundred of these duties, and others have been dealt with from time to time, so that now scarcely ten remain.

The total sum received from the Customs in 1882 was 19,287,000*l.* Of this amount tobacco produced 8,800,000*l.*; wine and spirits 5,500,000*l.*; tea 4,000,000*l.*; currants, raisins, and other fruit 500,000*l.*; coffee, cocoa and chicory, 300,000*l.*; beer 6,000*l.*; and all other articles together 10,000*l.* The difference between these figures and the nominal gross total arises mainly from certain charges and repayments.

The small sum represented by beer only shows how little foreign beer is imported, and how successfully English brewers have resisted the competition of foreign rivals. I need hardly say that this 6,000*l.* is but a fraction of the amount which beer contributes to the National Exchequer, and which we shall find under the next head, that, namely, of 'Excise.'

The word 'excise' is probably derived from the Latin *excidere*—to cut off, being the clipping taken by the lord from any article on going into consumption.

Excise figures altogether for 27,240,000*l.*, which is the amount levied on articles manufactured within the kingdom, just as the customs are, on those of foreign make, but including also the railway duty and various licences, both those on public-houses and those which have replaced the old taxes. Spirits produced 14,300,000*l.*, besides which the wine and spirit licences bring in 1,800,000*l.*, beer 8,500,000*l.*, railways 800,000*l.*; and the remaining licences, representing in the main what we used to call assessed taxes, namely those on carriages, dogs, armorial bearings, and so on, 1,500,000*l.*

Taking therefore excise and customs together we derive from wines and spirits more than 21,500,000*l.*, from beer 8,500,000*l.*, from tobacco 9,000,000*l.*, from tea and coffee 4,300,000*l.*, from licences (other than public-house licences) 1,500,000*l.*, and railways 800,000*l.*

In raising these immense sums two main principles have been borne in view. One is that no raw materials, and no necessary articles of food, have been taxed. Our fathers—nay, we ourselves—used to pay duty on bread, meat, sugar, cotton, flax, hemp, hides, indigo, oil, silk, and many other articles of primary importance, all now happily free. The wonderful progress of our manufactures is due no doubt partly to the high qualities of our produce, partly to the skill and industry of the British workman, partly to our natural advantages, especially in the possession of coal and iron, but very much also to the fact that our manufacturers obtain their raw material duty free.

The second principle is that whenever a custom is levied, an equivalent excise duty should be imposed. For instance, if the duty were taken off foreign spirits, of course it would be impossible for English manufacturers to compete with foreign distillers and *vice versa*. Great care is therefore taken as far as possible to impose equal duties on wines, spirits, and beer, taking in the main the quantity of alcohol as the test. In agricultural districts there has long been a strong desire that the duty on malt should be removed, and to meet their views as far as possible Mr. Gladstone arranged to levy the duty on the beer itself and not on the malt. It is manifestly impossible to take the duty off beer; and, moreover, if we did, we must give up that on spirits also. Speaking roughly, we may say that beer is drunk in England, whisky in Scotland and Ireland, and it would manifestly be unfair to take the tax off our favourite beverage, and leave it on that of our Scotch and Irish fellow-countrymen.

Then come 'Stamps' 12,260,000*l.* This, I need hardly say, has nothing to do with postage stamps. The principal part, amounting

to over 7,000,000*l.*, is formed by the Death Duties, *i.e.* the duties on wills, legacies, and succession. Stamps on deeds bring in 2,100,000*l.*, on bills of exchange 760,000*l.*, on patents 200,000*l.*, marine insurance 140,000*l.*, receipt stamps 900,000*l.*, fee stamps 650,000*l.*, sundries 300,000*l.*, and bank notes 130,000*l.*; to which, however, must be added another sum of 140,000*l.*, which is placed under another head, not being received in stamps, so that the profit which the country derives from bank notes is really 270,000*l.*

The duty on Marine Insurance is one which it would be very desirable to remove. While bringing in but a small revenue, it tends to drive business out of the country.

The land and house taxes bring in 2,725,000*l.* This may seem little; but, in the first place, large sums have been paid to redeem the land tax; and, in the second place, we must remember that on land and houses falls the principal and increasing burden of local taxation. These local rates for England and Wales alone are now over 30,000,000*l.*; the total of the local expenditure exceeding 50,000,000*l.*, with the certainty of further increase.

The income tax produces 9,945,000*l.* In its present form it was proposed by Sir Robert Peel in 1842 to enable him to effect the great reforms in the customs which have been already referred to.

It is divided into five heads or schedules. Schedule A, that of lands and tenements, gives 3,550,000*l.*; B, the occupation of lands and tenements, 330,000*l.*; C, annuities and dividends, 850,000*l.*; D, professions, trades, &c., 4,650,000*l.*; and E, annuities from public revenues, 585,000*l.* The total annual value assessed to the income tax amounts to no less than 576,000,000*l.* Ten years ago, in 1872, it was 482,000,000*l.*; so that it actually shows an increase in our income of nearly 100,000,000*l.* in the comparatively short space of ten years. Of this increase 32,000,000*l.* is in lands and tenements, and nearly 50,000,000*l.* in professions and trades, and 10,000,000*l.* in the occupations of lands. Farmers in Scotland and Ireland are always charged less than those in England.

All incomes below 150*l.* are exempted from the tax, and those with more than 150*l.* but less than 400*l.* are permitted to deduct 120*l.* and pay only on the difference. Again, under Schedule D the amount is calculated on the average income of the preceding three years; but if the profits fall short of this, the difference can be recovered, which is no slight advantage.

We often hear it said that the income tax is very unfair. But I may remind you of the lines that

Who'er expects a faultless tax to see,
Expects what neither is nor e'er shall be.

The principal objection urged against it is that it taxes temporary

and permanent incomes at the same rate. They shade, however, imperceptibly into one another, and it has hitherto been considered impossible to find any practicable line of demarcation. Then, again, the tax is levied, as we have seen, from the recipients of dividends on Government stocks. But the fundholders have a solemn engagement from Government to pay them annually a particular amount; and the only ground on which any deduction can be justified, is that the deduction is not theoretically made from the sum paid them, but from their income, and in virtue of a general income tax. It would be impossible, therefore, to tax them more than any one else, and consequently, if any deduction is made, they must have the full advantage. The same argument would to a great extent apply to Government officials.

Then, again, as regards land, a very large proportion of the land of the country is settled or entailed; and, as the holder has only a life interest, he would be entitled to the reduction, if any. Moreover, incomes from land and houses are even now practically taxed more highly than others, because, though the nominal rate is the same, it is taken on the gross and not on the net amount. Moreover, it must be remembered that rates fall mainly on land and houses. The contributions from the Imperial exchequer in aid of local rates have of late been considerably increased, on the ground that these rates fall too heavily on houses and land. Under these circumstances none of the alterations which have been proposed have commended themselves to Parliament. Indeed, it may be argued that the very inequality of the income tax is an advantage, because it tends to remedy the inequalities of other imposts. For instance, it is often urged with much force that a manufacturer or shopkeeper occupying large premises pays heavy rates, which another person with perhaps a larger income to a great extent escapes. This inequality is to a certain extent compensated for by the income tax. Moreover, as the tax has existed since 1842, most of us have chosen our professions or occupations with the full knowledge of the existence of the income tax, and have, therefore, no reason to complain. Still it would, I think, be an advantage if the same amount could be levied on property, by some rearrangement and increase in the legacy and succession duties.

The Post Office and Telegraph stand together for 8,630,000*l.*, but this of course is the gross amount. The working expenses are 5,680,000*l.*, leaving a very respectable balance. This, however, by no means represents profit. The telegraphs, for instance, stand for 1,630,000*l.*, and the expenses amount to 1,366,000*l.*, leaving apparently 264,000*l.* But in order to purchase the telegraphs the country has borrowed more than 11,000,000*l.*, the interest of which is 326,000*l.*, so that there was really a loss of 62,000*l.*

In fact from the time the telegraphs were taken over, twelve years ago, the total loss to the State has been more than 1,300,000*l*.

So also as regards the Post Office, large sums have been spent; and we must know, which we do not, the capital invested, and calculate the interest on it, before we can tell what the financial result really is.

The telegraphs were taken over by the State in 1870.⁶ The Post Office is a comparatively ancient institution. It commenced as a Government undertaking in the reign of James the First, and the accounts have been kept in an unbroken series from 1685 up to the present day.

The total number of letters, cards, and newspapers sent through the post is prodigious. Last year it amounted to 1,776,000,000! and is rapidly increasing. I need hardly add that the Post Office also transacts an immense banking business.

The Crown lands produced last year 380,000*l*. This was originally the source from which the main regular income of the sovereign was derived. Upon the accession of George the Third the revenue from these lands was surrendered to Parliament in exchange for a fixed annual sum, and the same course has been followed by all the succeeding sovereigns. At present the revenue from the Crown lands and the Queen's civil list are practically equal, but there are manifest advantages in the present system. The Crown lands would have been immensely more important, but they were most recklessly given away by various sovereigns before the present system was instituted.

Next, we received during the year 1,239,000*l*. for advances and purchases amounting to 34,000,000*l*. made by the British Government. The principal sums advanced are 13,000,000*l*. to various school boards, 8,000,000*l*. for sanitary purposes, 1,500,000*l*. for artisans' dwellings, 3,700,000*l*. for the Suez Canal Shares, and 2,000,000*l*. for harbours. Lastly, there is 1,200,000*l*. remaining of the 2,000,000*l*. advanced to Sardinia, when she so gallantly joined us during the Crimean War. The interest and instalments of this loan, I need hardly say, have been and are being regularly paid. It would be out of place here to discuss whether the system of national advances to local bodies is a good one or not.

The last item on the list is Miscellaneous receipts. The principal items are 1,100,000*l*. repaid to us by India annually on account of sums advanced by us for military expenditure undertaken on her account, 200,000*l*. received from the colonies in the same way, 564,000*l*. for various other receipts by naval and military departments, 140,000*l*. from the Bank of England for the note issue, besides which there are also a great variety of small sums.

We now pass to the debit side of the account; and here, under the head of Expenditure, the first item which meets us is the head

of Public Debt, amounting to no less than 29,665,000*l.*—an enormous sum, which however is not, I am happy to say, all expenditure in the ordinary sense of the term. In the first place, as has been just mentioned, the sum of 34,000,000*l.* has been borrowed in order to be re-lent mainly to local authorities. The interest on this is included in the 29,665,000*l.*; but, on the other hand, Government receives more than 2,200,000*l.* of interest on account of these loans, which must be deducted.

Then, again, out of the 29,665,000*l.*, 6,379,000*l.* was actual repayment of debt. That also must be allowed for, so that the net charge for interest of the debt last year really amounted to 22,047,000*l.* The calculations are rather intricate, mainly on account of what are called the ‘Terminable Annuities.’ These are sums which the State has undertaken to pay for a certain number of years; each such yearly payment therefore represents really a certain amount of debt repaid.

In addition to the 6,379,000*l.* to which I have just alluded there are two other smaller, but still considerable, sums, which have also gone during the past year in reduction of the debt. It is a fixed rule that any surplus which may occur between the revenue and expenditure of the year is devoted to reduction of debt. In 1881 the surplus was 933,000*l.*, and there were also various small windfalls, amounting to 129,000*l.*; so that the whole sum devoted last year to the redemption of debt was 7,441,000*l.* I dwell particularly on this because in Mr. Gladstone’s budget speech he is reported as referring, no doubt by a misprint, to ‘the statement of a reduction of nearly 7,000,000*l.* of debt in the course of two years.’ The real amount paid off has been 7,440,000*l.* in one year.

This is a respectable sum, and much more than we have generally applied, but certainly it is not too large.

The national debt first appears as a regular portion of the national expenditure in 1694, though no doubt it had practically existed long before. With some fluctuations, it grew and grew until at the close of the great war in 1815 it amounted to nearly 900,000,000*l.*—more than all the other national debts of the world put together. It seems a singular commentary on our great triumph over Napoleon, that while France came defeated out of the war with a debt of only about 70,000,000*l.*, we who were victorious had incurred one of 900,000,000*l.*

This enormous sum has been slowly reduced; but at the present moment, and even after deducting the amount of the loans made to local authorities and the purchase money of the Suez Canal shares, it still amounts to 731,000,000*l.* The Americans are setting us a noble example and paying their debt off with much greater rapidity.

We now come to the military forces of the country. The amount under this head for 1882 was 29,200,000*l.*, to which must be added

70,000*l.* for the localisation of the forces. This sum at least was paid, not spent, during the year; it includes, for instance, 500,000*l.* paid to India as part of the 5,000,000*l.* which we thought it right to contribute towards the Afghan war, which cost altogether more than 20,000,000*l.* It will be remembered that as a contribution on our part towards this war, Sir Stafford Northcote proposed to lend 2,000,000*l.* to India for a certain time without any interest. This offer was contemptuously and graphically, though not with strict metaphorical accuracy, described by a high Indian authority as 'a fleabite in the Ocean,' and eventually the arrangement was cancelled, and 5,000,000*l.* was voted. The military expenditure also includes 400,000*l.* for expenses connected with the Transvaal, and 135,000*l.* for the last, let us hope the very last, Kaffir war.

Some may think that the 1,350,000*l.* paid last year in liquidation of the celebrated 6,000,000*l.* spent by Lord Beaconsfield in 1878 ought to have been included. It was of course really a war payment; but then almost the whole, I might say the whole, of our national debt is a war debt, and on the whole it is therefore more correct not to include the 1,350,000*l.*

To ascertain the real cost of our military forces we must add the pensions, amounting to 40,000*l.* a year.

On the other hand, from the 29,270,000*l.* some deductions have to be made. The principal of these is 1,100,000*l.* which India repaid us annually for military expenditure incurred on her behalf. There is also a sum of 700,000*l.* for old military and naval stores and other miscellaneous receipts, which must also be deducted from the 29,270,000*l.*, leaving 27,400,000*l.* as the actual cost of the army and navy, in which sum the army counts for about 17,000,000*l.*, and the navy for 10,400,000*l.* This large sum is an imperial expense by which the entire Empire benefits, and the colonies will doubtless one day feel that the whole burden ought not to rest on the mother country.

The collection of the revenue stands for 8,500,000*l.* Of this 5,700,000*l.* is the cost of managing the Post Office and telegraphs, to which I have already referred. The balance, 2,800,000*l.*, is spent mainly in collecting the customs and inland revenue. It varies but little from year to year.

Next come the Civil Services, which stand for 18,000,000*l.* From this, however, must be deducted various receipts amounting to 2,267,000*l.*, leaving a sum of 15,700,000*l.*, which is really the amount spent out of the Imperial Exchequer in governing the country, and, out of the whole amount, is the only part which really benefits us directly. The expenditure on the army and navy is no doubt defensible; indeed, I do not say that it is not necessary, in order to save us from invasion, and to protect our trade, shipping, and fellow-countrymen abroad, but it is not in itself an advantage. It is a

preparation against future wars, just as the debt is the result of past wars.

The Civil Service expenses are divided into seven heads or Classes.

The first Class is that of Public Works and Buildings. It includes the House of Commons, all public offices, courts of justice, museums, palaces, parks, &c. and amounts to 1,500,000*l.* The second class is composed of salaries and expenses of Civil Departments. It includes the Government officials, commissions, paymaster-general's office, stationery office, and many others: the amount is 2,400,000*l.*, from which must be deducted various receipts amounting to 300,000*l.*, leaving the net sum of 2,100,000*l.* The third class is that of Law and Justice. It is composed of law charges, the expense of carrying on courts of justice, prisons, reformatories, county courts, police (the Irish police alone costing 1,500,000*l.*), and the total stands 6,100,000*l.* We shall, however, come across the salaries of the judges and officials under another head; they amount to 590,000*l.*, bringing the outlay to 6,700,000*l.*, from which, however, we must deduct various receipts amounting to over 700,000*l.*, so that the real cost is in round figures 6,000,000*l.*

Elementary education stands for 3,800,000*l.*, science and art schools 345,000*l.*, Universities 40,000*l.* Museums cost 140,000*l.*, national Galleries 20,000*l.* There is also a sum of 4,000*l.* a year spent by the State in promoting scientific research. Altogether education, science, and art stand for 4,400,000*l.* The fifth class is that of Foreign and Colonial Services. It includes our ambassadors, consuls, and other representatives, and amounts altogether to about 700,000*l.*, and our grant of 78,000*l.* to Cyprus. This, however, is by no means all that Cyprus costs us. The military expenses of about 40,000*l.* a year must be added as well as several other smaller amounts, and the total cost one way or another is probably not much less than 150,000*l.* a year. The sixth class is termed 'Non-effective and Charitable Services,' and costs us 1,100,000*l.* It is almost entirely made up by our contribution to lunatic asylums 600,000*l.*, and superannuations 460,000*l.* Lastly, the seventh class is Miscellaneous, and is principally composed of temporary commissions and committees; but the whole sum is trifling, being only 56,000*l.* Taking the Civil Services as a whole, there are other items, amounting to between one and two millions, which the accounts do not enable us to distribute between the different heads. While the country increases in population, and every year more and more is expected of Government, we must expect that many of the expenses will increase, which is all the more reason that we should watch them narrowly.

We next come to an important but very miscellaneous group known as 'Other Charges on Consolidated Fund' and amounting to

1,660,000*l.* These sums being determined by Acts of Parliament are not voted annually. First comes Her Majesty's privy purse 60,000*l.* Then the expenses of the Royal household 325,000*l.* These two items are, as we have seen, about covered by the proceeds of Crown lands. The allowances for the other members of the Royal Family are 160,000*l.* Then come pensions for naval and military services 40,000*l.*; pensions for political and civil services 20,000*l.*; pensions for judicial services 20,000*l.*; for diplomatic services 8,000*l.*; hereditary pensions 6,000*l.*; other pensions, including a trifling amount for literature, science, and art, 20,000*l.* Then follow various salaries and allowances, 93,000*l.* This includes the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland 20,000*l.*, the Speaker 5,000*l.*, and the Irish Queen's colleges 21,000*l.* Augments of stipends to Scotch clergy 17,000*l.*

Then come the salaries of judges, county court judges, and other officials in the courts of justice, 590,000*l.* The next item is 270,000*l.* for miscellaneous services. 70,000*l.* is the cost of the localisation of the military forces and ought to go under the head of Army.

For the present point of view, therefore, the income and expenditure of the country stands, I think, somewhat as follows:—

INCOME.		
Wines and spirits	£21,500,000	
Beer	8,500,000	
Tobacco	9,000,000	
Tea, coffee, &c.	4,800,000	
Fruit	500,000	
Railway duty	800,000	
Carriages, game, and other licences	1,500,000	
Sundry duties and payments	427,000	£46,527,000
Death duties	£7,050,000	
Stamps on deeds	2,120,000	
" receipts	900,000	
" bills of exchange	760,000	
" fee	650,000	
" patents	200,000	
" marine insurance	140,000	
" bank notes	130,000	
" sundries	310,000	£12,280,000
Land and house tax	2,725,000	
Income tax	9,945,000	
Post office and telegraph	£8,630,000	
Less expenses	5,682,000	2,948,000
Crown lands	380,000	
		£74,785,000
Less expense of collection		2,840,000
		<u>£71,945,000</u>

EXPENDITURE.			
Service of debt	£29,866,000		
Less interest received	1,239,000		
	<u>£28,427,000</u>		
Less principal repaid	6,380,000		
Actual amount of interest		£22,047,000	
Army	£18,440,000		
Localisation of forces	70,000		
	<u>£18,510,000</u>		
Less receipts	1,510,000		
		£17,000,000	
Navy	£10,750,000		
Less receipts	250,000		
	<u>£10,500,000</u>		
Civil services—			
Public works and buildings	£1,494,000		
Salaries and expenses of civil departments	£2,437,000		
Less receipts	320,000		
	<u>2,117,000</u>		
Law and justice, including £600,000			
salaries	£6,832,000		
Less receipts	750,000		
	<u>6,082,000</u>		
Elementary education	3,800,000		
Science and art	345,000		
Higher education, Museums, &c.	274,000		
Foreign colonial services	£695,000		
Less	60,000		
	<u>635,000</u>		
Lunatic asylums	600,000		
Superannuations	460,000		
Her Majesty's privy purse	60,000		
„ household	325,000		
Annuities to Royal Family	161,000		
Various pensions	170,000		
Salaries and allowances	90,000		
Miscellaneous	192,000		
	<u>16,805,000</u>		
Less various receipts	1,137,000		
		15,668,000 ¹	
To repayment of debt	£3,380,000	£65,215,000	
Balance carried forward	350,000		
	<u>6,730,000</u>		
		<u>£71,945,000</u>	

The manner in which the accounts are kept, the mode in which the money is voted by Parliament, the system under which the accounts are checked and audited, are all of much interest. The

¹ This amount differs from that given in the Table on p. 573, mainly because in the latter case the fee stamps have been deducted.

amount, therefore, is considerably less. A shilling apiece a week does not sound much to protect us from foreign foes, and to carry on our government at home. But if we look at the total sum paid for taxes, how little of it adds to our real happiness! 22,000,000*l.* goes to pay for the wars of the past, 27,000,000*l.* to prepare for those of the future. Protection from criminals at home and settlements of quarrels amongst ourselves cost us 6,000,000*l.*

Out of the whole 85,000,000*l.*, perhaps not more than the odd 5,000,000*l.* adds to our real happiness and comfort; the rest is the penalty of errors, and insurance against evil.

I have been sometimes told that it is a mistake to look at great national questions as a matter of *£ s. d.* Of course it would be a mistake to do so exclusively. But pounds, shillings, and pence are mere measures. One might as well say that we ought not to attach importance to yards, feet, or inches. A pound sterling means so much human time, so much labour, so much food for our wives and children. Every pound the Government spends comes out of our pockets.

Now when we talk of 8,000,000*l.* it runs off our tongue so easily that it is very difficult indeed to imagine how much the amount really is. But let us consider for a moment what might be effected for the advantage of the country with it. During the last election a broad sheet was circulated which brings this out very forcibly, though some of the items chosen are not exactly those which I should myself have selected. 'We might,' it said, 'begin by building one hundred churches at 5,000*l.*, one hundred chapels at 5,000*l.*, two hundred schools at 2,500*l.*, one hundred baths and wash-houses at 5,000*l.*, fifty infirmaries at 10,000*l.*, ten blocks of industrial dwellings at 10,000*l.*, two hundred cottage hospitals at 1,000*l.*, one hundred reformatories at 5,000*l.*, fifty asylums for the blind at 5,000*l.*, one hundred people's parks at 5,000*l.*, and one hundred free libraries at 5,000*l.* We might give to benevolent societies 500,000*l.* We might build fifty museums at 5,000*l.*, and we might give schooling and books to five hundred thousand children at 1*l.*, and one million blankets at 8*s.* each to comfort poor people in hard weather. We might give towards Irish distress 500,000*l.*; 50*l.* each to ten thousand poor teachers, and 50*l.* each to ten thousand poor curates and dissenting ministers, and yet have a large surplus over.'

One reason why I have been anxious to call attention to the subject, is because our expenditure has been so rapidly rising. If we look back only twenty-five years, which is but a short space in the history of a nation, we shall find that our military and naval expenditure has risen 3,000,000*l.*, and our civil service expenditure more than 6,000,000*l.* As far as the latter, at any rate, is concerned, there is much no doubt—the education expenditure, for instance—which few would grudge; most of the remainder is due to the grants in aid of

local expenditure, but not the less does this rapid growth require our anxious attention. That we may have funds for wise expenditure we must economise where we can. In the last number of the Finance accounts is contained an interesting comparison between 1882 and 1857, which was selected as being the first year of peace expenditure after the Crimean War. I have added also the corresponding figures for 1880, kindly furnished to me by the Treasury, which are interesting as being those of the last year of the late Conservative Administration. (See Table opposite.)

It will be observed that the figures differ considerably from those on pp. 2 and 11, the reason being that they give the net amount of the taxes on the one side, and the net payments out of taxes on the other. For instance, on the credit side the stamps are less, because in this account the fee stamps are not included. On the debit side the Treasury has deducted for all receipts, distributing them under the different heads. The Civil Services stand in p. 2 at 18,083,000*l.*, from which must be deducted the 70,000*l.* paid towards the localisation of the forces, leaving 18,013,000*l.* as the gross total, composed as follows—

Grants in aid	£5,391,112
Elementary education	3,829,595
Other civil services	8,792,769
	<u>£18,013,000</u>

The total receipts to be deducted are 2,992,534*l.*, divisible as follows, in reduction of Elementary Education Expenditure 35,558*l.*, of the Grants in Aid, 236,364*l.*; and of other Civil Services, 2,720,612*l.*

Hence the figures stand as follows—

Elementary education	£3,829,595
Less	35,558
	<u>£3,794,037</u>
Grants in aid	£5,391,112
Less	236,364
	<u>£5,154,748</u>
Other civil services	£8,792,769
Less	2,720,612
	<u>£6,072,157</u>

The total apparent increase of expenditure since 1858, then, is 10,000,000*l.*; but of this 3,700,000*l.* arose from the increase of grants in aid of local taxation, and 3,000,000*l.* from the improvement in national education. The other civil services have risen comparatively little, which shows what may be done by care and economy. On the other hand, the increase of 5,000,000*l.* in the military charge is very lamentable. It will probably be said that it

COST OF GOVERNMENT DEFAYED OUT OF TAXES FOR 1858, 1880, 1882. (IN ROUND THOUSANDS.)

This account gives, on the Income side, the produce of taxes only : all receipts not in the nature of taxation being excluded. On the Expenditure side it deducts from the gross cost of each service the receipts belonging to that head of service.

The year 1857-58 is taken as the basis of comparison, because it was the first year of peace expenditure after the Crimean War. The year 1880 was the last year of the late Conservative Administration.

Income	1857-58	1873-80	1881-82	Expenditure	1857-58	1873-80	1881-82
Customs	23,110,000	19,326,000	19,280,000	Army and navy	22,940,000	28,496,000	27,406,000
Excise	17,830,000	25,300,000	27,240,000	National debt	28,560,000	27,350,000	28,380,000
Stamps (less fee stamps, &c.)	7,280,000	10,423,000	11,380,000	Civil services, viz :—			
Land tax	3,150,000	2,670,000	1,045,000	Public education	820,000	3,427,000	3,790,000
House duty	11,580,000	9,230,000	1,680,000	Grants in aid of local taxation	1,430,000	4,980,000	5,165,000
Property and income tax	62,950,000	66,949,000	70,580,000	Other Civil Services	5,920,000	5,723,000	6,070,000
				Compensation for abolition of the Sound duties	1,120,000		
				Revenue department, viz :—			
				Customs and inland revenue	2,640,000	2,701,000	2,760,000
					63,430,000	72,677,000	73,470,000
				Post office, telegraph service, and packet services. Excess of receipts over expenditure	240,000	2,887,000	3,240,000
Excess of expenditure over income	240,000	2,841,000	—	Excess of income over expenditure	63,190,000	69,790,000	70,230,000
	63,190,000	69,790,000	70,580,000		—	—	360,000
					63,190,000	69,790,000	70,580,000

is small in proportion to that of other great European Powers. I do not propose, however, now to enter into that subject; my object for the present has been not to discuss the many interesting and important questions of policy which are raised by the figures, but merely as far as possible to give a clear and succinct account of the national balance sheet.

The nominal expenditure of 1882 was 85,500,000*l.*, as against 84,100,000*l.* in 1880, the last Conservative year, and shows therefore an apparent increase of 1,400,000*l.* If, however, we deduct from both years the service of the debt, the figures, as shown in the finance accounts, of actual expenditure out of taxes were 45,180,000*l.* for 1882, as against 45,300,000*l.* for 1880. In considering the character of the expenditure, it will be observed also that in 1882 we spent 350,000*l.* more on education, and that 175,000*l.* more was devoted to grants in aid of local expenditure; while 1,000,000*l.* less was devoted to military purposes than in 1880. In 1882 there were, moreover, considerable payments for expenditure really incurred under the Conservative Administration—for instance, 1,350,000*l.* in repayment of the 6,000,000*l.* spent by Lord Beaconsfield's government in connection with the Russo-Turkish war; 500,000*l.* on account of the Afghan war; and 88,000*l.* for the loan to India &c., making together 1,938,000*l.*, to which I am not sure that the South African expenditure should not be added. This 1,938,000*l.*, at any rate, ought in reality to be deducted for 1882, in which it was paid but not spent, and added to those in which it was spent, but not paid.

Again, there is the 2,000,000*l.* contributed by Sir Stafford Northcote towards the expense of the Afghan war. That was really a military expense. If the usual course had been adopted, and it had been granted as a vote to India, it would have appeared in the expenditure of the year. But Sir Stafford Northcote adopted a peculiar and ingenious device of finance. He did not grant the money to India, but lent it to India 'without interest.' The principal sum has also since been remitted. This then, I maintain, must be added to the real expenditure of 1880, bringing it up to over 47,000,000*l.* as against 43,000,000*l.* in 1882, showing a balance in favour of 1882 of at least 4,000,000*l.*!

As regards the reduction of the debt in 1880 and 1882, the facts are as follows. The nominal amount of the reduction of debt in 1880 was 5,260,000*l.*, but of this the greater part was taken, not from revenue, but from the balance at the Bank. The expenditure for that year was 2,840,000*l.* more than the revenue, and this amount, therefore, must be subtracted. Then again the 2,000,000*l.* voted to India on account of the Afghan war was borrowed, and must therefore be allowed for. Taking these two sums, amounting together to 4,840,000*l.*, from the 5,260,000*l.*, we get 420,000*l.* as the real reduction of debt. On the other hand, in 1882, the reduction of debt

out of income was 6,380,000*l.*,² besides which there was a surplus of 350,000*l.* The reduction of debt was, therefore, 6,830,000*l.* in 1882, against 420,000*l.* in 1880, a difference in favour of 1882 of no less than 6,410,000*l.*!

The two accounts will stand as followe—

1880		£
Debt repaid	.	25,200,000
Less borrowed for India	.	2,000,000
		<u>3,200,000</u>
Excess of expenditure on income	.	2,840,000
Real reduction of debt	.	<u>420,000</u>
1882		£
Debt repaid	.	20,380,000
Excess of income on expenditure	.	350,000
Real reduction of debt	.	<u>6,730,000</u>

JOHN LUBBOCK.

² The total reduction of debt in 1882 was 7,400,000*l.* the difference coming mainly from the surplus of 1881.

'WHAT SHALL I DO WITH MY SON?'

IN how many hundreds of English homes this question is asked every day of the year; and, alas! how very seldom is the answer, even mentally, satisfactory.

Let us first see if we can discover the causes of this difficulty in answering what appears at first sight a plain question, and one easy of solution, and then try to suggest a means of dealing with it successfully.

Now, the causes may be briefly dealt with under the following heads:

1. A general increase of population, and the absence of a corresponding and proportionate increase in the number of appointments in the army, navy, the Government departmental offices, and the Church.

2. A more general diffusion of wealth amongst the upper and lower middle classes, which has caused a great accession to the ranks of those who desire that their children, if not themselves, should be classed as gentlefolks.

Many families which, fifteen or twenty years ago, never dreamed of sending their sons into the army, the navy, or into any occupations other than trade, now furnish quite a host of competitors at the examinations held by the Civil Service Commissioners.

3. The very limited field for the successful and satisfactory employment of youths belonging to the upper classes, in honourable situations connected directly with commercial or financial business.

Although it may be urged that persons of good family and high birth have not only succeeded as directors of joint-stock companies, but have also made fortunes on the Stock Exchange, earned a livelihood as promoters and secretaries of commercial enterprises, and even served long apprenticeships as clerks in mercantile firms, still it cannot be held that the occupation is desirable, the ambition lofty, or the result worthy of men of that class and education. Neither by education, nor by habits and early surroundings, are youths of the upper classes fitted for such work. Many of the best years of a young man's life are wasted in an attempt to adapt him to uninteresting mercantile business routine, and to habits of thought and action

entirely foreign to his former dreams, desires, and, indeed, to his very nature.

4. The defective system of general education, which, adopted in times gone by, has not been sufficiently modified to cope with the necessities arising out of altered circumstances.

5. The desire of every one, from the small farmer and tradesman upwards, to give such an education to their sons as will engender a distaste of the life led by the parents, and a desire either to become rich more rapidly, and with less labour, or to do as little work as the funds at their disposal will admit.

6. The fact that thousands of foreigners, chiefly Germans of good education and apt in business, are employed by mercantile houses throughout this country. As they come over here to learn English and English modes of doing business, and as these foreigners accept, and can live upon, salaries on which any young Englishman would starve. The conditions of competition are most unequal.

Having now enumerated most of the causes, let us see if we can trace the results. By some such means we shall find it more easy to discover, or at any rate to suggest, a remedy for the evil.

Let us suppose that our son has arrived at the age of twelve, and that we have not yet made up our mind what is to be his future occupation in life. Now, at that age it is most difficult—and, indeed, almost impossible in very many instances—to find out his physical capabilities, mental capacity, or moral qualifications to an extent sufficient to enable a parent to decide on the lad's future career. In former times a country gentleman could be almost certain of sending his son either into the army, or the navy, or of educating him specially for the Church or the Bar. Now, however, the avenues leading to these professions are crowded with applicants outbidding one another; not in the sound, educational, and personal qualifications suitable to the successful pursuit of their future profession; but crammed with superficial knowledge, and with such generalities and answers to 'catch' questions as will enable them to scrape through the examinations and obtain the requisite places in the list of accepted competitors.

Twenty years ago almost every gentleman of good family and moderate income used to manage somehow to get the name of one of his sons placed on the books of one or other of the great public schools, and in many instances, even before the age of ten, lads were promised commissions in the army or a nomination in the navy. The course of education was generally to send boys to a private school till they attained the age of twelve, then to a public school, where generally four or five years were spent in obtaining sufficient education in classical knowledge to enable them to translate correctly a Latin, and perhaps a Greek inscription in after years. The chief acquirements at public schools have generally been one or two life-

long friends, many acquaintances, and considerable practice in cricket, football, or rowing, according to the prevailing taste in the school. The chief advantages gained by a public-school education consist in the development of character, and the rubbing down of the sharp corners which would otherwise have made difficult and painful the lad's entrance into 'the world' as a man.

But for all practical purposes lads learn at most of our high-class public schools nothing, or next to nothing, which will enable them to enter direct from school into the business of life, or into any of the professions. Thus at the age of seventeen—and often, indeed, at eighteen—the young man has to be sent to some cramming establishment, where the special knowledge which is necessary to enable him to enter upon active life is packed into his brain in such a manner, and under such conditions, as that in less than a year it is found to have all oozed out, and left the brain in a state of confusion—if not of absolute disease.

Education—if it be deserving of such a name—of this nature frequently succeeds in landing a young man at the foot of the ladder in the profession which in most cases has been chosen for him; but it has not in any way fitted him to get higher by means of special acquirements. When the lad joins the army the country pays him; although for many months he can render no service, being obliged to learn his drill, and the many details of regimental life and administration which could easily have been taught him before joining. In the navy this remark does not apply to the same extent; as boys join the training-ship at an early age, and imbibe habits of discipline. At the same time they obtain a thoroughly nautical, and an excellent practical education. In neither of these cases, however, has the lad received any training to fit him for active service in the field or in works of an exploratory nature. The result is, that instead of being independent of all help when they find themselves thrown for the first time entirely on their own resources, they are helpless, are disgusted or disheartened at the discomforts which a very little knowledge would have caused to disappear, and are far less efficient in their profession than if camp life had formed a part of their training as boys.

Frequently it occurs that the lad either fails to win his commission in one of the professions of arms, to obtain practice at the Bar, to enter into the Government service in any form, or even into holy orders. If this failure happens, as it too frequently does happen, he is generally looked upon as a 'black sheep,' and he is shipped off to America or to the Colonies to make his own way. And under what conditions or chances of success is the unfortunate lad sent? Has he been educated or trained in any way for the struggle for life which he has to make against nature, or with men armed with long colonial experience, and whose antecedents have

made them strong for the battle, and well-fitted to run in the race for wealth.

How heavily weighted is the well-born, half-educated young English boy, and what a small chance he has of success under such circumstances! How often is the poor young man blamed for want of pluck, perseverance, or patience, when the fault should properly be laid to the charge of those who so recklessly launched him into such a life, badly prepared, mentally and morally, and so miserably equipped for the work.

In most cases the parents or guardians consider that they have done sufficient and what is right, if they procure a dozen letters of introduction to colonial magnates, or to men who have made 'their pile,' as it is termed. The lad arrives with a perfect outfit suitable for anything except for his future mode of existence; he presents one or two of his letters of introduction, and perhaps is asked to dinner by some of the persons to whom the letters are addressed; but if he should expect material help from such quarters he is lamentably mistaken. Most of the successful men in the colonies began with nothing; had neither money nor letters of introduction themselves, and the fashion is to look with little favour on youngsters who lean upon such means of commencing colonial life.

What then remains for the lad to do? He soon finds that hotel life, club life, and the expenses of boarding houses have made a serious diminution in the limited funds at his disposal; and, after trying by means of advertisements, &c., to obtain employment, he discovers that the only way open to him is to buy a horse, and diminish his wardrobe and kit to the smallest possible compass, comprising only a change of clothes. Thus equipped he starts off up country. Hundreds of miles must often be travelled before he can find any settler willing to let him learn his work without other remuneration than his board and lodging. He thus finds himself associated in daily life with men mostly of but little education and no refinement, and chiefly of a class much inferior to his own. If he be obliging he may soon, if also patient and good-tempered, adapt himself to the rough 'horse play' and practical jokes which are usually the portion of 'new chums.' If he be intelligent, indefatigable, a good rider, and handy, he will probably get on with the owner or the overseer, and at the first vacancy he may hope to be admitted on the 'permanent hands' pay-sheet. This done, it should depend then only on his steadiness and ability to rise in position as well as in emoluments. But at what a cost of friction, and loss of time, will he not have earned his reward! And who have been his companions during all these years, and how much of his educational or natural refinement has been retained after living such an animal life for so many years?

Let us now follow such a lad through the various stages of a

colonial life, if instead of electing to go on a pastoral station he should decide on buying an agricultural 'plot,' and should settle on it as a farmer. After repeated delays and much heartburning he obtains his land-grant, and arrives on his property, which we will suppose is situated in what is *by courtesy* termed the 'settled districts.' Although this expression might convey to his English mind that there would be a fair sprinkling of settlers in the neighbourhood, the truth will only dawn upon him, when, after riding for hours, he may succeed in discovering here and there a 'weather-board' or 'log' hut surrounded by a patch of cultivation with black stumps of trees two feet high, standing all over the fields, and a want of tidiness which grates unpleasantly on his English farming education, if he should have had any.

Discouraged at the loneliness and desolation of the scene, and utterly bewildered as to what are the first steps to be taken, and how to take them, he seeks for some man who will help him to build his 'humpy,' or bark hut, and who will show him how to begin to get something into the land, prior to getting something out of it. If it be heavily timbered, of course the trees must be cut down, the tops and branches and useless timber rolled together and left to dry for some months prior to burning them. The other trees, if they can be made saleable, have to be felled, rolled and dragged from the field. The grass and weeds have to be cut, dried, and burned, and then the land has to be fenced. Now, what education has this poor young man had which will enable him at once to set about this work? and yet in most instances he must do it or part of it with his own hands, if ever he is to succeed. In order to get the maximum of work out of a colonial labourer, the employer must not only know *how* things ought to be done, but be able and willing to take off his coat and show how he wishes the work to be executed.

Let us pass over the first few weeks of our young farmer's colonial life on his property, and look in upon him as he sits down to his supper half an hour after sundown. He has been, or ought to have been, out in the field at sunrise, having breakfasted beforehand, and he is now tired out with his long day's work, and having no one except his cook or his labourer with whom he could talk, and being too sleepy to read or write, he goes to bed as soon as, having due respect to his digestion, he dares. And this must be the round of his life for years, for even if he should be rich enough to be able to absolve himself from any participation in the manual labour on the estate, he must be on the ground, and in the exercise of active supervision all the working hours of the day. Neither can he look forward to much, if to any, companionship or social gatherings in connection with his neighbours. In the colonies most men engaged in the struggle to win riches from mother earth are too tired for visiting or receiving visits in

the evening; and even if a man does look in on his neighbour occasionally, it is chiefly to have a drink, and to talk about such matters as are more suited to the mind of half-educated rustics than to the requirements of a man born a gentleman, and educated as an English gentleman generally is.

Now, in setting out plainly the discomforts and disadvantages of a colonial life to young gentlemen, it must not be at all understood, or even inferred that life in the colonies is not a fine, and perhaps even a noble profession for young men of good family. On the contrary, it would be most advisable both in their own interests as well as in the interests of our dear old England, the colonies, and the British Empire generally, that hundreds of such young men should select some of our colonies as fitting fields for a laudable ambition to leave a highly-respected name behind them.

But what is to be lamented is that there are at present no places either in England or in the colonies where the education of lads could be commenced and completed in such a manner that the first severe trials experienced by a 'new chum' may be in part if not wholly obviated. It may still be urged that, even if the educational and preparatory stages be satisfactorily surmounted, young men would still have to come face to face with the difficulty of finding employment for themselves and their capital immediately on arrival in the colony. Moreover, it may be said that to possess herds of cattle, flocks of sheep, and to farm a certain number of acres can be of no benefit to any one except to the man himself; that money can be made in trade or on the Stock Exchange at home without the discomforts attendant on the first few years of a colonial existence; and that after all, money-making, although good for the individual, can hardly be termed a laudable ambition, or as being of advantage to Imperial interests.

To enable us to consider the conditions of life under which a lad would enter on a new existence in each of the colonies, and to consider with greater ease the chances which a young man of gentle birth would have of being able to cause the good influences, arising out of his personal character and habits, to make themselves felt in political life as well as in the society of which he is a member, it is necessary to have travelled in almost all, or to have lived in some of the colonies; so as to be able to gauge, with some degree of accuracy, the high appreciation and the innate consideration which is, even at first, accorded to such men of steady habits and refinement wherever they may find themselves in the British Empire.

The contrast to the masses is so great, that the conduct and habits of most new-comers of that class from England form the subject of much comment in the neighbourhood for some time after their arrival. Colonists are, generally speaking, quick in their instincts as to the character of those with whom they are brought in contact. A young

man, careful to avoid doubtful society, and showing an earnest intention to make his way in an honest manner, is treated with a respect which in a short time amounts to deference. The outcome of this feeling is frequently shown in the form of a requisition from the respectable people of his town or district to allow himself to be brought forward as their representative in the House of Assembly.

It is needless to point out to any one who knows anything about colonial politics and politicians the almost magic influence exercised in either House by the temperate, educated, and refined language of an English gentleman of ordinary power and ability. The mixture of heaven of this description, even in small quantities, must raise the whole tone of debate, and must elevate the aims and objects of the Legislature.

But in order to prepare a man for entrance into public life in the colonies, with the laudable object before him of raising the standard of morality, whether political, commercial, or social, it is necessary that some training should be given to the lad in this country; so that he may at once be able to grasp the principles of political economy and take a wide view of all the burning questions of the day. In the education of an intending colonist a close study not only of the geography and geology of the land of his future home, but also the history and the laws of the colony, should form a portion of the curriculum. In short, to be a colonist should be to follow the profession of colonisation and settlement; and at the age of fourteen the education of the lad ought to be conducted in such a manner as to enable him, at seventeen or eighteen, to go from England to the colony of his choice, fully prepared to take his place in the ranks of that fine army of Englishmen who have won, and are still winning daily battles against those rebellious portions of English lands which only require pluck, perseverance, and knowledge to make them teem with a thriving and happy population of our countrymen.

It is encouraging to know that an educational establishment of this type will be shortly called into existence. A long lease has been obtained of a considerable tract of land in the South of England, suitable in every way for the successful carrying out of a thorough system of education, embracing everything necessary to prepare youngsters for direct entry into colonial life. Another step in this direction has been recently taken, by the creation of a special settlement in one of the colonies for young men of the upper classes. The object is to settle, on a large area of good land, a fair sprinkling of young Englishmen, of education and refinement, who will gradually act as an attraction to that portion of the country of a working population. The plan is to build a boarding-house in a central position in the block set apart for the special settlement; the house to be roughly furnished and managed as a proprietary club; the management and discipline to be in the hands of a gentleman who, though brought up in England, has colonial experience, and who

would advise the young men as to the best mode of dealing with such lands as they might be able to acquire. In this manner young men would be able to continue to live with their equals, to accustom themselves gradually to the hard life of a settler, and to develop their property under the supervision of an experienced gentleman of their own class in society. This life in common would obviate many of the evils, the discomforts, and the difficulties attendant on the first stages of colonial life. After two years the young man should have built his own house, and thus made room for a successor to his place in the general home.

The scheme is by no means a novel one; but it is believed to be now for the first time about to be put into a practical form, and carried out in a thoroughly businesslike manner. The whole question is one of the utmost interest, not only to parents and guardians of the upper classes in this country, but also to statesmen in our various colonies, who will be able to discern in this immigration an additional strand to the rope which every Englishman must hope will long bind with strong though silken ties the colonies to the mother-country. That such additional strands are required in some of the colonies no one who knows them or their politics can doubt. Many acts of the Imperial Government have, alas! tended to a belief that it was the desire of the mother-country to cast off her offspring, or at any rate to loosen the cordial relations and sentimental ties which until recently always bound England to her colonies.

It is most lamentable that, even amongst people of education and much general knowledge, there should exist not only an utter indifference to, but also a crass ignorance of most, if not of all, of our colonies. Often one meets people who could not describe geographically any one of our dependencies, and who much less know anything of their climate or suitability for settlement. What a change would occur if to become a colonist or a settler were to belong to a noble profession! How eagerly would parents, guardians, sisters, brothers, and even cousins read and learn all that could be learnt about the colonies to which their belongings had gone! Thus, in sentiment at any rate, would our colonies be treated, and thought of, and considered as an integral part of that vast British Empire over which the sun never sets, and which has been created by those brave, bold, and adventurous men who felt a desire to conquer new worlds, and that the old world was too small for their ambition or their energies. Then should we see colonists not only glad to get back to the 'old country,' but keeping up a warm and an affectionate interest in all matters, political or social, which could affect her. Then would old England be able to feel quite sure that the colonies, her children, would treat an attack upon her as an insult to their parent. Then should we see colonial legislation less narrow in its conception, less restrictive in its operation, and less injurious in its effects upon commerce. In

making these observations it must not be supposed that there is any desire to blame colonial legislators as a body. It cannot, however, be reasonably expected that men whose lives have been for the most part spent in the 'bush' and in the active pursuit of business, can suddenly become masters of political economy, or fit to disentangle the web of difficult questions which are the natural outcome of the creation of new worlds, and of new centres of civilisation and commerce. The wonder is that so few mistakes are made; and that the invariable contests which must always arise between capital and labour have been so successfully and so peaceably arranged.

A great object will have been attained if, through a perusal of this article, attention is more closely drawn to 'Greater Britain' and to the new gates opened to avenues leading to a manly and healthy existence, with aims worthy of any man calling himself an Englishman.

W. FIELDING.

ISAIAH OF JERUSALEM.

GOETHE'S account of beauty is surely the best that has ever been given of it: *Das Schöne ist eine Manifestation geheimer Naturgesetze, die uns ohne dessen Erscheinung ewig wären verborgen geblieben.* 'The beautiful is a manifestation of secret laws of nature, which, but for its apparition, would have for ever remained hidden from us.' Nothing can be truer; we may remember it every time that we look on a lovely face, every time (still more) that we regard a fine work of literature. Yes; what is beautiful attracts us and delights us by virtue of natural laws; but these laws are secret, we cannot draw out the recipe for making the beautiful from them; when, however, the beautiful meets us, and we are attracted and delighted by it, then we find that here we have them manifested. Now the attraction and delight from what is beautiful is thus, as we see, a natural force, and it is moreover one of the most powerful natural forces that act upon mankind. When therefore we have succeeded in enlisting it in support of conduct and religion, we have enlisted a most potent auxiliary. But furthermore, when we have once got this auxiliary, it is necessary to remember that there is something secret and incalculable about its nature. We do not know how it is originated; we cannot break it up and be sure of being able to produce it afresh by methods of our own; if we tamper with it, we are likely to lose it. There it is at present, and it is of a most subtle and fugitive nature; let us treat it, therefore, with all respect.

Thoughts of this kind pass through my mind as I turn over the pages of the revised version of the New Testament. Our established version comes to us from an age of singular power, and has great beauty. This beauty is a source of great power. Use and wont have further added to the power of this beauty by attaching to the old version a thousand sentiments and associations. Altogether, a force of the utmost magnitude has come into being. The revisers seem to me to have been insufficiently aware either of the nature of this force, or of its importance and value. They too much proceed either as if they had the recipe, if they broke up the force of beauty and sentiment attaching to the old version, for producing this force afresh themselves, or else as if the force was a matter of no great importance. In either case they are mistaken. The beauty of the old version is 'a manifestation of secret laws of nature,' and neither

the revisers nor any of us can be sure of finding the recipe, if we destroy this manifestation, for compounding another as good. And if we think that its beauty does not much matter, then we have nature against us; for a manifestation of beauty is a manifestation of laws of nature.

The Dean of Chichester has attacked the revisers with exceeding great vehemence, and many of his reasons for hostility to them I do not share. But when he finally fixes on a test-passage and condemns them by it, he shows, I must say, a genuine literary instinct, a true sense for style, and brings to my mind that to him it was given to produce, long ago, in an Oxford prize-poem, that excellent line describing Petra which Arthur Stanley used to praise so warmly—

A rose-red city, half as old as time.

The Dean of Chichester takes for his test the well-known passage in the first chapter of the Second Epistle of Peter: 'And beside this, giving all diligence, add to your faith virtue; and to virtue knowledge; and to knowledge temperance; and to temperance patience; and to patience godliness; and to godliness brotherly kindness; and to brotherly kindness charity.' By this work of the old translators he then places the work of the revisers: 'Yea, and for this very cause adding on your part all diligence, in your faith supply virtue; and in your virtue knowledge; and in your knowledge temperance; and in your temperance patience; and in your patience godliness; and in your godliness love of the brethren; and in your love of the brethren love.' In merely placing these versions side by side, the Dean of Chichester thinks that he has done enough to condemn the revised version. And so, in truth, he has.

That is to say, he has done enough to condemn it as a substitute for the old version. He has made evident, by a startling example, how it has not the power of beauty and sentiment attaching to the old version, and can never have it. The instinct of self-preservation in humanity will make us retain the old version which has this power. If by an act of authority the new version could be made to supersede the old and the old to go out of use, a blow would be struck at religion in this country far more dangerous to it than the hindrances with which it has to contend now—beer-shops, Dissent, Ritualism, the Salvation Army, and the rest of the long and sad list. The new enemy would be indifference; an ever-growing indifference to a New Testament which failed to delight and move men like the old, and to fix its phrases in their memory. 'Thou wilt not leave his soul in Hades,' is never likely, we may depend upon it, *virum volitare per ora*.

The revisers have been led away by a very natural desire to correct all the mistakes of the old version, and to make a version which should be perfectly accurate. When once one is engaged, indeed, in a task like that of the revisers, the desire to alter is sure to grow upon one as one proceeds, the '*offendiolum* of scrupulousness,' as

Butler calls it, is sure to increase; until at last one is capable of forgetting that even the acrostic was made for man and not man for the acrostic, and of waging against the past tenases of the old version an often pedantic war. To have fallen into this course of proceeding is so natural, that I will by no means make it a matter of reproach against the revisers; probably, had I been one of them, I should have fallen into it myself. But it would have remained none the less true that this is just one of those cases where 'the half,' as the Greek proverb says, 'is more than the whole;' and that, by resisting the impulse to alter, by never forgetting that the object in view was not to make a perfectly accurate translation, but to preserve unimpaired the force of beauty and sentiment residing in the old version at the same time that one made such corrections as were indeed necessary—only by submitting to these conditions was real success possible to the revisers. As it is, they have produced a work excellently fitted to help and instruct, in reading the New Testament, all who do not know Greek;—a work which in this way will be of invaluable usefulness, and from which every reader will probably import for his own use into his New Testament such corrections as seem to him urgently needed. But they have not done that which they were meant to do: they have not given us a version which is just the old version improved, and which can take the place of it. In fact, a second company of revisers is now needed to go through the recent revision, and to decide what of it ought to be imported into the established version, and with what modifications.

Meanwhile the time approaches for the revised version of the Old Testament, also, to make its appearance. Before it comes, let us say to ourselves and say to the revisers that the principal books of the Old Testament are things to be deeply enjoyed, and which have been deeply enjoyed hitherto. It is not enough to translate them accurately; they must be translated so as also to be deeply enjoyed, and to exercise the power of beauty and of sentiment which they have exercised upon us hitherto. Correct information by itself, as Butler profoundly says, is 'really the least part' of education; just as religion, he adds, 'does not consist in the knowledge and belief even of fundamental truths.' No; education and religion, says Butler, consist mainly in our being brought by them 'to a certain temper and behaviour.' Now, if we are to be brought to a temper and behaviour, our affections must be engaged; and a force of beauty or of sentiment is requisite for engaging them.

Correct rendering is very often conspicuously absent from our authorised version of the Old Testament; far more often and far more conspicuously, indeed, than from our authorised version of the New. Correct information as to the meaning, therefore, far oftener fails us in reading or hearing the Old Testament; and the need for revision is great. But what a power is in the words as they stand,

imperfectly as we may often comprehend them, impossible as it may often be to attach a clear meaning to them! We connect them, at any rate, with truths which have a surpassing grandeur and worth for us, and they lend themselves to the connexion with a splendour of march and sound worthy of the great objects with which we connect them. Take, for instance, the two short lessons from Isaiah which we hear in church on Christmas Day. Hardly any one can feel that he understands them clearly as he hears them read; indeed, as they now are, they cannot be understood clearly. But they connect themselves strikingly and powerfully with the great event which the festival of Christmas commemorates, and they have a magnificent glow and movement. 'For every battle of the warrior is with confused noise, and garments rolled in blood; but this shall be with burning and fuel of fire.' No one of us understands clearly what this means, and indeed a clear meaning is not to be got out of the words, which are a mistranslation. Yet they delight the ear, and they move us. Professor Robertson Smith brings an amended translation: 'For the greaves of the warrior that stampeth in the fray, and the garments rolled in blood, shall be cast into the fire as fuel for the flame.' Yes, we understand; but the charm of the thing is rudely shaken. Mr. Cheyne brings us a translation more close and correct still: 'For every boot of him that trampleth noisily, and the cloak rolled in blood, are for burning, the fuel of fire.' The charm has altogether vanished, if we receive these words to supersede the old words; the charm has vanished, never to return.

Mr. Cheyne and Professor Robertson Smith read their Isaiah in the original Hebrew, and in the Hebrew they enjoy him. Their translation of him, like their notes and commentaries on him, are designed to give correct and exact information as to his meaning. But such correct information is in the present case, as Butler has told us, 'really the least part' of the matter; the main thing is the effect of a wonderful work of poetry and prophecy upon the soul and spirit. And this they themselves, as I have said, get by reading it in the Hebrew. But the mass of English readers, who know no Hebrew, how are they to get as fully as possible, for their soul and spirit, the effect of this wonderful work? Granted that they get some of it even from the present imperfect translation of our Bibles; but we must allow that they do not and cannot get it at all fully. Such translation as that of which I have quoted specimens above, will not give it them more fully. It will give them more correct knowledge of Isaiah's meaning; but his effect upon their soul and spirit it will even impair, and render less than it is now. What is to be done? Can nothing be done to give it to them more fully?

Such is the question which with the revised version of the New Testament in my hands, and the revised version of the Old Testament in prospect, I keep asking myself about Isaiah. Taking him merely

as poetry and literature,—which is not, I will readily add, to take him in his entirety;—I consider the question very important. I rate the value of the operation of poetry and literature upon men's minds extremely high; and from no poetry and literature, not even from our own Shakespeare and Milton, great as they are and our own as they are, have I received so much delight and stimulus as from Homer and Isaiah. To know, in addition to one's native literature, a great poetry and literature not of home growth, is an influence of the highest value; it widens one's range. The Bible has thus been an influence of the highest value for the nations of Christendom. And the effect of Hebrew poetry can be preserved and transferred in a foreign language, as the effect of other great poetry cannot. The effect of Homer, the effect of Dante, is and must be in great measure lost in a translation, because their poetry is a poetry of metre, or of rhyme, or both; and the effect of these is not really transferable. A man may make a good English poem with the matter and thoughts of Homer or Dante, may even try to reproduce their metre, or to reproduce their rhyme; but the metre and rhyme will be in truth his own, and the effect will be his, not the effect of Homer or Dante. Isaiah's, on the other hand, is a poetry, as is well known, of parallelism; it depends not on metre and rhyme, but on a balance of thought, conveyed by a corresponding balance of sentence; and the effect of this can be transferred to another language. Hebrew poetry has in addition the effect of assonance and other effects which cannot perhaps be transferred; but its main effect, its effect of parallelism of thought and sentence, can. I ask myself, therefore, this question: How can the effect of this best of a great poetry and literature, an effect of the highest worth and power, an effect which can in a great degree be preserved in translation, and which our old version does preserve, but renders imperfectly—how, to the mass of English people, who do not know Hebrew, may the effect of Isaiah be so rendered and conveyed as that they may feel it most fully?

First and foremost in importance, for the attainment of such an end, is this rule—that the old version is not to be departed from without necessity. It comes from a great flowering-time of our literature, and has created deep and powerful sentiments; it is still the prime agent on which we have to rely for the attainment of our prime object, that Isaiah may be enjoyed fully. Increase of knowledge enables us to see mistakes in the old version and to correct them; but only mistakes, real mistakes, should be corrected, and they should be corrected gently. I once said that I would forbear to alter the old version of Isaiah where it made sense, whether the sense made was that of the original or not. I went too far; where the sense given by the old version is another sense from that of the original, alteration is required. But we should use a large and liberal spirit in judging what constitutes a departure from the sense of the original. If the general

sense is preserved, we should be satisfied. We should not regard ourselves as called to a trial of skill in which he succeeds best who renders the original most literally and exactly. At least, if we choose to engage in a trial of skill of such a kind, we should say to ourselves that all we can hope to produce in this way is what may be called aids to the study of Isaiah—capable of being of great use, perhaps, to students; but the mass of mankind are not students, and the mass of mankind want something quite different. To meet the wants of the mass of mankind, our trial of skill must be, to succeed in altering as little as possible and yet altering enough; and in altering enough, and yet leaving the reader with the impression that we have not altered at all, or hardly at all. Only thus can our revised version, under the actual conditions of the case, have charm; and it is essential that it should have charm.

The first chapter of Isaiah really and strictly requires, for our purpose as thus laid down, three changes, and three changes only. In verse 17, *relieve the oppressed* should be *correct the oppressor*; in verse 25, *thy tin* should be *thine alloy*; and in verse 31, for *the maker of it* we should read *his work*. Two or three other very slight changes besides may be desirable, in order to bring out the effect better; but these are the only changes which can be called indispensable. To re-write the chapter, if the reader we have in view is the great public, not the sifting and curious student, is fatal. If the authorised version had succeeded in giving the chapters which follow as happily as in giving the first chapter, the task of a reviser would be easy indeed. But this high standard of success is not maintained; and consequently, in the chapters which follow, there is much more need of change than in the first chapter. Still our rule should always be to alter as little as possible. What can be gained, or rather what is not lost, by changing, 'But Ahaz said, I will not ask, neither will I tempt the Lord,' into, 'But Ahaz said, I will not ask, neither will I put Jehovah to the test'? Here no change was needed at all. Where change is needed, our ideal should be a case such as one which is presented in the 16th verse of the 30th chapter, where the change of a letter¹ is all that is required to effect a needful improvement, and to effect it admirably.

Undoubtedly the use of *Jehovah* or *Jahve*, instead of *The Lord*, is inadmissible in a version intended, not to be scanned by students, but to be enjoyed by the mass of readers. *Jehovah* and *Jahve* have a mythological sound, and to substitute them for *The Lord* disturbs powerful sentiments long and deeply established already. *The Eternal* is in itself a better equivalent than *The Lord* for *Jehovah*; it is adopted in one of the French versions. And in many of the familiar texts which a man has present to his mind and habitually dwells upon, he will do well to adopt it; he will find that it gives to the text a fuller

¹ *Fly for fleu.*

and deeper significance. But there are combinations to which it does not lend itself without some difficulty, and to which *The Lord* lends itself better; and at any rate, to banish this accustomed reading, and to substitute for it everywhere *The Eternal*, would be too radical a change. There would be more loss to the sentiment, from the disturbing shock caused to it by so great a change, than gain from the more adequate rendering.

The old translators of Isaiah, with the notion that a prophet is, above everything, a man who makes supernatural predictions, lean always to the employment of the future tense; they use it excessively. But it is unnecessary and pedantic to change always, in order to mark that a prophet is *not*, above everything, a man who makes supernatural predictions, their future tenses into presents. The balance of the rhythm is often deranged and injured by the correction, without any compensating advantage. For in truth the present, the past, and the future, are all of them natural and legitimate tenses of prophecy. Sometimes the prophet may be said to intend them all, to use them all; and often one of them will serve to render him as well as another. 'Therefore my people are gone into captivity, because they have no knowledge: and their honourable men are famished, and their multitude dried up with thirst. Therefore hell hath enlarged herself, and opened her mouth without measure: and their glory, and their multitude, and their pomp, and he that rejoiceth, shall descend into it.'² Here preterites, presents, and futures, are mingled together; but the general sense is adequately given, and nothing is gained by endangering the rhythm of these fine verses by turning all the tenses into presents. But sometimes the futures of the old version hinder our adequately seizing the sense, and then they are to be altered. 'Behold, their valiant ones shall cry without; the ambassadors of peace shall weep bitterly.'³ The magnates of Judah have been sent to Lachish to make Hezekiah's submission to Sennacherib; the ambassadors are returned, and are at the gate of Jerusalem, bringing with shame and consternation the tidings that the Assyrian, after accepting their submission and presents, insists further on the surrender of Jerusalem. 'Behold, Judah's valiant ones cry without; the ambassadors of peace weep bitterly.' The prophet is not predicting; he sees and hears the envoys weeping at the city gate. In a case of this kind the future tense impairs the effect, and must be altered.

The first requisite, if we are to feel and enjoy the book of Isaiah aright, is to amend the authorised translation without destroying its effect. And the second requisite is to understand the situation with which the book deals, the facts to which it makes reference, the expressions which it employs—to do this, and to do it without losing oneself in details. All sorts of questions solicit the regard of the student of Isaiah: questions of language, questions of interpretation, questions

² Isaiah v. 13, 14.

³ *Ibid.* xxxiii. 7.

of criticism, questions of history. The student has the Assyrian inscriptions offering themselves to him on one side, and the great controversy as to the arrangement of the book of Isaiah offering itself to him on the other. Now, all kinds of knowledge are interesting, some kinds of knowledge are fascinating; and the book of Isaiah invites us towards kinds of knowledge which are peculiarly fascinating. But there is the same danger here which there is in the apparatus of philological study which accompanies and guards for us, in our boyhood, the entrance upon Greek. There is the danger of our losing ourselves in preliminaries, and of our being brought, by the pursuit of an impossible perfection, to miss our main design. Perfection is the ideal, thoroughness in preparation is most precious. But there is the danger, also, of forgetting how short man's time is, how easily he is diverted and distracted from his real aim, how easily tired. How many boys learning Greek never get beyond that philological vestibule in which we are kept so assiduously; never arrive at Greek literature at all! The adult student of Isaiah is exposed to the risk of a like misfortune. The apparatus to Isaiah is so immense, that the student who has to handle it is in danger of not living long enough to come ever to enjoy the performance of Isaiah himself.

Four names stand out from among the names of Isaiah's commentators. They are all of them the names of Germans. Mr. Cheyne is the first Englishman who has given us a commentary on Isaiah of like seriousness and sound knowledge with theirs, and he would himself be the foremost to profess his obligations to them. The four Germans are Vitringa, Gesenius, Ewald, Delitzsch; and of these four, again, two stand out most prominently, Ewald and Delitzsch. Both are invaluable; to both we owe all gratitude. Ewald kindles and inspires us most, Delitzsch instructs us most. But at what a length he instructs us, and with what discursiveness! Life being so short as it is, and the human mind so shallow a vessel, can it be well to make us read a closely-printed page of imperial octavo about the different kinds of wounds and their treatment, in connexion with the 'wounds and bruises and putrefying sores' spoken of by Isaiah? Can it be necessary, in connexion with Isaiah's phrase, 'though your sins be as scarlet,' to give us another like page on the mystical character of red and white to this sort of effect: 'Blood is the colour of fire and therefore of life; blood is red, because life is a fire-process'?

No, it is not necessary; and we must be careful not to let ourselves be lost in excursions of this kind. Still, it is very requisite to understand the situation with which the book of Isaiah deals, the facts to which it makes reference, the expressions which it employs. For instance, the mystic names of Isaiah's sons, Shear-jashub and Maher-shalal-hash-baz, are of the very highest significance. One of them, the name of Shear-jashub, governs the whole book. Yet not one in twenty

¹ Isaiah i. 6.

² *Ibid.* i. 18.

among ordinary readers or hearers of Isaiah knows what they mean. However, the chief drawback to our right enjoyment of Isaiah is our ignorance of that whole situation of things which the book supposes, rather than our ignorance of the meaning of particular expressions. Verses and passages from Isaiah are far more generally known, and far more present to the minds of most of us, than passages from the Greek and Latin classics. But they stand isolated in our minds, without our having any firm grasp of the facts to which they refer, or any clear view of the situation of things which they suppose. Cultivated people have in general a much clearer and more connected notion of the important moments and situations in Greek and Roman history—of the Persian war, the rise of Athens, the Peloponnesian war, the Sicilian expedition, the Roman Republic, the Punic wars, Cæsar and the Empire—than they have of the historical moment and situation with which Isaiah had to deal. But we cannot appreciate Isaiah unless we have before our minds this moment and situation.

Its history is well given in Professor Robertson Smith's recent work on the Prophets; but our purpose requires a narrative which will go into two or three pages, not a narrative spreading itself through a series of chapters. Let us try to sketch the situation. There is some uncertainty in the chronology; the old received dates of the Jewish kings have in some cases to be corrected from data furnished by the Assyrian inscriptions. But, at any rate, the period with which we have to deal is the last half of the eighth century before Christ. From 750 to 700 B.C. is the period of Isaiah's activity. The chief countries concerned are Judah, Israel, Assyria, Syria, Egypt, Ethiopia. Babylon for most of this period is as yet, though again and again rising in revolt, a vassal kingdom of Assyria. The great personages of the history are four successive kings of Assyria—Tiglath-pileser, Shalmaneser, Sargon, and Sennacherib; two successive kings of Judah, Ahaz and Hezekiah; the king of Syria, Rezin; Pekah, king of Israel; the king of Egypt, whom Isaiah calls by the general dynastic name of Pharaoh only; and Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia. The main events of our fifty years' period are the conquest of Samaria, the capital of the kingdom of Israel, by the Assyrians in 721 B.C., and the failure of Sennacherib to possess himself of Jerusalem in 701.

Of the final scope of Isaiah's ideas, so far as we can apprehend it, and of the character and grandeur of his prophetic deliverances, I may speak at more length hereafter. Here I only deal with his prophecy so far as our presentment of the historical situation requires. Isaiah's centre of action was Jerusalem. He was of noble, by some accounts of even royal birth. To his native country of Judah the long reign of Uzziah, the grandfather of Ahaz, had been a time of great power, wealth, and prosperity. The rival kingdom of Israel, under the reign of the second Jeroboam, in part contemporary with the reign of Uzziah, had likewise been conquering, rich, and prosperous. Never

Since the death of Solomon, and the separation of the ten tribes from Judah, had the two kingdoms enjoyed so much prosperity. But when Isaiah began his career, the tide of the northern kingdom's prosperity had long since turned. The king of Israel was now the subordinate ally of the king of Syria; and the two kings, fearing extinction by their great military neighbour on the north, Assyria, which was pressing hard upon them, desired to unite Syria, Palestine, and Egypt in resistance to Assyria's progress, and for this purpose to force the king of Judah into an alliance with them. At the end of Uzziah's reign the design was already formed. It was maturing during the reign of his son Jotham. And soon after the accession of Jotham's son, Ahaz, the kings of Syria and Israel appeared with an army in Judah, resolved to bend Ahaz to their will.

The outward and seeming prosperity of Judah had continued until the death of Jotham. On this outward prosperity the eyes of Isaiah in his early manhood rested; but it exercised no illusion upon him, he discerned its unsoundness. He saw his country with 'an upper class materialised,' an upper class full of cupidity, hardness, insolence, dissoluteness. He saw the lower class, the bulk of the people, to be better indeed and more free from vice than the upper class; he saw it attached in its way to the old religion, but understanding it ill, turning it into a superstition and a routine, admitting gross accretions and admixtures to it; a lower class, in short, fatally impaired by bad example and want of leading. Butler's profound words, so true for at any rate the old societies of the world, cannot but here rise to the mind:—'The behaviour of the lower rank of mankind has very little in it original or of home growth; very little which may not be traced up to the influence of others, and less which is not capable of being changed by that influence. This being their condition, consider now what influence, as well as power, their superiors must, from the nature of the case, have over them. And experience shows that they do direct and change the course of the world as they please. Not only the civil welfare but the morals and religion of their fellow-creatures greatly depend upon them.'

In his first deliverances,* soon after the year 740, Isaiah denounced as unsound the still existing outward prosperity of Judah, his country. Ahaz came to the throne; and the young king, and the governing class surrounding him, now began freely to introduce from the neighbouring nations worship and rites many of which had for their vicious adopters the attraction of being also dissolute or cruel orgies. Then fell the blow of invasion. The kings of Syria and Israel overran the country of Judah; and, amid the consternation pervading Jerusalem, the famous meeting of Isaiah with Ahaz took place 'at the end of the conduit of the upper pool in the highway of the fuller's field.'

* Isaiah ii.—v.

* *Ibid.* vii. 3.

Three names, which are to be found in the chapter relating Isaiah's interview with Ahaz and in the chapter immediately following it, sum up for us the judgment of Isaiah upon this emergency, and indeed upon the whole troublous future discovering itself to his thoughts. These three names are *Immanuel*, *Shear-jashub*, *Maher-shalal-hash-baz*. *Immanuel* means, as everybody knows, 'God with us.' *Shear-jashub* and *Maher-shalal-hash-baz* are the names of Isaiah's two sons. The meaning of *Shear-jashub* is given in a chapter following: 'The remnant shall return.' *Return*, not in the physical sense, but in the moral: be converted, come to God. The third name, *Maher-shalal-hash-baz*, means: 'Spoil speedeth, prey hasteth.'

Spoil speedeth, prey hasteth. The kingdoms which the chosen people has made for itself, their world which now is, with its prosperities, idolatries, governing classes, oppression, pleasures, drunkards, careless women, systems of policy, strong alliances, shall pass away; nothing can save it. Strokes of statesmanship, fluctuations of fortune, cannot change the inevitable final result. The present invasion by Rezin and Pekah is nought, the kings of Syria and Israel will disappear, their plans will be frustrated, their power destroyed. But no real triumph is thus won, no continuance secured, for Judah as it is, for Judah's king and governing classes as they are. Assyria, the great and colossal power, the representative and wielder of 'the kingdoms of this world' now, as Babylon and Rome became their representatives afterwards, Assyria is behind. Swiftly and irresistibly this agent of the Eternal is moving on, to ruin and overwhelm Judah and Judah's allies. 'He shall pass through Judah; he shall overflow and go over.'⁸ *Spoil speedeth, prey hasteth.*

And, nevertheless, *God is with us*. In this Jerusalem, in this city of David, in this sanctuary of the old religion, God has been known, righteousness loved, the root of the matter reached, as they never have been in the world outside. The great world outside has nothing so indispensable to mankind, no germ so precious to mankind, as the 'valley of vision' has. Therefore 'he that believeth shall not take flight'; there is laid by the Eternal 'in Zion for a foundation a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner stone, a sure foundation.'⁹ *God is with us.*

But it is *the remnant shall return*; the remnant, and the remnant only. Our old world must pass away, says Isaiah to his countrymen; 'God is with us' for the making of a new world, but how few of us may take part in that making! Only a remnant! a remnant sifted and purged by sharp trial, and then sifted and purged afresh. 'Even if yet there shall be a tenth, it shall return and shall be burned; but as a terebinth tree, and as an oak, whose substance is in them when they are cut down, so the stock of that burned tenth shall be a holy seed.'¹⁰ Against this seed the kingdoms of the world, the

⁸ Isaiah viii. 8.

⁹ *Ibid.* xxviii. 16.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* vi. 13.

hosts of self-seeking and unrighteous power, shall not finally prevail; they shall fail in their attacks upon it, they shall founder. It shall see a king of its own, who shall reign not as Ahaz, but 'shall reign in righteousness;' it shall see a governing class, not like the ministers and nobles of the court of Ahaz, but of whom 'a man shall be as an hiding place from the wind and a covert from the tempest;' where 'the vile person shall no more be called noble, nor the worker of mischief said to be worthy.' It shall see the lower people with a religion no longer blind and gross; 'the tongue of the stammerers shall be ready to speak plainly.'¹¹ Amidst such a society it 'shall see the king in his beauty, shall behold the land spreading very far forth.'¹² *The remnant shall return.*

The final scope of these ideas of Isaiah, and what is really their significance and their greatness, I for the present, as I have said, do not attempt to discuss. But they give us, just as they stand, the clue to his whole book and to all his prophecy. Let us pursue our summary of the historical situation with their aid. They will enable us to make very brief what remains to be said.

Ahaz heard, but was not convinced. He had a more short and easy way than Isaiah's. He put himself into the hands of the king of Assyria. In 734 B.C. Tiglath-pileser, after chastising the kingdom of Israel, crushed the kingdom of Syria, and received the homage of Ahaz at Damascus. Shalmaneser, Tiglath-pileser's successor, determined to make an end of the subjected but ever restless kingdom of Israel, and formed the siege of Samaria, which was taken by his successor Sargon in 721. Three years before this destruction of the northern kingdom, Hezekiah had succeeded his father Ahaz upon the throne of Jerusalem. Hezekiah was a man of piety; but the governing class remained as before, and controlled the policy of their country. Judah was tributary to Assyria, and owed to Assyria its deliverance from a great danger. But the deliverer and his designs were extremely dangerous, and made Judah apprehensive of being swallowed up presently, when its turn came. The neighbouring countries—Phœnicia on the north, Moab, Ammon, and the Arabian nations on the east, Philistia on the west, Egypt and Ethiopia on the south—shared Judah's apprehensions. There were risings, and they were sternly quelled; Judah, however, remained tranquil. But the scheme of an anti-Assyrian alliance was gradually becoming popular. Egypt was the great pillar of hope. By its size, wealth, resources, pretensions, and fame, Egypt seemed a possible rival to Assyria. Time went on. Sargon was murdered in 705; Sennacherib succeeded him. Then on all sides there was an explosion of revolts against the Assyrian rule. The first years of Sennacherib's reign were spent by him in quelling a formidable rising of Merodach-baladan, king of Babylon. The court and ministers of Hezekiah seized this opportunity for detaching their master

¹¹ Isaiah xxxii. 1, 2, 5, 4.

¹² Ibid. xxxiii. 17.

from Assyria, for joining in the movement of the insurgent states of Palestine and its borders, and for allying themselves with Egypt.

All this time Isaiah never changed his view of the situation. The risings were vain, the Egyptian alliance could not profit. Of his three great notes he kept reiterating the sternest one, and insisting upon it: *Spoil speedeth, prey hasteth*. He repeated it to Moab and Arabia, to Tyre and Philistia, to Egypt and Ethiopia. The great stream of Assyrian conquest will assuredly submerge you, he said, and you cannot escape from it. But of what avail, then, could Egypt and Ethiopia be, to help Judah?

Nay, and the stream must overflow Judah also. In 701 Sennacherib, victorious in Babylonia, marched upon Palestine. For Judah also was now the note true: *Spoil speedeth, prey hasteth*. But for Judah Isaiah had those two other notes besides, constantly alternating with the darker one: the notes of *God with us* and of *The remnant shall return*. Higher still those notes rose when the invader appeared in Judah, confident, overbearing, unscrupulous, perfidious, and demanded the surrender of Jerusalem. Jerusalem, so Isaiah prophesied, the invader should never enter; a disaster should befall him; he should return in discomfiture to his own land.

Sennacherib's enterprise against Jerusalem presently failed. His own account of the failure is not the same as the Jewish account; any more than the account of the battle of Albuera in Napier's history is the same as the account of it in the *Victoires et Conquêtes de l'Armée Française*. But from the Assyrian account itself it is sufficiently manifest that the enterprise failed, and that Sennacherib returned to his own land unsuccessful.

It was a great triumph for Isaiah. And undoubtedly it gave him for the moment a commanding influence, and contributed not a little to the final accomplishment of religious reforms which were dear to his heart. Shall we ask whether it enabled him to behold a king reigning in righteousness, and a governing class like the shadow of a great rock in a weary land? Shall we ask whether he even expected it to enable him to do this? No; we will not now pursue further his own conceptions as to the fulfilment of his own prophecies—prophecies 'impatient,' as Davison says, 'for the larger scope.' We will not interrogate him as to his own view, as years rolled on with him, of his splendid promises of Immanuel and of the Remnant. We may touch upon this matter later. At present we do but give a summary of the historical situation which ought to be ever present to our minds in reading Isaiah. We will conclude our summary by saying that he lived on into the reign of Hezekiah's son Manasseh, and that he is said to have been put to death by Manasseh. One tradition attributes his death to offence given to the fanaticism of a narrow religiosity by his large and free language. Whether his death was caused by the hatred of a religious party, or by the hatred of that governing class which in former reigns

he had so unsparingly assailed, we shall never know. A Puritan terror, an aristocratical terror, a Jacobin terror—a great soul may easily become an object of fear and hatred to each and all of them; by any one of them he may easily perish. In one or the other of them, probably, Isaiah sank.

The events and personages of the historical situation of which I have thus given the rapid summary should be as familiar to us, if we are ever rightly to enjoy Isaiah, as the events and personages of those passages of history with which we are most conversant. For my part, I often gladly allow myself to employ parallels from such passages, in order to bring out for my own mind the events and personages of Isaiah's time more vividly. What is Assyria but the French empire as it presented itself to the eyes of our fathers—conquering, rapacious, aggressive, insolent, unscrupulous, unrighteous? What is Sennacherib withdrawing baffled from Jerusalem, but Napoleon withdrawing baffled from Moscow? Egypt, of grand appearance but not of real force and vigour answering to it, Egypt august, proud, unwieldy, dilatory, ineffectual, is the Austrian empire. The youthful Ahaz, vain, sensual, and false, is the Prince John of *Ivanhoe*. The pious Hezekiah, with his zeal for strictness in public worship, with his turn for hymnody and for religious literature, with his want of insight and greatness, his errors in policy and his bad ministers, Hezekiah brings always to my mind Mr. Perceval, George the Third's favourite minister; Mr. Perceval, a man exemplary and strictly religious, but narrow and unequal to the situation; capable of pursuing the most deplorable policy and of employing the most unfit men. And as I have formerly likened to Sancho Panza the great *Times* newspaper, following with sighs, shrugs, and remonstrances that arrant adventurer, the modern spirit, so, without offence to the excellent proprietor of the *Times*, let me say that I never can help thinking of him when I read Isaiah's invectives against Hezekiah's Mayor of the Palace, Shebna. Not a word is alleged against Shebna's character; but, like the *Times*, Shebna is the organ of the governing class, the friend and upholder of the established fact—and Isaiah is their mortal enemy. And he sees this Shebna in great prosperity, buying land, building right and left, founding a family. 'What hast thou here and whom hast thou here?' he cries; 'I will drive thee from thy station, and I will call my servant Eliakim, and I will commit thy government into his hand, and he shall be a father to the inhabitants of Jerusalem!'¹³ It is as if a revolutionary prophet were to see in power the proprietor of the *Times* and maintainer of the established fact, and to predict his having to give place to Mr. Samuel Smith, the newly elected member for Liverpool, a Christian Socialist. And we find that, as to the ministers of King Hezekiah and as to the government of Judah, Isaiah carried his point or nearly carried it; for when Sennacherib's envoys came to

¹³ Isaiah xxii. 16-23.

Jerusalem, Shebna was no longer Mayor of the Palace; Eliakim filled the post instead of him. Shebna, nevertheless, was Scribe;¹⁴ that is to say, Isaiah had been allowed to have his way in part, but only in part. A compromise had been arranged, there had been a shuffling of the cards; Eliakim was now Prime Minister, but Shebna was Secretary of State. Ah, these politicians!

The third requisite for a full enjoyment of Isaiah is to have the book so arranged that we can read his prophecies in their right order and in their right connexion. It is demonstrable that it is not so arranged now; and although in re-arranging it there is danger of being fantastic and rash, and many critics have succumbed to this danger, yet some re-arrangement is absolutely necessary, and, if made with sobriety, fairness, moderation, and caution, must be of signal benefit. I have no space left, however, to open this question now; to this question, and to other points still requiring some notice, I may return hereafter.

But I will not end, even for the present, without seeking to act up to my own doctrine that the right thing for us to do with the book of Isaiah is to enjoy it. To enjoy even a chapter of him is in truth better than to read a thousand pages of comment on him. After all my comment, let me then refresh my readers with at least one chapter from Isaiah himself. It shall be a very noble and characteristic chapter;¹⁵ a chapter which ought probably, if the collection of his prophecies which we possess were to be properly arranged, to stand the last, and to conclude them. It admirably illustrates his use of the three *notes* which I have mentioned as governing his prophecy; and moreover it exhibits the astonishing rapidity of transition, the splendid variety, the unequalled force, of his mode of employing them.

We are at the moment when the fierce Assyrian giant, the aggressor, conqueror, and scourge, with *Spoil speedeth prey hasteth* written on his forehead, is encamped in Judah, ravaging its lands, taking its towns one after the other, threatening Jerusalem. Him the prophet addresses:—

Woe to thee that spoilest and thou wast not spoiled, and dealest injuriously and they dealt not injuriously with thee!

When thou shalt cease to spoil, thou shalt be spoiled; and when thou shalt make an end to deal injuriously, they shall deal injuriously with thee!

Then he strikes the note of *Immanuel*:—

O Lord, be gracious unto us! we have waited for thee, be thou their¹⁶ arm every morning, our salvation also in the time of trouble!

At the noise of the tumult the peoples fled; at the lifting up of thyself the nations were scattered.

And your spoil¹⁷ shall be gathered like the gathering of the caterpillar, as the running to and fro of locusts shall men run upon them.

¹⁴ Isaiah xxxvi. 3.

¹⁵ Judah's.

¹⁶ Chapter xxxiii.

¹⁷ To Assyria.

The Lord is exalted; for he dwelleth on high; he hath filled Zion with judgment and righteousness.

And the stability of thy times¹⁸ shall be wisdom, and knowledge, and strength of salvation; the fear of the Lord is his¹⁹ treasure.

But then recurs the note of *Maher-shalal-hash-baz* :—

Behold, their valiant ones²⁰ cry without; the ambassadors of peace weep bitterly.

The highways lie waste, the wayfaring man ceaseth; he²¹ hath broken the covenant, he hath despised the cities, he regardeth no man.

The land mourneth and languisheth; Lebanon is ashamed and hewn down; Sharon is like a wilderness, and Bashan and Carmel shake off their leaves.

Now sounds again the note of *Immanuel* :—

Now will I rise, saith the Lord, now will I be exalted, now will I lift up myself.

Ye²² shall conceive chaff, ye shall bring forth stubble; your breath, as fire, shall devour you.

And the peoples shall be as the burnings of lime; as thorns cut up shall they be burned in the fire.

Hear, ye that are far off, what I have done!

Yes, let Assyria and the nations hear! but then the prophet turns homeward with the note of *Shear-jashub*, of 'Only the remnant.'

And ye that are near, acknowledge my might!

The sinners in Zion are afraid; fearfulness hath surprised the hypocrites. *Who among us shall dwell with the devouring fire? who among us shall dwell with everlasting burnings?*

He that walketh righteously and speaketh uprightly, he that despiseth the gain of oppressions and averteth his hands from holding of bribes, that stoppeth his ears from hearing of blood and shutteth his eyes from seeing evil,

He shall dwell on high; his place of defence shall be the munitions of rocks; bread shall be given him; his waters shall be sure.

Thine eyes²³ shall see the king in his beauty; they shall behold the land spreading very far forth.

Thine heart shall meditate the terror.²⁴ Where is the assessor? where is the weigher? ²⁵ where is he that counted the towers?

Thou seest no more the fierce people, the people of a dark speech that thou canst not perceive, of a stammering tongue that thou canst not understand.²⁷

Look upon Zion, the city of our solemnities; thine eye shall see Jerusalem a quiet habitation, a tabernacle that shall not be taken down; not one of the stakes thereof shall ever be removed, neither shall any of the cords thereof be broken.

Then the note of *Immanuel* joins the note of *The remnant* shall return, and is blended with it :—

But there the glorious Lord will dwell with us; a place of broad rivers and streams, wherein shall go no galley with oars, neither shall gallant ship pass thereby.²⁸

¹⁸ To Judah.

¹⁹ Judah's.

²⁰ Judah's.

²¹ Sennacherib.

²² To Assyria.

²³ To the remnant.

²⁴ Of Assyria and its conquests.

²⁵ Of the tribute paid to Assyria.

²⁶ In order to besiege them.

²⁷ The Assyrians spoke a Semitic dialect not intelligible to the Hebrews.

²⁸ No earthly waters, but the river of the peace of God.

For the Lord is our judge, the Lord is our lawgiver, the Lord is our king; he will save us!

Yet once more the note to remind of *Spoil speedeth* and of 'the terror,'—finishing and merged, however, in the notes of victory:—

Thy²⁹ tacklings are loosed; they hold not firm their mast, they keep not spread the sail;—but then is the prey of a great spoil³⁰ divided! the lame take the prey!

And the inhabitant shall not say: *I am sick!* the people that dwell therein shall be forgiven their iniquity.

Of this fine chapter the rendering in our Bibles is often inaccurate, and I have had to alter it. But I have altered it as little as I possibly could, and I should rejoice if the reader happily failed to notice that I had altered it at all. No; decidedly the revisers must not hope to make us enjoy Isaiah by giving us as a rendering of him: *For every boot of him that trampleth noisily.*

MATTHEW ARNOLD.

²⁹ To Judah.

³⁰ Of the retreating Assyrians.

THE HIGHLAND CROFTERS.

‘THE Highlands of Scotland, like not a few greater things in the world, may be said to be at once well known and unknown.’ This remark was made by the late Dr. Norman Macleod in the preface to his delightful work *The Reminiscences of a Highland Parish*; and how true it is any one may learn who will change the short summer flight of the tourist and the sportsman, now so fashionable, for a permanent residence among the people who inhabit these picturesque regions. For there is a people there, in districts where they have been allowed to remain, with a soul and a social life, and inspiring local traditions, worthy of being inquired into; and a people of whom—as a pendant to Macleod’s remark about the country—we may say that they have been through generations of severe trial, of all the people in her Majesty’s dominions, at once the best behaved and the most ill-treated. Recent events—the mere symptoms of a long-suppressed chronic cachexy in the trans-Grampian districts of Scotland—have called attention specially to this long-neglected and well-deserving section of her Majesty’s British subjects; and newspaper correspondents and periodical reviewers have had their wits set in motion to give some notion of the truth on this important matter to a public, the great majority of whom have been content to vary their habitual ignorance and apathy with occasional skits of contemptuous indifference or inactive sympathy. Among these, one of the most prominent—and certainly one of the best informed and best entitled to speak—is his Grace the Duke of Argyll, who, whether he wields the ‘pen in the domain of theology, of natural science, or of agricultural economy, always does it in a style at once instructive to the reader and creditable to the order to which he belongs. His article on the economical condition of the Highlands in the February number of this Review may be regarded as a masterly exposition of the economics of the Highland question from the point of view of the lords of the soil, the factors, and those who take the Highlands as a field for mercantile speculation and pecuniary results; as such it deserves to be read carefully by all who wish to be acquainted with this side of the question. But, if it was intended, or has been taken by anybody, as a complete and satisfactory exposition of the whole Highland question, all who

know and love the natives of the glens, as distinguished from mercantile adventurers and pleasure-hunting visitors in the Highlands, must protest against it. The condition of the Highlands is not merely or mainly an economical question; it is that, no doubt, partly; but it is in the main a moral, a social, and a political question—as, indeed, all economical science, more properly called by the Greeks *χρηματιστική*, or pecuniary science, is in its very nature a subsidiary and a servile science, and can of itself neither prescribe any rational end of action for moral beings, nor teach the means by which that end may be attained. It is merely a science of tools necessary, indeed, for the workman, but utterly incapable either of giving him work to do, or telling him how to do it. Of itself, indeed, it is a science without a reasonable soul; and therefore, when it appears in isolated action necessarily destitute of all sanity—either mad, or drunk, or fevered. In the present paper, therefore, intended to exhibit the copper side of the Duke's silver shield, I shall give prominence to moral, social, and political considerations; not, however, without a distinct indication that political economy, rightly understood, and moral science are not contradictory but complementary one to the other. By the wise ordination of Providence well-distributed wealth and the social well-being of the people are, in the long run, identical; ill-distributed wealth, on the contrary, and wealth hastily acquired in defiance of social laws and moral sanctions, however brilliantly it may blaze for a season, leads by a sure process of corruption to national ruin and degradation.

A great deal of statistical talk has been bandied lately about the corporative increase or decrease of the population in the great Highland districts. This is a matter, I must state in the outset, which does not concern my argument, except in a very indirect way. The Highland crofters, whose case I state, and whose cause I plead, are principally an agricultural and a pastoral people; and no one who has walked through the Highland glens, as I have done more or less regularly now for forty or fifty years, can fail to have observed that the country has been depopulated in a most sweeping and systematic fashion, so that a man may walk league after league in those districts and encounter nothing but ruins in districts which, in not a few cases within the memory of the present generation, were the seats of a contented and happy and well-behaved mountain peasantry. If the desolation of some parts of Mull, of Morvern, of Glenspean, and Glendessary appears to some persons compensated by the rapid growth of Oban, Ardrishaig, Dunoon, and other towns on the fringes of the picturesque firths and kyles of Western Argyle, that is no answer to my question, Where are my crofters, where are my Highlanders? If you have, by what I think I can prove to be a false policy, banished a substantial and well-to-do peasantry into parvenu townships, there to hang on the skirts of tourists for a month or two in summer, and

thereafter sink into an unhealthy lethargy, you have exchanged a good population for a bad; you have preferred a race of bastards and waifs and vagrants to the true sons of the family; you have preserved in blue books the number of your people, but you have given them rottenness in the bones. I believe I speak the sentiments of the wisest and most far-sighted writers on social economy, from Aristotle to Roscher, that the agricultural population is the most valuable in every community, and for various reasons, physical as well as moral, entitled to be looked on as the true *seminarium reipublice*, from which, when in a healthy condition, the other classes of the body social may be most naturally and most advantageously recruited; and yet this is the very class which the apologists of the present condition of things in the Highlands—I mean the landlords, the factors, the sportsmen, and a certain class of political economists—do all in their power systematically to cramp, and to repress, and to discourage. Of course, in carrying out such a system of sweeping desolation, slander and misrepresentation have been resorted to; and a mountain people, historically known as the most manly, the most frugal, the most generous, the most moral, well-behaved, and the most loyal in the world, have been branded as a set of dram-drinking, crude, lazy, and greedy semi-savages speaking a barbarous language. Nothing is more easy than to fling terms of reproach against whole classes of men by selecting individuals as specimens, not the best, but the worst of the class to which they belong. That all Highlanders are not lazy is proved by the lands which their hard labour in stony places has reclaimed, and thereby raised the value of large districts, not for their own benefit, under the action of our present iniquitous land laws, but to go into the pockets of a landlord who will take the first opportunity of raising the rent upon the improvements made by the hard-working tenant, and then turning out of the land the very men to whose sweat he owes it that he has any rental at all from such a soil. How can men be expected to work at high pressure, when they get no encouragement for their work—when, in fact, all the fruit of their toil may go to feed the fatness of an indolent laird, or to swell the pride of an insolent factor? And if some crofters are lazy, are there no lazy landlords, no obtuse commissioners, no imperious factors, no harsh and insolent ground officers? If uncharitable charges against whole classes of men are to be indulged in, let the ball be returned in the same spirit with which it was thrown; and I, for one, have not the least hesitation in saying that the class of men called Highland crofters as a body are a more moral, a more respectable, and socially a more valuable class than those who account themselves their superiors.

Assuming, therefore, that it is a good thing for a country to possess a numerous and prosperous rural population, and that it should be one of the chief ends of a free social polity to protect and to encourage such a population. I will now state as succinctly as

possible the steps of the process by which in the Scottish Highland the reverse of all this has taken place, and an amount of systematic depopulation perpetrated, tolerated, and patronised, at once hurtful to the national wealth and disgraceful to the national character.

In making this review, we start from the year 1745, 'the year of Charlie' as the Highlanders are fond to call it, the year of the statutory end of the Clan system, with the introduction of the commercial system, which, from his Grace of Argyll's point of view, has worked so much good, but, from my point of view, so much evil to the Highlands. The evil came in this fashion. The first result of the battle of Culloden, and the prohibitory acts in 1746 thereupon following, was to discourage and disgust the Highlanders, and to brand them publicly as rebels, by forcing them to disuse their native dress, and clothe their nakedness with the garb of those whom they now looked upon as their enslavers and their butchers. Perhaps this studied insult to the plaid and kilt, an acknowledged badge of a proud nationality, was the point which cut most deeply into the sensibilities of the great mass of the people; but the abolition of heritable jurisdictions, which took place at the same time, was a more powerful cause of the decay which from that moment began to eat into the bones of the once proud Highlanders. The great lairds, Macdonells, Macleans, and Camerons, were no longer kings in their glens; deprived of social position and authority, and no longer buoyed up by that sense of local power which, in the majority of men, acts as a strong stimulus to local usefulness; and unable to understand that, though reft of their judicial functions, a grand arena still remained for them in the just administration of their property and the good government of their people—being, in fact, as a rule, very 'good fellows' in the common sense of the phrase, but very poor economists; disgusted with their loss of self-importance in their native glens, in an evil moment they bethought themselves of going off to London, and living lives of what in certain circles is called pleasure among the rich and the titled of that portentous metropolis.

Up amid the swells in London,
 'Mid the pomp of purple sinners,
 Where many a doughty chief is undone
 With dice, debauchery, and dinners.

A sort of life which, of course, could not be carried on without money; and so the chivalrous head of a chivalrous class, who once thought more of his honour than his purse, entered readily into the commercial system; began to look upon the making of money as the chief end of a landed proprietor, instead of the protection of his people; made bargains with capitalists; got familiar with the idea that people who were of no use in the immediate raising of the wind to pay his debts, might as well be got rid of; had transactions with the Jews; and after a few years of riotous living with profligate

princes and lordly debauchees, ended, like the prodigal son in the parable; not with repentance or recovery indeed, for it was too late, but with ruin and degradation. The people were sold to pay the landlord's debts; the native landlord—the landlord with patriarchal authority and patriarchal family feeling—vanished, and the new landlord with money and game laws came in. In this process there was plainly a great social sin on the part of the old lairds, from which, at the bar of history, they cannot possibly be acquitted. By their own folly, pride, and extravagance they betrayed and sold their people—that is a fact. But what of the new lairds? The change from the thriftless patriarch to the prosperous and adventurous capitalist, pointed in the first place clearly towards improvement in administration; for the purchaser who had money might naturally wish to spend it, and he might also have the wisdom to spend it well. But it by no means followed that in every case of such transference from the old head of the clan to the new lord of the manor, an amelioration in the condition of the people took place in proportion to the improved position of the landlord. On the contrary, it might easily happen that the new purchaser bought the property simply for the dignity of being a Highland proprietor, and playing the part of a mighty Nimrod before the Lord in the autumn months with a troop of London friends about him; or he might have bought it simply for an investment, implying no residence or personal care of the people in the property; or even with the full intention of doing justice to the estate as a resident landlord, he might have brought with him ideas of rural economy from Norfolk or from Haddington, the realisation of which was utterly inconsistent with the maintenance of the native population of the glens. His ideas of improvement might, in fact, practically mean the improving the people clean from the face of the land, and, as Tacitus said of the Romans, '*ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem adpellant*'—where they made a desolation they called it *improvement*. Anyhow, except in the few cases where the new purchaser might be a gentleman of Highland extraction, cherishing Highland traditions, glorying in Highland retirement, and even here and there speaking in kindly terms the language dear to the people from whose toil he drew his rents—with the exception of such cases, the new proprietors could not be expected to feel any strong sympathy with the people on the land which they had purchased, and might easily be induced by considerations of ease and convenience, and prospects of immediate gain from some Lowland capitalist, to consider that they performed their duty in the best possible way by getting quit of them altogether, to find what sorry lodgment might be open in the back slums of Glasgow, to dig for roots amid the unbroken forests of Nova Scotia, or to scrape a scanty nourishment from the shell-fish on the reefs of Prince Edward's Island. And so, in fact, it came to pass that in many a bonnie green glen,

once ringing with the voices of happy children from the homes of sturdy fathers and industrious mothers, you might walk a whole day and stumble on nothing human but a single Lowland shepherd or a single Highland gamekeeper. The details of the manner in which these harsh evictions of the native inhabitants were carried out in various parts of the Highlands, specially in Ross-shire, Sutherland, and Inverness, will be found in an interesting volume recently published, which no person who writes or speaks on these subjects should leave unread.¹ We have no space here to spread forth those pictures of real Highland tragedy, more harrowing than the most tear-provoking horrors of fiction; we must go on coolly to indicate the special form which this unlovely process of extermination assumed in the course of its unchecked development. The most notable force which came down like a desolating hailstorm on the fruitful fields of Highland life in the glens, was the introduction of sheep-farming after the model of Southern farms, and the big farm system which was a part of it. The crime here lay not in the culture of sheep rather than cattle in many districts of the Bens, but in the violent manner in which this change was introduced, and in the assumption that honest Highland crofters could not learn to breed sheep as well as the shepherd of any border farmer. The population of the glens, it must be remembered, had grown up for ages under the special encouragement of the lords of the glens; and now, all at once, like a clap of thunder, an order comes down from London or Edinburgh to shovel the honest people down from the green glen to the barren shore, there to feed upon whelks and mussels as they best could, and learn to be fishermen! Their homes forthwith were pulled down over their heads; frail old men and pregnant women were turned out, to spend the cold nights on the bare heather or in a dark cave. Most sorrowful, most pitiful!—but there was no help for it. Law has no bowels; factors don't like poor people, and enterprising farmers from Morayshire, Roxburgh, or Dumfries were eager for gain and not at all given to believe with St. Paul, that the love of money is the root of all evil. No doubt there were improvements of various kinds—roads made, bridges constructed, inns built, big houses erected for the big South country farmers, and so forth; but the honest people who were shovelled down to the sea-coast were not improved; and it was not for their improvement in any shape that the new roads were made or the new bridges constructed. It was the big farmer and the factor, the factor who might himself be the very person for whose sake the clearance was made, and who was the principal person who profited by these improvements. And no doubt, also, this was all quite right according to the views of those who, on the much lauded commercial principles, then undertook to reform

¹ *A History of the Highland Clearances*, by Alexander Mackenzie, F.S.A. Scot. Inverness, 1883.

the Highlands after the image of Manchester and Glasgow; for commerce, like law, has no bowels; and it was not the happiness of the great mass of the people, but the hasty enrichment of the few, that was the alpha and the omega of their economic gospel in the Highlands. So much for big sheep-farming. But the manner in which it was introduced in many of the more notorious cases reveals an element in the procedure which demands special notice. We mean absenteeism and government of large estates by commissioners and factors. In not a few cases the big farmer himself was an absentee, with residence in Roxburghshire or Dumfries; but the landlord might more naturally be so from various causes; and thus the double curse lay upon the country of a landlord who knew nothing about what his agents and underlings were doing in his name, and of a Titanic stranger-tenant, who by his position was the natural enemy of any scanty shred of the native population that might have been allowed to remain on the soil. And this has produced that awful solitude and solemn desolation now characteristic of some of the finest districts of the Highlands which are so captivating to the eyes of a certain class of sentimental tourists and heartless sportsmen. There is no class of men at whose door the guilt of Highland desolation more plainly lies than the factors. 'Is cruaidh reachd a Bhàilldh'—'Hard is the factor's rule' is a proverbial saying among the Gaels; and, though it is unfortunately too true, one can hardly refrain from pitying the unfortunate class of persons to whom it applies. To be generally hated, and to have to bear the blame of other men's sins as well as their own, is by no means an enviable situation for any food-eating mortal even with 1,000*l.* a year, and the familiar fellowship of an earl or a duke by way of compensation. The factor, poor fellow, has to serve two masters—his master before men and in the eye of the law, who lives away from home, and who, by his own fault or the fault of his father, may be deeply sunk in debt; his master before God, and in the eyes of the Divine mercy, that is simply the people of his secular diocese, towards whom he is bound to act, not as a rapacious wolf, but as a faithful shepherd. Alas, poor factor! if he serve the people he offends his constituent, and achieves his own dismissal; if he serves the landlord, he breaks the Divine law and outrages humanity. What wonder, under such circumstances, if, in nine cases out of ten, he prefers or is forced to be harsh, while his master all the while may be as gentle as a lamb and as meek as a saint; as, indeed, we are credibly informed that the late Lord Macdonald, at whose instance some 700 or 800 persons were evicted from Sollas in North Uist, to his dying day lamented the cruelties that were perpetrated in his name.* So specially with

* 'We have the most conclusive testimony and assurance from one that knew his Lordship intimately, that to his dying day he never ceased to regret what had been done in his name, and with his tacit approval, in Skye and in North Uist,'—Mackenzie's *Clearances*, p. 249.

the heads of the Sutherland family, who were good and kindly, and were and are anxious to do their best for the people under their civil bishopric; but they did not know, and, as the situation was, could not know, the harsh deeds which, under the operation of unjust laws and an evil haste to be rich, a weak sense of social duty, or an ignorance of local feelings and usages, were habitually done in their names. That they had the best intentions, many of them, no man doubts; but whole intentions with half knowledge can never be mother of any good. Hell, as the Spanish proverb has it, is paved with such pious fancies; and the Evil One is never more delighted than when he can point to the best persons as responsible for the worst deeds; for then, of course, the deeds are not believed, and evil walks unreproven with a clear forehead through the land.

We have done now with two counts in the indictment—big farming and government by factors. We proceed to the most recent, the most flagrant, the most selfish, the most unsocial, and the most inhuman of all the depopulating agencies—viz. deer-stalking and merchandise in mountain game. Against this ‘most fascinating of all British field sports,’ as an experienced old master of the craft calls it,³ when legitimately practised, no sensible man can have anything to say. But, like other good things in this world, it is as often abused as well used; and then comes in with fearful emphasis the old adage, *corruptio optimi pessima*. Legitimate deer-stalking is no novelty in the Highlands, forming, in fact, the subject of one of the best poems in the Gaelic language, by the Argyllshire Burns, Duncan Ban MacIntyre, a man who was himself a gamekeeper, and owes no small part of the fresh, breezy influences which inspired his poems to the craft which he practised. Deer-stalking is a legitimate sport when pursued as a recreation by men who reside on their property, and, while enjoying this recreation as the natural adjunct of a mountain lordship, never forget that their first concern, as members of a social community, is the cherishing and guidance of the native population. It is illegitimate, selfish, and anti-social when it is pursued as a business, or as a merchandise, by persons who hold the hill country exclusively for this business or merchandise, and make the cultivation of wild beasts in large districts of the country their sole pleasure and their engrossing occupation.⁴ Those who practise this illegitimate sort of deer-stalking are by necessity the natural enemies of the local population. Wherever they plant themselves, the crofter must disappear; and though they may tolerate, and keep up for a show, a few neat houses, whitewashed and graced with creepers, to

³ *A Handbook of Deer-Stalking*, by Alexander Macrae, late forester to Lord Henry Bentinck; with introduction by Horatio Ross, Esq. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1880.

⁴ The distinction here drawn, I find, is strongly emphasised by Prince Albert, who was himself an adept in the sport. ‘I don’t understand making a business of shooting, and going out the whole day. I like it as an amusement for a few hours. *Die Leute hier (in England) wollen ein Geschäft daraus machen.*’—*Life*, vol. i. p. 9.

draw the eye of superficial tourists, you will never find them tolerating a cow upon the hillside to give milk to a race of healthy mountain children, or even a hen to lay an honest egg in the yard, much less a dog. As soon as they take possession of their lordship, they appoint a governor, armed by the law with absolute power as gamekeeper, to hold an argus-eyed watch over every movement of an independent and vigorous manhood in the district; and not only over poor crofters, and stray poachers, but with not less jealousy over pedestrians of all classes who may wish to climb the Bens, or scour the moors, for purposes of health, of recreation, or of science. Under such influences the population either disappears at one swoop, or, to save appearances, and to smother the cry of human indignation in the country, they are allowed to remain on the ground in a state of dependence and degradation, till they dwindle away and die out, and leave the glen to the undisturbed possession of the favoured quadruped. And thus, to the disgrace of our modern civilisation and the reproach of our Christian profession, through extensive districts in the Highlands, the greatest happiness of the greatest number, the plain object of all wise national economy, has been sacrificed to the abnormal pleasures of an idle, a self-indulgent, and an anti-social few.

Of course, when I use this strong language, I do not mean to make any railing accusation against individuals; there are good and bad in all classes; but I make no general statements which are not guaranteed by a large array of undeniable facts. There are certain practices in their simplest form, innocent recreations perhaps, which, when fostered and grown up into a luxuriant magnitude, necessarily become vices, and must be put down as social nuisances; gambling is one of them, and deer-stalking another. As it is impossible for a habitual gambler to be a good father of a family, so it is impossible for a professional deer-stalker, practising his craft with the high-pressure action of our oligarchic land laws, to favour the growth of a sturdy race of mountaineers in the glens; he is like the tiger, a solitary animal.

Let us now cast a glance, and a glance happily will be sufficient, at the apologies which are offered for those inhuman and anti-social practices which for the last hundred years have been systematically sucking out the sap and virtue of the best part of our Scottish population. And in the first place, in reference to the Malthusian argument, so skilfully stated by his Grace of Argyll, there is no need of denying the tendency of population under certain circumstances to increase beyond the limits of subsistence. This is a fact which the wise economist will always have in his eye, and know how to deal with where it occurs. But over-population in one district is no argument for depopulation in another. The wise forester, by a calculated process of scientific advance, thins the trees; the fierce Atlantic blast tears them up and casts them

down. Such a blast from the big farmer seventy years ago depopulated Strathnaver; such a blast from the deer-stalker is at this moment depopulating Kintail.⁵ Besides, who made the overpopulation? The aristocracy, when it served their purpose at one time to have people, or from mistaken kindness, when they did not know how to rule, or from cunning contrivance when they did not wish their clearances to excite attention. In this case the factor himself, perhaps the big farmer, after driving the people from the braes where they had their consuetudinary pasture, huddled them into some remote part of the estate, where lots already too small were by him subdivided for their reception; and so not overpopulation in all cases, but bad distribution of the national population in favour of big farmers, and deer-stalkers, and the omnipotent factor, was the cause of the destitution. Then we are told there is a natural flow of the rural population to the towns, observable not only in the Scottish Highlands but in France, and all over the world; and that this is the real cause of the evacuation of the glens of which we complain. Not so. The natural outflow is one thing, the artificial evacuation another. As long as there are busy commercial and manufacturing centres in the country, with railroads and steamboats to connect the most remote districts with these cities, so long will there be a natural vent for a certain proportion of the rural population. This is part of the healthy circulation of the monads of society, to which no sane man objects. But the annual swarm which goes off naturally from the human hive in the glens can furnish no reason for destroying altogether the hives, as the houses of the poor crofters were pulled down over their heads at Strathnaver and elsewhere. If the landlord, or rather his factor—for, as I have said already, it is generally the factor that does the mischief—in any district had observed the people flowing towards Glasgow or Dundee in undue numbers, he ought as a good shepherd to have warned them against the seduction of high wages in those quarters, which were not only uncertain in their rate, but were certainly accompanied with moral and physical disadvantages which more than outweighed the glittering seduction of the moment. And, had he thus spoken honestly, and made his words the prophet of deeds, which tended to the fostering and encouragement of a healthy population among the hills, the love of country among a

⁵ It is a trite plea, for the deer-stalker that, when he enters upon the deserted run of a big sheep-farmer, and turns it into a deer forest, he actually employs more men in watching deer than the farmer did in tending sheep. This is likely true, though not of course arguing any love on the part of the intending Nimrod to the local population; and to his boast the poor ejected crofter might fitly reply: 'The landlord owed me a shilling, for which the big farmer gave me twopence; you give me twopence farthing, which is a little better; but I still feel that I have been juggled out of ninepence halfpenny; and I cannot regard either the one or the other of you as in any sense my benefactor.'

people proverbial for their strong local attachment, would have effectually aided him in his endeavour to preserve a sufficient population of small farmers and labourers for the agricultural wants of the Glen. But no; he was rather glad to see the people disappear. He had probably instructions from his absent master to raise a certain amount of rent with all speed out of the district, which would force him to pinch these poor people in every possible way, to take from them their hill pastures, absolutely necessary for the prosperity of their crofts, to make them feel that they were an incumbrance, and at last send them adrift to ruin their health and increase the poor rates in the already overpeopled towns of the Lowlands. Then again we are told, in behalf of the big farmers, that sheep-farming requires capital, and that only great agricultural capitalists from the Low Countries can conduct it profitably. This is a mere apology, a thin veil of fair disguise for commercial greed and administrative laziness. No doubt a big tenant with a big purse from Haddington or the Merse will save the factor trouble in collecting the rents, and make the laird sure of the last penny, so long as the wool trade flourishes, and hill mutton is consumed by Edinburgh and Glasgow dignitaries; but the small tenants, with a little trouble and training, and organisation of club farms, would have managed the sheep culture equally well, and in trying times, as has been lately proved, have paid their rents duly when the big farmers failed.⁶ Then in behalf of the deer-stalkers we are told that the whole of Scotland north of the Grampians is a hilly and inhospitable district, naturally unfit for the habitation of human beings, and which can be profitably utilised only by turning it into a vast conservatory of wild beasts for the healthy recreation and exercise of the aristocracy and plutocracy of the land, who, in fact, not only benefit themselves by the admirable physical training which field sports imply, but do the only possible good to the wretched population of those districts, by bringing money into a country where money, with its civilising influences, was almost unknown. This sounds well, but it is rhetoric with as much truth in it as was in the brains of Londoners in the year 1745, when they imagined that the kilted heroes who brought sudden fear into the heart of England were the lineal unimproved descendants of the 'Scotorum Pictorumque gentes feræ,'⁷ whose savage troops laid waste the borders of the Roman Empire in the middle of the fourth century. The economical capacities of the Highlands are not to

⁶ That it is an economic mistake to suppose that the large farmer is better, in a pecuniary point of view, for the laird, has been proved in detail by Mr. MacDonald, of Skeabost, Skye, in the *Celtic Magazine* of November, 1881. Compare an important testimony to the same effect by the late MacLeod of Grishnoonish, in the introduction to my *Lays of the Highlands and Islands*. London, 1872, p. 40.

⁷ Ammianus Marcellinus, xx. 1.

be understood by a few idle young gentlemen from the metropolis, who travel over the bare brown moors for ten days or a fortnight in the autumn, and then conceit themselves that they have seen the country. Nothing is more common in Highland districts than to see a rampart of barrenness, so to speak, encircling a paradise of culture; and one side of an island, as at North Uist, looking like a drenched waste, only half redeemed from the primal waters, while the other side spreads itself out in broad fields of the most delicious clover. There is plenty of good land on the fringes of the Highland Bens and low in the glens, but it is reserved for the deer. As for the climate, it is in large districts far more genial than that of Edinburgh or Aberdeen; and even where it is most ungenial it has for many ages produced a race of men which, for bone and muscle, for enterprise and perseverance, for character and conscience, could vie with any of the most select mountaineer peasantry of Europe. Finally, as to the money with which the South country Nimrods boast that they enrich our meagre Highlands. Where does the money go? It does not certainly go to support local industry, or to encourage the local population. No doubt the vendors of tartan habiliments in Inverness, and the weavers of home-spun stuffs in Harris, may be able to carry on a lucrative sort of trade with sportsmen, as with other tourists, during two or three months in the summer, but in general the deer-stalker brings his stores with him, and the coin which he lavishes most largely does not go to the village merchant (if there be a village, which he rather eschews) but to the Frankfort or Parisian wine-dealer. Then as to the rent which he pays for his sport, some 3,000*l.* or 4,000*l.* a year, for a range of glens from which all the native population has been systematically excluded, this 4,000*l.* may no doubt in some cases go to a good landlord who spends it on his property and in the encouragement of a prosperous population in other districts, but it may as readily go to an absentee who spends the greater part of his time in London or Rome, and who is as happy to have no other tenant than the deer-stalker, as the deer-stalker himself to have no other population than the fourfooted clan of whom he is the chief.

In conclusion, it will not be expected that I should set forth in detail the remedial measures that might be applied to the social disease, which has now for more than a century been sucking the blood and drying up the marrow of our Highland population. The diagnosis of a disease is, as medical men well know, always a much more easy business than its cure. I have, no doubt, a pretty distinct notion of the treatment which I could recommend, if I were armed with the power in economical matters with which the Baron von Stein was armed in Germany after the fatal battle of Jena; but I am not a statesman, and cannot say how much or how little the

fretful temperament and debauched blood of the British patient might be able to tolerate of a necessary caustic or cutting cure. Two things I know which must be laid down as postulates for all effective reforms in this matter; first, that all laws, and specially land laws, ought to be made with the express view of protecting the weak against the strong, not as now with the practical effect of delivering the weak bound hand and foot to the tender mercies of the strong; and, again, that no good can be done so long as the public mind is possessed by that selfish and anti-social maxim, that the right of property is supreme, and every man is entitled to do what he likes with his own. On the contrary, no man, as the member of a social organism, is entitled to do with his own anything that is contrary to the well-being of the community of which he is a part; and, as Aristotle has it, instead of that rampant individualism in which some in this country delight to riot, we must assert emphatically that the family and the individual in the Divine constitution of things exist for the sake of the State, not the State for the sake of the individual.⁸

JOHN STUART BLACKIE.

* Πρώτερον δὴ τῇ φύσει πόλις ἢ οἰκία καὶ ἕκαστος ἡμῶν ἐστίν. — *Pol.* i. 2.

IS THE CHRISTIANITY OF ENGLAND WORTH PRESERVING?

THE Rejoinder of Mr. Dale in the last number of this Review does not seem to me to answer my contention, (1) that the working of the Education Act of 1870 is unequal, and therefore unjust; (2) that this injustice ought to be redressed; (3) that all who pay the school-rate ought to share in it; (4) that all who share the rate ought to obtain the aid of the State by voluntary efforts; and (5) that for the residual cases of absolute poverty the Government of the country must make adequate provision out of the public funds. Mr. Dale has not, in my judgment, shaken any one of these propositions. This is, however, no personal contention. It is the most vital of our national interests. It must not be narrowed to any personality. What duels are when armies are in the field, personal controversies are in a conflict which affects the welfare and the Christianity of the English people. It is enough that he and I are agreed that the Board School system will, in the end, displace our voluntary and Christian schools. I have affirmed that this will undermine the Christianity and the national character of our people. This affirmation I now take up, and to this subject I confine myself.

Until the Act of 1870 was passed, the schools of England were Christian. By the Act of 1870 the Christian education of England has been launched upon an inclined plane. Its steady future descent, unless promptly and adequately checked, is certain. In the present paper I will endeavour to confirm this assertion by facts at this day before our eyes, that is, by the examples of the United States and of France. We will then review our advance in England.

I. In the *North American Review* for December 1880 is to be found a very thoughtful article by Mr. Richard Grant White, entitled 'The Public School Failure.' The author gives the history of its origin and development. The system began in New England. In Massachusetts in 1647, and in Connecticut three years later, it was enacted that every township of fifty householders should appoint a person to teach

all children who should resort to him to read and write. He was to be paid by the parents or masters, or by the inhabitants in general. In every township of a hundred families there was to be a grammar school to fit youths for the University. This system of compulsory support of common and grammar schools spread all over New England. It spread also partially into the Northern and Western States.

In 1812 the Common School Act was passed for the State of New York. This law applied to towns and villages, but not, with two or three exceptions, to chartered cities. In the City of New York public education was in the hands of the 'Public School Society,' a voluntary and chartered association. In 1807 an Act was passed for its benefit, of which the following is the preamble:—

Whereas the trustees of the Society for establishing a free school in the City of New York, for the education of such poor children as do not belong to, or are not provided for by, any religious society, have by their memorial solicited the aid of the Legislature—therefore, &c.

The purpose of this Act was to provide education for poor children not provided for by any religious society. In the year 1842 an Act was passed extending to the City of New York the public school system already existing since 1812 in the State of New York. But the Act did more than this. It created a Board of Education, and it placed the Public School Society, the Orphan Asylum, the Catholic Orphan Asylum, and other like societies, which were all voluntary, under the jurisdiction and supervision of the Board. The first effect of this is thus described by Mr. White: 'Finding themselves in this position, the corporators of the Public School Society transferred their school-houses and all their other property with their rights to the Board of Education, and the society ceased to exist.' Other societies before long followed this example. 'This event was a public calamity not only to the City of New York, but to the State; not only to the State, but to the whole country. Nor has the blight of its effect upon morals, upon politics, and upon education been confined to the country in which it was first felt.' '*From that time public education passed rapidly into municipal politics, and became an engine at once of political corruption and social deterioration.*'

The author then goes on to give the evidence of inspectors and others as to the inefficiency of the normal schools, of the teachers, and of the pupils. But this I dismiss, as it may be said that the efficiency of teachers and schools is within our power to control.

But a far graver allegation follows, which I will give in his own words.

He begins by quoting the words of the Superintendent of the Board of Education at New York in the Report for 1879, which are as follows:—

In our day, and in the condition of American life, we need all the power of an educated intelligence in order to lift the masses, as well as to maintain an equi-

librium in the forces of society. The distribution of knowledge is as necessary as the distribution of light. We need the distributive power of systems of education which will reach the lowest abodes, and penetrate to the farthestmost hamlets of the land. The best education of the people will then become the best government of the people.

This fascinating doctrine Mr. White rightly affirms to be unsound and utterly false. He says:—

Knowledge will not lift the masses except as a balloon is lifted, because it is inflated with gas. Mere knowledge does not raise the quality of men's moral natures. . . . The light of a thousand suns will not sustain life without the genial warmth of one.

He then continues:—

If ignorance were the mother of vice, and if our public-school system were what it is set up to be, the fruits of the latter would by this time have been manifest, plainly visible to the whole world, in our moral advancement as a people, in a higher tone in our society, in the greater purity of our politics and the incorruptibility of our legislators, in the increased probity of the executive officers of our State and Municipal Governments and of our corporate financial bodies, in the superior wisdom and more solid integrity of our bench, in the sobriety of our matrons, the modesty of our maidens, in the greater faithfulness of wives, in the diminution of divorces, in the steady decrease of vice and crime and idleness, and vagrancy and vagabondage. . . . [After fifty years of common schooling] our large towns swarm with idle vicious lads and young men who have no visible means of support. Our rural districts are infested with tramps—a creature unknown to our fathers and even to us in our youth.

I am afraid of going on. Mr. White adds:—

The corruption of legislative bodies, open bribery at elections, a notable decline in the character of the bench, dishonesty in business, betrayal of trust so common as to escape shame, politics becoming a trade, and falling year by year into lower hands. Divorces have multiplied until they have become a stock jest in the facetious column of our newspapers. Crime and vice have increased, year after year, almost *pari passu* with the development of the public school system. . . . Filial respect and parental love have both diminished. . . . This is the condition in which we are after more than half a century of experience of our public-school systems.

Mr. White says truly: 'Do not tell me that this would have been even without it. Your only justification for the system was that by it all this would be prevented.'

I should not venture to quote these statements from any but an American hand; nor would I quote them from any periodical of less established authority and weight than the *North American Review*.

Our next American witness will be the editor of a periodical published in California under the title *The Family's Defender*. Its object is to protect the rights of parents and the domestic life of the people. In an article of close argument the editor says:—

A candidate for governor who to-day ventured before the people on a platform of 'Christian Education for Christian Children' would be hopelessly beaten at the

polls, the majority of voters who cast their ballots against him being themselves *professed Christians*, but brought up in the negative and essentially pagan atmosphere of the public schools. . . According to this system every child is entitled to be educated at the public expense, and every parent is bound to send his children to the public schools. . . Under this system it is not the parent, but the general public through its elected school directors, that select and dismiss the teachers, that build and repair school-houses, &c. The general public, and not the parent of the child, have the authority to determine, in all cases of alleged sickness or other ailment, whether the child has sufficient reason to absent itself from school . . . to determine the course of study, the kind of companions with whom it shall associate, and what particular books the child shall study. And for his conduct the teacher is answerable, not to the parents of his pupils, but to the public school officials.

This system, the editor contends, 'is essentially and intrinsically wrong;' it is 'a palpable and perpetual violation of the moral law.'

There are, the author goes on to say, three particulars in which this system is intrinsically unjust, and therefore intrinsically and essentially bad, apart from all religious arguments.

First, it is unjust to the taxpayer, who is forced to pay for the education of children whose parents can and ought to pay for the education of their offspring. Every parent is as much bound by the law of nature to educate his children as he is bound to feed and clothe them.

Secondly, it is unjust to parents. By the law of nature fathers and mothers have by right the guardianship of their own children. Parents have the right to control the education of their children. They are bound to select such schools and instructors as they believe to be safest and best for their children. They are bound also in duty to watch over the associations of their children, and to control them with entire independence. The Common School system violates all these rights, and obstructs all these duties. Parental authority is defeated, and filial affection and obedience are thereby diminished and destroyed. 'The relaxation of parental authority has always been found one of the surest indications of the decline of social order, and the unfailing precursor of public turbulence and anarchy.'

Thirdly, this system is unjust to the children. It strikes at their most vital and sacred rights. The Common School system withdraws the child from the influences which the law of nature has provided for its moral training and formation; and it substitutes, and can substitute, nothing in the place of the parental conscience, responsibility, love, and interest in the welfare and moral formation of the child. Children have a natural right to be trained and formed by the moral law. Schools without religion cannot give this formation; for morals are the relations between God and man, and between man and man. And these relations cannot be taught without teaching at least the religion of nature, and a knowledge of the Divine Lawgiver

to whom we must give account. This the State refuses to teach, and yet it withdraws the child from the control of the parent, thereby making it impossible for the parent to confide the child to teachers of his own choice. 'If God has made parents to prize the honour, the moral purity, the spotless virtue of their children to such a degree that no greater earthly calamity could befall them than its degradation and moral ruin, was it not in order that through parental vigilance and guardianship the child might be protected from the contamination and touch of vice?' The law of nature has invested parents with these responsibilities. Nature knows nothing of 'school directors.' But the Common School system robs the children of this parental guardianship, and commits them by compulsion to the school directors, the representatives of the 'general public.'

The editor sums up his case as follows:—

First, we ask of every taxpayer that he assist us in the work of exonerating himself from the unjust burden of paying for the education of children—not his own—whose parents are abundantly able to pay for their education. Secondly, we ask every father and mother . . . to assert and maintain the true dignity and authority of the parental office. We ask that they, and not somebody else, be allowed to determine for their children who shall be their teachers, and who their companions.

I am obliged most reluctantly to omit much that is of great force and value in this remarkable impeachment. I can only add the words of the Bishop of St. Paul, Minnesota, in a letter of the 3rd of October, 1882. He says to the writer of the article here quoted:—

If you need any words of mine to encourage you in the course you are pursuing, you have them from my heart. Every day convinces me more and more that the ground you have taken in defence of the rights of the family against the encroachments of the State is really the ground upon which the opposition to the State school system should have been based from the beginning. Natural rights as involved in this question no legitimate government will infringe or allow to be infringed upon due proof. The law of majorities, the *Vox populi*, has no weight against the claims of natural family rights.

Such is the Common School system in the American Republic, over which as yet the Platonic and communistic theory that the children of a State belong not to their parents but to the State has never yet exerted its malignant spell. The American commonwealth has in it too much of English and Puritan blood, its vital relation to our seventeenth century is too vivid and powerful, to endure the theory that the children belong to 'the general public,' and that the State may create them in its own image and likeness. Nevertheless in its zeal for education it has admitted the false principles which legitimately lead to this conclusion. Education that is only *secular* dooms religion to gradual extinction. Education that is *common* violates conscience. Education that is *secular, common, and compulsory* violates the rights both of parents and of children.

Logically on these principles the schools are schools of the State, the children are the children of the State, and their formation is at the will of the State against all rights, parental or divine. As yet these syllogisms are dormant beyond the Atlantic. They are awake and in pride of place beyond the British Channel. And to this we will turn next.

II. Most opportunely at this crisis of religious education in England, M. Jules Simon has published an account of the state of education in France. The parallel is so exact that all who desire to preserve our Christianity as a people ought to read and lay it to heart. I can only give a very brief and rapid summary of it.

In 1808 the Imperial University of France was founded. M. Simon calls it 'une sorte d'église laïque,' a kind of lay Church.¹ The whole education of the French people was centralised in this omnipresent and omnipotent authority. No man could teach without holding its faculties.² From that day to this the liberty to found schools and to teach has existed only twice and for a brief moment. It was granted by the Republic in 1848, and by the Assembly in 1871. Since then the Imperial revolutionary system has revived in its supreme power. The bishops in 1809-10 formed colleges for youths destined for the priesthood; the fathers of families, to save their sons from a Voltairean education, sent them to these colleges. A decree of 1811 at once subjected them in all things to the control of the University. In 1814 and 1815 religious education became once more possible, and it was energetically restored. The Revolution of 1830 placed once more in the hands of the philosophers what M. Simon calls 'the great instrument of intellectual servitude.'³ They revived the University in all its omnipotence. It passionately vindicated its monopoly to teach. The professors and licensed teachers of the University were of all religions and of no religion. Then came the Revolution of 1848. The first act of the *Assemblée Constituante* was 'to inscribe the name of God at the head of the Constitution.' Liberty to teach was proclaimed as a right of nature, of which no citizen without injustice could be deprived, except for moral and personal unworthiness, judicially proved. After the law of 1850 free schools were multiplied and State schools diminished in number. The Second Empire instinctively returned to the ways of the first; nevertheless it permitted much liberty of teaching, and it diminished the majesty of the University by creating colleges in the departments depending upon the *préfets*. The number of professors was increased, their salaries augmented. It respected the liberty to teach in primary schools, which had existed since 1833, and in secondary schools granted in 1850. But the hand of the State was upon all. M. Simon says that the Second Empire was despotic over the liberty of the press, but favourable to the liberty of teaching. He goes on to say that

¹ *Dieu, Patrie et Liberté*, p. 115.

² *Ibid.* p. 120 note.

³ *Ibid.* p. 136.

the Assembly of 1871 took up the tradition of the Assembly of 1848. Liberty of instruction and liberty of religious teaching were completely restored. From this date begins the conflict and the crisis to which I would call attention. The last twelve years have been an incessant assault of the so-called Liberal party against what was called Clericalism and the Sacristy; that is to say, in plain English, Christianity in politics and in education. The Assembly, nominally republican, contained within itself every shade of difference from reactionary monarchists to Red Republicans. The Amnesty of the Communards registered its degree of red heat.

On the 4th of September 1874, and on a motion to permit the free foundation of universities, M. Challemel-Lacour sounded the first note in a speech of extreme frankness. He began by saying, 'I will tell you that for my part I do not believe in that liberty,' *i.e.* of instruction. 'That question involves the highest interest, not only of the intellectual honour of our country, but even of the *moral unity of France*.' M. Simon says that at these words there was great applause from the Left, for these words have a vast reach and give the programme of the campaign afterwards opened by M. Gambetta and executed by M. Ferry.' M. Simon adds: 'To accomplish the moral unity of France, to hinder all who would interfere with the moral unity of France, all this either means nothing, or it means the religion of the State. All the difference between the ancient religion of the State and the new is, that the name of the old religion is Christianity and the name of the new is Nihilism.' In a word, M. Challemel-Lacour foresaw that these new universities would be explicitly and energetically religious, or, as he said, 'philosophical.' He defined this as 'an obscure region which envelops that which is certain in science,' and as 'a domain delivered over to conjecture and the supernatural.' This is a peril to the intellectual honour of France. And for the moral unity such universities 'would every day multiply a race believing in one faith, one God, one Baptism,' which would interfere with the moral unity of France—that is, the unity of unbelief, the unity of positivism, the unity of independent morality.' This moral unity has not yet been made in France, but it is rapidly making. It is the inevitable end, and the deliberate intention of those who at this hour sway the destinies, or rather are swayed by the lurchings, of that once great Christian people.

The next advance in this assault was made by M. Jules Ferry. In a Bill to amend the Act of 1875, he introduced the now famous Article 7 which took away the liberty to teach from all members of congregations or bodies not authorised by the State. This struck at once between 7,000 and 8,000 persons, the great majority of the best instructors engaged in teaching the French

* *Dieu, Patrie et Liberté*, pp. 178-9, 182-3.

people. When Article 7 had been rejected, came the decrees of March 1880. These took away the liberty to teach from fourteen thousand of the best educators of the women of France. They broke up numberless orphanages and works of charity.

We are not now concerned with the general anti-religious policy of the party at this time in power. It is enough to enumerate the series of attempts or acts which in the last two years have followed so rapidly. The abolition of chaplains for the army, of the judicial oath, of the emblems of religion in schools; the enlistment of ecclesiastics; the attack upon the grants for public worship, upon the Concordat, upon the civil condition of the clergy—all these are but signs of one and the same deliberate and downward movement, destroying every remnant of the ancient Christianity of the French people. Over all this we must pass. We will come at once to the last words of this atrocious policy. They are *Laïcisation* and *Ecole Neutre*. The French language lends itself with a singular promptness to the irony of cynics. Our tongue is slow and cumbrous. The nearest approach is the word *Sectarian* to describe the schools of Christendom. Laïcisation is clear enough. To laïcise a school is to put out priest, brother, minister, and rabbi, and put in a layman. The University is, as M. Simon says, an *Eglise laïque*, a lay Church. And the schools of the State must be lay, for the State is the lay society of the world, and the clergy belong to the sacristy. They do not ask which are the better teachers. The instructors of the people must be laymen. There is an intensity of tyrannical malevolence in this: above all in France, where the great majority of the people still believe in Christianity. But the other phrase is less explicit. The neutral school is not one in which Catholic and Protestant may learn the alphabet together, nor where Christian and Jew may meet, nor where Christian and Deist may sit together. It is a school in which there is neutrality as to the existence of God, and therefore the State prohibits the pronouncing of His Name.

In 1882 a president of the schools, in making his official visit, said to the children: 'People pretend that we wish to have schools without God. But you cannot turn a page of your books without finding there the name of a god, that is of a man of genius, a benefactor, a hero of humanity. In this point of view we are true pagans, for our gods are many.'⁵

Another president, addressing the masters and mistresses of schools, said: 'You will oppose with success to the thick darkness with which teaching has always tried to veil and starve the mind of students, the teaching of science, which alone is true, for it gives to man the certainty of his proper worth, and impels him towards progress and light; while religious teaching plunges him fatally

⁵ *Dieu, Patrie et Liberté*, p. 350.

into an obscure night, and into an abyss of lamentable superstitions.' ⁶

Once more, another president said: 'Young citizenesses and young citizens, you have just been told that we have driven God out of the school. It is an error. Nobody can drive out that which does not exist. No: God does not exist. We have only suppressed emblems.'

The Prefect of the Seine in the Senate said of the most sacred of all emblems, 'It is only a question of school furniture.'

It will perhaps be said that all this is mere official chatter. We will therefore close this dismal narrative with a scene from Senators and *Préfets*.

The Minister of Public Instruction maintained in the Senate that 'the name of God is an equivocal term, because it was equally applicable to the God of Christians and to the God of Descartes.'

In the Conseil Général of the Seine, on the 22nd of December, 1882, M. Robinet moved 'That the ministerial instruction of the 27th of July, 1882, which renders obligatory the teaching of Deism, is in absolute opposition to the text and the spirit of the law.' This was signed by six other members of the Conseil, of whom one said: 'Nobody can prove the existence of God, and teachers must not be forced to affirm the existence of an imaginary being.' The Conseil finally voted 'That the teaching in all degrees of schools must be essentially lay.' Is then a belief in the existence of God the essential difference between clericalism and laicism? M. Simon well says, 'This neutrality has been imposed by atheists, and voted solely for their own interests against the faith and conscience of the immense majority of the French people.'

I will give only one more fact before summing up the warning of the last ten years in France. On the 2nd of July, 1881, M. Simon addressed the Minister of Instruction in the Senate in these words: 'You will not have the words "religious morality." You say they are equivocal.' 'Say the teachers shall instruct their pupils in their duties towards God, and towards their country.'

Some of the Senators cried out: 'There is no such thing as morality.' Two days after this the Commission reported that the amendment was 'useless, equivocal, and even dangerous.' Nevertheless, the Senate passed it by a great majority. It was foreseen that the Chamber would reject it, because the name of God was *suspect de cléricalisme*. It was rejected: *on biffa Dieu*. God was struck out. M. Simon adds:—

They had put out ecclesiastics and religious from the primary education. They had banished from the communal schools the symbols and emblems of religion. They had pursued the neutralisation of the schools to the most minute details. They had officially declared from the tribune that to speak of God without specifying whether it was of the God of Christians, or of the Jews, or of the Moham-

⁶ *Dieu, Patrie et Liberté*, p. 351.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 352.

medium, was equivocal, and that the introduction of that word into a law is a public danger.⁹ The atheists make the law. This is pushing the respect for minorities very far.⁹

Well may M. Simon say:—

We have abused those who have intelligence by subjecting them to the mob, and we have abused the mob by taking its faith from it. There, in two words, is our history.

The elected wield over the ministers the despotism that the electors wield over them. The ministers obey the deputies, the deputies the electors, the electors the demagogues, and what is the result? It is that at home there is no government, and abroad there is no France.¹⁰

I will add only one remark. Such is the development of godless education in France since the year 1871—that is, in the same twelve years that the Board School system has been confirming its grasp upon the English people. We will go on to the parallel.

III. In the year 1700 the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge was founded. One of its first and chief efforts was the religious education of youth. The popular education of children had not as yet become systematic. The domestic life of the people had not as yet given way as it has since. Home life still survived. Our great peril at this day is the homeless state of our masses. In the year 1808 the British and Foreign School Society was founded, to give elementary secular learning with the reading of the Bible. In 1811 the National Society was founded by the Established Church. Until 1833 the Government seems to have done nothing. In that year 20,000*l.* was voted to be divided between the British and Foreign and the National Societies. For six years this vote was continued. In 1839 the subject was taken up in the House of Commons. No one at that time dreamed of separating religious from secular instruction. The battle was between those who contended that the State ought to help in education, and those who denied that the State had anything to do with education. This theory was not the contention of Anglicans or of Catholics, but of the Congregationalists. In this prolonged conflict, in the year 1847, Lord Macanlay made one of his most powerful speeches, rejecting with indignation both the theory that the State should do nothing in education, and that the State should do everything, which is the revolutionary or communistic doctrine now troubling America, tyrannising over France, and threatening England.

Parliament in 1839 fully recognised that the whole popular education of England had been created and sustained by the religious instincts and Christian self-denial of the English people. It therefore wisely and justly so framed its legislation as to give State aid to voluntary efforts, respecting as sacred the rights of conscience. This

⁹ *Dieu, Patrie et Liberté*, p. 371.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 258.

¹¹ *Ibid.* pp. 372, 373.

is in fact what is called the Denominational system, or State co-operation with religious liberty. From 1847 to 1851 the Government was engaged in making separate concordats with the several religious bodies. But the whole negotiation was based upon the principle enunciated by the Lords of the Privy Council in a letter of the 4th of July, 1840:—

Their Lordships are strongly of opinion that no plan of education ought to be encouraged in which intellectual instruction is not subordinate to the regulation of the thoughts and habits of the children by the doctrines and precepts of revealed religion.

Lord John Russell was the author and prime mover in this whole policy. What was enunciated in 1840 he repeated on April 11, 1856.¹¹

One and all maintain that it is the duty of the Government, that it is part of the functions of the Government, to endeavour to teach somewhat of their duty to God and man, to the young as well as to the old.

A commission under the presidency of the late Duke of Newcastle reported as follows:—

It (the education system) has enlisted in the promotion of education a large amount of religious activity; and avoiding all unnecessary interference with opinion, it has practically left the management of the schools in the hands of the different religious denominations. In these respects it has been most successful.¹²

Such was the system of popular education down to the year 1870.

The first disturbing question in this settlement was the Conscience Clause. The demand was most reasonable on the part of Nonconformists in places where they could have no school of their own. But it was the grit which set the wheel on fire. And 'the religious difficulty' was used by those who desired a pure secular system as a wedge to split in two the religious and secular instruction in our schools.

The Birmingham Education League led the assault. Its programme was as follows:—

NATIONAL EDUCATION LEAGUE.

Object.

The establishment of a system which shall secure the education of every child in England and Wales.

Means.

1. Local authorities shall be compelled by law to see that sufficient school accommodation is provided for every child in their district.
2. The cost of founding and maintaining such schools as may be required shall be provided out of the local rates, supplemented by government grants.
3. All schools aided by local rates shall be under the management of local authorities and subject to Government inspection.
4. All schools aided by local rates shall be unsectarian.

¹¹ Hansard, cxli, 390.

¹² Report, p. 327.

5. To all schools aided by local rates admission shall be free.

6. School accommodation being provided, the State or the local authorities shall have power to compel the attendance of children of suitable age not otherwise receiving education.¹⁸

The Act of 1870 was brought in and justified on the ground of the vast numbers of schoolless children outside of the voluntary education of the country. Rather than describe the Act and its intentions in any words of mine, I will give it in the words of its authors.

In Committee on the Bill on the 16th of June, 1870, Mr. Gladstone, then Prime Minister, said:—

The machinery of voluntary schools we found not only existing in this country, but overspreading it to an immense extent, and on every ground, whether of that which is due to the promoters of those schools, to their benevolent and self-denying labours and the success which they have obtained, or whether on the ground of that which is due to the purpose which we have in view, and its effectual, speedy, uniform, and economical attainment, we adopted this principle also as a fundamental principle of this Bill, that we would frankly and without jealousy endeavour to employ the machinery of voluntary schools, as far as it was available, in aid of our object. But feeling that that large deficiency which is now observable in the country could not be made up by means of voluntary schools alone, we propose to fall back on the principle of rating and to make use of it by way of supplementing the gap which we saw before us. . . . We may either forbid or compel a local board to aid voluntary schools; but if we forbid them, and make them leave voluntary schools, as they are, dependent on the modicum of aid which they now obtain from the Privy Council, that would not be consistent with the view with which this Bill was brought forward, and it would not fulfil the engagement under which all along we have admitted ourselves to lie—namely, that of giving fair terms to voluntary schools, so as to enable them to lend us all the aid they are capable of lending in the accomplishment of this great work, in which there is plenty for us all to do. Therefore, as our sole measure for dealing with that part of the case, we cannot forbid the local boards to give aid to voluntary schools, because the promoters of those schools would be liable, equally with others, to contribute to the rate, and, contributing to it, to aid and found schools to compete with and beat down the school for which they were paying, out of their own private resources. This is a state of things we do not desire to bring about, and cannot be responsible for.

On the 24th of June, 1870, Mr. Gladstone used these words:—

As regards the existing denominational schools, it is a very grave and important question which we have to ask ourselves—whether we are frankly, ungrudgingly, willingly, and systematically to make use of that powerful agency for the purpose of good secular instruction, which is placed at our command in a great degree, if not exclusively, through the vigorous action of religious zeal and love? Let us not disguise from ourselves that this is a question of the greatest moment. The answer to it, I own, appears to me to be perfectly clear. That answer is, that nothing but folly could induce us to refuse to avail ourselves of an opportunity so valuable. If we do not avail ourselves of it, if we treat those voluntary schools as institutions either to be proscribed, or, at the best, only to be tolerated, limited,

¹⁸ Report of the First General Meeting of the National Education League, Birmingham, 1869.

hemmed in, permitted to exist merely because they do exist—as things which it is not worth our while to recognise, or honour, or encourage, on what principle can we justify such a policy? On none that I know of, but that secular instruction becomes tainted by being brought into the neighbourhood of specific religious teaching. Under the provisions of the Bill the secular instruction given in the voluntary schools will be severely tested, and care will be taken that it shall be of as high a quality as that given in the rate-supported schools. It will be cheaper to the public though it be dearer to the individual. On what principle, then, can we refuse to avail ourselves of the advantages which it is calculated to confer?

On the 28th of June, 1870, Mr. Gladstone said :—

Of course it was desirable that the promoters of voluntary schools should have full confidence in the general principles on which Parliament proceeded, and the Government admitted the necessity of the motion of the hon. member for Oldham (Mr. Hibbert), and of showing that it was in the mind of Parliament, as a part of the measure, to provide increased means for the support of voluntary schools.

On the 22nd of July, 1870, on the third reading of the Bill, Mr. Gladstone said :—

It was with us an absolute necessity—a necessity of honour and a necessity of policy—to respect and to favour the educational establishments and machinery we found existing in the country. It was impossible for us to join in the language, or to adopt the tone which was conscientiously and consistently taken by some members of the House who look upon these voluntary schools, having generally a denominational character, as admirable passing expedients, fit indeed to be tolerated for a time, deserving all credit on account of the motives which led to their foundation, but wholly unsatisfactory as to their main purpose, and therefore to be supplanted by something they think better. That is a perfectly fair and intelligible theory for any gentleman to entertain, but I am quite sure it will be felt that it has never been the theory of the Government.

Such were the assurances of the Prime Minister in 1870.

Perhaps I shall be ascribing too much importance to a chance and extra-parliamentary utterance, if I quote the following words spoken by the present President of the Board of Trade at Birmingham, as reported in the *Daily Post* of the 16th of January in this year. They are so diametrically at variance with the words of Mr. Gladstone, they are so hostile and so full of menace—they are also a declaration so explicit of the Gambettist programme for England—that it may be well to draw out their full meaning. The italics are mine :—

It seems to me that this is neither more nor less than a great revolution affecting all our social prospects and conditions, and in view of such a change as that, I confess I am less inclined now to go back upon the defects and omissions of the Act of 1870 than I am to congratulate all who were concerned in that measure, beginning with its author, down to those who took the smallest part in the agitation which made the introduction of the measure possible; to congratulate them on the results which have been attained, and the success which has attended its operations. In this stage of success we may well be content to wait without impatience until the example which is being set us by other countries, and our own experience, may bring about those further developments and reforms which will be shown to be necessary and expedient. The only question is, however, whether the controversy may not be reopened from another quarter, and in that case I dare say we shall not

shrink, as my friend Mr. Dale has very recently shown, from a discussion we shall not have provoked. But I would be inclined to ask our old opponents—our friends, I will call them now—the advocates of denominational education—whether they are wise to raise again a controversy to the settlement of which we have, *with considerable reluctance, and for a time at all events, submitted.* I do not wonder that they are occasionally a little uneasy. They see their voluntary contributions diminishing, although not very materially; they find the competition of the Board schools every day more vigorous; and under those circumstances it has suggested itself to some of them, perhaps not unnaturally, that it would be convenient that they should put their hand into the pocket of the ratepayer as well as of the taxpayer; and that it would relieve them from a good deal of difficulty if they could have a share of the School Board rate. *I would beg them to remember how much they have got already, and how little right they have to it. . . .* We thought in 1870 that when the State undertook national education for itself, the partnership which had up to that time existed with the State might be very well dissolved; and that the State having provided national schools, if there were any people who were unwilling to avail themselves of the education which was there provided, and wanted anything else, they must pay for it entirely by themselves. *But still we submitted, with more or less willingness according to the graciousness of our disposition,* to the compromise under which at the present time something like 1½ million sterling is annually taken from the public taxes of the country, and paid over to the private managers of schools, which are mainly kept up by them, and avowedly kept up by them for *sectarian* purposes. I say that if the controversy is reopened we are bound to point out that there are also two sides to the question. It is interesting to observe in what direction public opinion is tending. Mr. Mundella has spoken of the *gigantic efforts which are being made in France* in order to further national education in that country. The present position of the question owes much to *that great Republican* who has just died, and the premature termination of whose illustrious career is a *loss not for France only, but to the Liberal cause throughout the country.* But in France M. Gambetta made it a chief point in his policy to draw a sharp line of distinction between the Church and the State in all matters of education; and it is in that direction, I do not hesitate to say, that the *thoughts of men and the action of legislatures are constantly tending.*

I need not point out the contrast of these speeches. In the utterances of 1870 we have the intentions of men whose good will was perhaps greater than their foresight. In the Birmingham speech we have the aspirations of 1869 verified by the twelve years of our experience. Mr. Chamberlain gives voice to the confident hopes of those who have during that time made the Act of 1870 their own. We have no right, they say, to exist but by the graciousness of dispositions. The present working of the Act is a prelude to a time when Christian schools shall be in England as in France outside the law. The Birmingham scheme is the first instalment of 'the Lay Church of England.' Let us briefly contrast the two systems.

In the French system the whole education of the people, from the University to the primary schools, is, like the army and navy, governmental. Colleges, lycées, schools secondary and primary, belong to the State. The professors, masters, mistresses are patented by the State. The youth and children of France are claimed by the State. The formation of the citizens is the right and prerogative

of the State. This policy is the legacy of paganism left by the First Revolution, transmitted with modifications and checks by the First Empire to the Voltairean monarchy of 1830, and now developed once more by the Extreme Left of the Republic into its original Communistic excess by M. Challengel-Lacour and M. Paul Bert. The 'moral unity of France' means the extinction of all forms of religion, belief, thought, consciousness, or moral life, which resist the uniform type of the French citizen taught, trained, shaped, fashioned and drilled, by an education in which the existence of God is a superstition, the name of God an equivocal term, and the moral law a group of conventional usages. The apostles of the First Revolution had read their Plato. The Communists of to-day have inherited his Republic without the trouble of reading. Children are not the children of their fathers and mothers, but of the State. The State is *loco parentis*. Citizens are to be reared like cattle, and to be broken like horses. Parental rights are absorbed in the State; the rights of the State are supreme. It is the State that forms men in its own image and likeness, and stamps them with its own superscription. M. Simon says, 'The miserable and sterile society that such education would produce would be in France an edition of one man in thirty-six millions of copies.'¹⁴ Such unity, he truly says, is death. The government that does everything in education destroys parental rights, energies, and sense of responsibility. Parents are no more responsible for the intellectual and moral formation of their offspring than they are, as we are told, for the gaslight in the public streets. If the people of England are prepared for this condition of domestic and national life, I do not know them. But if the present working of the Act of 1870 be perpetuated, to this they will come; for the perpetuity of the Board School system means its extension, and its extension means the gradual extinction of the voluntary efforts and the self-providing and self-governing character of our people.

There still exists at this time in full vigour our great National system of education springing from the free will of the people, and maintained, as it was created, by their generosity and self-denial. This system, which I take leave still to call National, as distinguished from governmental, is both voluntary and Christian. It represents the mind and the Christianity of England from the time when England was made. No 'universal, secular, gratuitous, and compulsory education' made our forefathers to be what they were, nor has it made Englishmen to be what they are now. We have no wish to be unmade and to be made over again. With all our faults we choose rather to remain a self-governing and a Christian people. We believe what has hitherto made us will continue its work. And we are convinced by the experience of the last ten or twelve years

¹⁴ *Dieu, Patrie et Liberté*, p. 252.

that a change is stealthily coming over our education. We have no wish for a 'moral unity of England' to be brought about by universal Board schools. I cannot refrain from here giving the words of M. Simon, which for eloquence and force can hardly be surpassed.

We deceive ourselves (he says) about our schools, about their purpose and their importance, if we see in them only the propagation of knowledge: we ought to seek and to plant in them the propagation of courage and of virtue. For a century we have been transforming the forces of nature and subjecting them to the service of man; but man himself is, and will be to the end of time, the greatest force under heaven. Not because he knows he must die, but because he has the will to die for his duty. . . . To learn not to fail when our brethren or our country calls is to learn our duty as man and as citizen. Let us found schools to enlighten the intellect, but above all to strengthen the will. A people innumerable, with a vast extent of soil, however fertile, if they lack initiative and courage, is destined to decline, defeat, and contempt; but a handful of men with heart of oak, cast upon an ungrateful soil, will either find or make a way to success and a future. . . . They will be like Rome, or Venice, or England, or Holland, starting from a corner of the earth to conquer the world. It is not the loss of a battle, or the annihilation of an army, or a province torn away, that begins the fall of a people; a people dies only by the relaxation of its morals, by abandoning its manly habits, by the effacement of its character through the invasion of egoism and scepticism. It dies of its corruption. It does not die of its wounds.' ¹⁵

Such are the fears of a Frenchman for France under an education without religion. Such is his appreciation of England. If we betray or surrender our Christian schools, how long shall we deserve his words? I may be asked, What then would you have? I answer equality for all schools before the law, and equal participation for all schools in the help of public aid, so far as their secular education demands and deserves it. I ask not a shilling for religions, much less for 'Churches,' as I have said, and as they ought to know who have brought this charge. They ought to know because they can know it; but such knowledge would ruin a cry. The inequality, and I must therefore say the injustice, of the present working of the Act of 1870 is patent, and cannot be disproved. Why should those who do nothing for themselves receive twofold aid, and they who tax themselves to the utmost receive nothing but what they earn? This has not been answered.

This inequality does not, I believe, exist in the Act itself. It results from subsequent minutes and codes and bye-laws.

The Act of 1870 embodies certain principles which all accept, that education shall be universal, and that it shall be provided for those who cannot provide for themselves.

The Act of 1870 does not embody the principle of excluding any schools, efficient in secular teaching, from State aid; nor does it purpose to destroy voluntary schools, nor does it desire to desecrate

¹⁵ *Dieu, Patrie et Liberté*, pp. 295, 296.

education by the exclusion of religion, nor does it accept even by instalment the French governmental despotism for the education of free England. All these things may be the aims, desires, and intentions of individuals in private and in public life. They were not the intentions of the Legislature. They are not yet to be read in our laws.

No one therefore asks for the repeal or the rescinding of the Act of 1870. As it was first drafted it would have met with wide acceptance. If it be restored now to what it was, a readjustment to the actual needs and rightful claims of the people at large might easily be effected.

We have in full action now, in the matter of education, the same two principles which pervade our public life—the one the aid of Government, the other the voluntary efforts of the people. Down to the year 1870 these two worked harmoniously and efficaciously in co-operation, and, though distinct, yet in undivided unity. The first breach between them dates from the year 1870. The Education Act gave occasion for the separation, and the subsequent working has not only completed the separation, but has brought the two agencies, hitherto mutually helpful, into antagonism.

The effects of restoring once more the equal and just co-operation of the State and the voluntary efforts of the people would be :

First, to lighten the rates by eliciting more abundant voluntary contributions throughout the whole population.

Secondly, to awaken still more powerfully throughout the country a zeal, energy, and effort in the work of education which has already done so much, and, if it had been more largely stimulated and encouraged, would have done incalculably more. It was the parsimony of Government, first with its 20,000*l.*, and at last with its 600,000*l.*, that dwarfed and discouraged the voluntary efforts of the people. What men think they can do they will try to do, what they think is impossible they will not attempt.

The extension and efficiency of education would be promoted by this large, equal, and just treatment of all classes and conditions of the people.

But a deeper good also would be insured, that is, the undiminished vigour of our national character, which, with all its faults, is the most law-abiding, self-governed, and mutually equitable character in the old or the new world.

The 'moral unity' of a people when no 'religious difficulty' divides them, is the highest, happiest, and best. But this cannot be.

The 'moral unity' of a people drilled by State education and State pedagogues and State police is spectral and lifeless.

The moral union of a free people educating themselves by self-help and the public aid of the Commonwealth in liberty of conscience

and a healthy diversity of culture is the vigour and maturity of a nation. This is still within our reach. If we hold fast by our English and Christian inheritance of freedom and faith, it is ours, and it will uphold us. If by our inertness we suffer the theories of Paul Bert, or, I must add, of Birmingham, to fascinate our minds or our legislature, we shall steadily descend the inclined plane on which not the Act, but the working of the Act of 1870 has placed the Christian education of England.

HENRY EDWARD, Cardinal Archbishop.

AN UNSOLVED HISTORICAL RIDDLE.

ONE day early in the spring of the year 1590, while Spain was still bleeding from the destruction of the Great Armada, mass was being sung in the church of the Dominican convent at Madrid. The candles were burning, the organ was pealing, the acolytes were swinging the censers, and the king's confessor was before the altar in his robes, when a woman, meanly dressed, rushed forward amidst the fumes of the incense. Turning to the priest, she said: 'Justice! I demand justice; I demand that you hear me! Are you deaf, that I come so often to you and you will not listen? Then I appeal to One who will listen; I appeal to thee my God who art here present; I call on God to be my witness and my judge; He knows the wrongs which I suffer. Let Him punish yonder man who is my oppressor.'

The confessor turned pale as death. He stood speechless for a few moments. He then beckoned to the attendants. 'Bid the lady prioress come hither,' he said, 'and the sisterhood, and this woman's sister, who is one of them. Say I require their presence.'

The lady mother came fluttering with her flock behind her. They gathered to the grating which divided the chancel from the convent precincts.

'Holy mother,' the Confessor said, 'this lady here present charges me on my soul and conscience. She calls on God to judge her cause, and she clamours for redress. I do not wonder; I should wonder rather if she held her peace. But what can I do that I have left undone? I have told the king that it is his duty to despatch the business of the lady's husband and restore him to his family; what would she have from me more?'

'I would have this much more, señor,' the lady replied. 'If the king will not do what you command him, refuse him absolution and withdraw to your cell. You will be nearer heaven there, than where you now stand. As the king's confessor you are his judge. The king is the offender; I am the injured woman of St. Luke's Gospel. The king may wear the crown on his head; but you are higher than he.'

The confessor could not answer her.

The scene shifts to the reception hall of Rodrigo Vasquez, the President of the High Court of Justice. The president was a grave, dignified man, seventy years old. Before him stood a family of children, the eldest a girl of sixteen, the little ones holding her hands or clinging to her dress.

The girl did not seem daunted by the presence in which she stood. 'Your lordship,' she said, 'has promised us this, that, and the other; you tell us one day that something shall be done on the morrow, and then the next, and the next, as if a last "morrow" there would never be. You have brought our home to desolation. You have deceived a girl like me, and you think it a grand victory, a glorious distinction. You thirst, it seems, for our blood; well, then, you shall have it. Old men, it is said, go again to the breast for milk to keep the life in them. You require blood, fresh from the veins of its owners. We had rather not be swallowed piecemeal, so we are come all to you together. You perhaps would prefer to linger over us, but we cannot wait. Let your lordship make an end with us. Here we are.'

Don Rodrigo started out of his chair. He marched up the hall, and down, and then to the four corners. He twisted his fingers, he crossed his arms. He appealed to an old aunt and uncle who had brought the children.

'Señora, señor,' he said, 'I beseech you make that young woman hold her peace, and say no more.'

The young woman would not hold her peace.

'Pray sit down, your lordship,' she said; 'pray be calm. We are young; some of us were born, so to say, but yesterday. But you have made our lives a burden to us. Finish the work; take our blood, and let our souls depart from this miserable prison.'

These two incidents, if the children's father wrote the truth, happened precisely as I have described them, and are as literal facts as usually pass for history. Perhaps they are not exaggerated at all. The priest in the Dominican convent was Diego de Chaves, spiritual adviser to Philip the Second. The woman before the altar was Juana de Coello, wife of Antonio Perez, His Majesty's Secretary of State and confidential minister. The girl was his daughter Doña Gregoria, and the little ones were her brothers and sister.

What strange cause could have wrought a mother and child into a state of passion so unnatural?

For three centuries after the Reformation, Philip the Second was the evil demon of Protestant tradition. Every action which could be traced to him was ascribed to the darkest motives. He was like some ogre or black enchanter sitting in his den in the Escorial, weaving plots for the misery of mankind, in close communion and correspondence with his master the Antichrist of Rome. He was the

sworn enemy of the light which was rising over Europe; he was the assassin of his subjects abroad; he was a tyrant at home, and even in his own household; he was believed universally to have murdered his own son, and if not to have murdered his wife, to have driven her to death with a broken heart. The Inquisition was his favourite instrument, and his name has been handed down through modern history by the side of the most detestable monsters who ever disgraced a throne.

All this violence of censure was perfectly natural. Men engaged in a deadly struggle for what they regard as a sacred cause are seldom charitable to their adversaries. It was the Spanish power indisputably which stemmed the Reformation, which more than once was near extinguishing it. The conflict was desperate and at last savage, and deeds were done which have left a stain on all who were concerned in them.

But as time has gone on, and as it has appeared that neither Lutheranism nor Calvinism nor Anglicanism can be regarded as a final revelation, we have been able to review the history of the sixteenth century in a calmer temper. For a thousand years the doctrines of the Catholic Church had been guarded by the civil power as the most precious of human possessions. New ideas on such subjects, shaking as they do the foundations of human society, may be legitimately resisted on their first appearance from better motives than hatred of truth; and although, in a strife so protracted and so deadly, evil passions dressed themselves in sacred colours, and crimes were committed which we may legitimately assign to the devil, yet it has been recognised that, on fair grounds of principle, right-thinking men might naturally have taken opposite sides, and that Catholics as well as Protestants might have been acting on conscientious convictions. The dust has settled a little, the spiritual atmosphere has cleared itself, and among the consequences the cloud which hung over Philip the Second has partially lifted. The countrymen of Cervantes were not a nation of mere bigots; yet it is clear that the whole Spanish people went with the king enthusiastically in defence of the Church, and complained only when his *pié de plomo*, his foot of lead that he was so proud of, would not move fast enough. The romance of Don Carlos has gone into the air of which it was made. Don Carlos is known now to have been a dangerous lunatic, whom it was necessary to cage like a wild animal; the exact manner of his death is unknown; but his father acted throughout by the advice of the Council of State, and it was by their advice also that so distressing a secret was concealed from public curiosity. As we look at Philip with more impartial attention, the figure comes out before us of a painstaking, laborious man, prejudiced, narrow-minded, superstitious, with a conceit of his own abilities not uncommon in crowned heads,

and frequently with less justification, but conscientious from his own point of view, and not without the feelings of a gentleman.

I purpose to reconstruct on these more tolerant lines the story of the relations between Philip the Second and Antonio Perez which have so long perplexed historical inquirers—on the surface a mere palace intrigue, but developing from its peculiar features into a nine days' wonder throughout Europe, and occasioning, if not causing, the overthrow of the constitutional liberties of Arragon.

Students of the history of the sixteenth century must be familiar with the name of Gonzalo Perez. He was State Secretary to Charles the Fifth, and his signature stands at the bottom of the page on thousands of Charles's despatches which are now extant. When the Emperor abdicated, Gonzalo remained in office with Philip, and had been forty years in the public service when he died. Antonio Perez passed as Gonzalo's natural son. He was born in 1542, and was legitimatised immediately by an Imperial diploma. There were those who said, and spoke of it as notorious, that Antonio was not Gonzalo's son at all, but the son of Ruy Gomez, Prince of Eboli and Duke of Pastrana, Philip's favourite minister. Ruy Gomez, at any rate, took charge of him, removed him from school, brought him up in his own family, and introduced him into a public department. Being quick and brilliant he was rapidly promoted; and when Ruy Gomez died in 1567, he left Antonio, at the age of twenty-five, chief secretary to the Council of State with a salary of four thousand ducats a year, in addition to which, and as a sinecure, he was Protonotary of Sicily with two thousand ducats a year. A rise so swift implied extraordinary private influence, or extraordinary personal qualities; and this was but the beginning of his fortunes. On losing Ruy Gomez, Philip took Perez as his own confidential secretary; and along with him another youth, Juan de Escovedo, who had also been a pupil of Ruy Gomez, and had been brought up at Perez's side. The two young men had been, and still continued, intimate personal friends.

The Spanish administration was divided into separate councils, the secretaries of which were each in close relation with the king, who insisted on knowing all that was going on. Besides these there were the secretaries who deciphered despatches, who were thus admitted into State mysteries and were necessarily treated with confidence. But of the whole number Antonio Perez and Escovedo were nearest to the king, and Perez the closer of the two. He and he alone was admitted into the interior labyrinths of Philip's mind.

He was thus a person of extraordinary consequence. He was courted by great men in Church and State. The Italian princes sent him presents to advance their interests. He was the dispenser of royal favours. He treated dukes as his equals, and the splendour in which he lived was envied and criticised; but his legitimate income

was considerable; in all countries in that age influential statesmen accepted homage in the shape of offerings, and, considering the opportunities the favoured secretary had, he does not seem to have abused them.

Perez being thus upon the stage, we introduce a more considerable figure, Don John of Austria, the king's brother, illegitimate son of Charles the Fifth. An illegitimate prince is always in a delicate position, especially when his father happens to have brought him up as a real one. He is of royal blood, but without the rights belonging to it. He is uncertain of his rank, and may generally be presumed to be discontented. But Philip had shown no suspicion of his brother. He had trusted him, employed him, refused him no opportunities which he could have desired had he come more regularly into the world. Don John was chivalrous, ardent, ambitious. He had every quality which promised distinction, if in his youth he had been wisely guided. Ruy Gomez had furnished him with a secretary, supposed to be prudence itself, Juan de Soto, who had been trained in the War Office. Thus accompanied when the Moors broke into insurrection, Don John was sent to Grenada to reduce them. He did his work well; he became a popular favourite, and went next to command the allied Catholic fleet in the Mediterranean. De Soto only had given imperfect satisfaction. Don John had high-flying views for himself, and De Soto, it was feared, had not sufficiently discouraged them. Perez and Escovedo were instructed to give him an admonition, which they did, and with this friendly warning Don John and his secretary went their way into Italy. The battle of Lepanto followed, and the young irregular Spanish prince blazed out into a hero of romance. Philip was a faithful son of the Church, and of the Pope in his spiritual capacity; but he was king of Naples and Sicily, with interests in the Peninsula not always identical with the interests of the court of Rome. Pius the Fifth, who had just then absolved England from its allegiance to Queen Elizabeth and believed it his mission to sweep away heresy, found in Don John a child still nearer to his heart. Don John was to be the Church's knight, the chosen soldier of the Lord, and immediately after Lepanto Pius had formed views for constituting him an independent sovereign. Tunis was to be the first scene of his greatness. The Emperor Charles had won immortal glory in his African campaign. De Soto had studied history and dreamt of the possibility of reviving the Carthaginian empire. Don John, set on by the Pope, re-fortified the Goleta, and transported on his own authority, out of Italy, the best part of the Spanish troops there, while the Papal Nuncio at Madrid requested Philip in Pope Pius's name to allow his brother to take the title of King of Tunis. The Spanish council knew better than his Holiness the value of the Emperor's African conquests. They had been a drain upon

the treasury and the grave of thousands of their bravest men. They sent orders that the fortresses should be demolished and the troops withdrawn, but the order came too late. The Goleta was assaulted by the Turks in overwhelming numbers, and the garrison was cut off to a man. Philip had good reason to be displeased. The independent action of a commander cannot expect to be regarded, when unsuccessful, with especial leniency, nor were matters mended by the signs which his brother was manifesting of a restless ambition. He replied politely to the Pope, however, that the establishment of a kingdom in Tunis was not at the time expedient. He found no fault with Don John, but laid the blame on bad advisers. He gently removed De Soto, leaving him as commissary-general of the army; and secretary Escovedo, who had been especially eloquent in the cabinet on De Soto's rashness, was sent to take his place as a safer companion to the prince.

Philip, however, was again unfortunate. The mischance at the Goleta had not been sufficient to dim the glories of Lepanto, or cool the hopes which so brilliant a victory had inspired. Don John was still persuaded that there were great things in store for him. It seemed as if he had an especial power of turning the heads of the secretaries, and Escovedo himself was soon embarked with him in a yet wilder scheme, to which the Pope and the Fates were beckoning the way.

After struggling for ten years with his revolted subjects in the Low Countries, experience was beginning to teach Philip that it might be expedient to try milder ways with them. The Duke of Alba with his blood and iron had succeeded only in enlisting the whole of the seventeen provinces in a common rebellion, and if the war continued, the not unlikely end of it would be that Spain would finally lose them all. Holland and Zealand might become English, Belgium be absorbed into France, and the rest drift away into Germany. Bitter Catholic as he was, Philip had some qualities of a statesman. He had determined on an effort to make up the quarrel. The provinces were to be left with their constitutional rights, securities being given for the safety of religion. The Spanish army was to be withdrawn, and by abandoning attempts at coercion he hoped that it might not be too late to recover the hearts of the people.

To carry out this purpose he had pitched upon his brother Don John. The Emperor's memory was still honoured in the Low Countries. Charles had always been more a Fleming than a Spaniard. Don John, with his high rank and chivalrous reputation, was likely to be welcome there, or at least more welcome than any other person who could be selected; and an opportunity was thrown in his way, if he could use it, of winning laurels for himself more enduring than those which grow on battlefields.

The opportunity, however, was one which a wise man only could appreciate. Young soldiers, especially soldiers who have been distinguished in arms, are seldom in love with constitutions; and to be governor at Brussels, with a council of successful rebels to tie his hands, was a situation which would have had no attraction for the victor of Lepanto, had there not been attached to it a more interesting possibility, the *empresa de Inglaterra*, the invasion and conquest of England. Philip himself had for a few years been called king of England. His name remains in our Statute Book. It was asserted by the Jesuits, it was believed by nine-tenths of the orthodox world, that the English Catholics, who were two-thirds of the nation, were waiting only for the help of a few thousand Spaniards to hurl from the throne the excommunicated usurper. The Queen of Scots, the lady of romance, was lying a prisoner in Sheffield Castle. To carry over the army when it left the Netherlands, to land in Yorkshire, to deliver the enchanted princess, and reign at her side with the Pope's blessing over an England restored to faith—this was a glorious enterprise, fit to fire the blood of a Christian knight who was also the countryman of Don Quixote.

Don John was still in Italy when the offer of the appointment was made. If it was accepted, the king's order to him was to proceed with his secretary directly to Brussels, without returning to Spain. Not the pacification of Flanders, but the *empresa de Inglaterra* was the thought which rushed into the minds of Don John and Escovedo. Instead of setting out as they were enjoined, they went to Rome to consult Pope Pius's successor, to ask for his sanction, to ask for men, to ask for the title which had been borne by his brother, and all this without so much as going through the form of consulting his brother on the subject.

The Pope was of course delighted. If the attempt was made, God would not allow it to fail. The Jesuits had all along insisted that Philip's dilatoriness had alone allowed heresy to take root in England. Philip himself, who knew something of the country, was under no such illusion. Five years before he had consented unwillingly to the Ridolfi conspiracy. Elizabeth was then to have been assassinated; Spanish troops were to have landed, and the Queen of Scots was to have had the crown. It had ended in the execution of the Duke of Norfolk, the near escape from execution of Mary Stuart, a plague of pirates and privateers on the shores of Spanish America, and increased severities against the English Catholics. Of the Queen of Scots Philip had the very worst opinion. To strike a blow at that moment at Elizabeth could not fail to re-exasperate the Low Countries. English soldiers would land in Holland, English corsairs would swarm in the Atlantic and seize his treasure ships.

None of these considerations occurred to Don John or his fiery adviser. Escovedo was even hotter than his master, and audacious

even to insolence. From Rome, in spite of his orders, he went to Madrid; and Don John soon after followed him thither, leaving their purposes to reach Philip indirectly from another quarter. This was in the summer of 1576, and we now approach the critical part of the story. Shortly after Escovedo arrived at the court, the Nuncio sent one morning for Antonio Perez and inquired who a certain Escoda was. He had been all night, he said, deciphering a despatch from his Holiness. It referred to the 'enterprise of England' which was to be undertaken, if the king would allow it, by Don John. Escoda would inform him of the particulars.

'Escoda' could be no one but Escovedo. Perez carried his information to the king, who was naturally extremely displeased; the more so perhaps that Don John's popularity, and the general favour with which Spanish sentiment was likely to take up the adventure, obliged him to keep his displeasure to himself. Escovedo evidently thought himself secure. He addressed Philip in so rude a letter that Philip complained of it to Perez. 'If he had spoken to me as he has written,' the king said, 'I believe I could not have contained myself.' Words still more rash had fallen from Escovedo's lips. 'Don John, when master of England, was afterwards to take charge of Spain.'

Philip, like most small-minded men, shrank from meeting difficulties openly. He took no notice of Escovedo's impertinence, and he was afraid or unwilling to quarrel with his brother. He allowed the Nuncio to give him the Pope's message, and put him off with a vague answer. Don John ventured on ground still more delicate by asking for the 'chair and canopy,' the insignia of a legitimate prince of the blood royal. Even this Philip did not refuse. He required only that Don John should repair at once to his government, compose the provinces, and withdraw the army. When this was done it would be time to think of 'English enterprises' and chairs and canopies.

Don John went, and it seemed as if all was smooth again. Escovedo was left at Madrid 'professedly to complete some defective arrangements for his master. Perhaps Philip was uncertain whether he would trust so doubtful an adviser at his brother's side any more.

I am not writing the history of the wars in the Netherlands; it is enough to say that any hopes which had been built on the popularity of Don John were disappointed. The Estates refused to admit him as governor while the Spanish troops were in the fortresses; the troops were sullen, and would not move till they were paid their wages. Don John wished to remove them by sea, meaning, when they were in the Channel, to fly at England permitted or unpermitted; but Elizabeth and the Prince of Orange had their eyes open. The Estates insisted that the army should retire by land, and declined to

advance a dollar till they were on the march. Don John, being without a friend whom he could trust, begged that Escovedo might rejoin him; and Escovedo, not without emphatic warnings and reiterated instructions, was allowed to go. The demands of the Estates were to be complied with to the letter. The army, at whatever sacrifice of bolder purposes, was to retire as the Estates desired. Philip required peace and was prepared for the price that was to be paid for it. The humiliation was too deep for Don John. For the knight errant of the Church to retreat before a burgher council was ignominy. Something, he knew not what, must be done to repair it, and his thoughts went everywhere except where they ought to have been. Escovedo had no sooner arrived than a secret correspondence began again with the Pope. The religious war was raging in France. Don John might join the Duke of Guise and the Catholic League, and they might manage England between them. Then again he thought how he might satisfy his ambition at home. On the 3rd of February 1577 Escovedo wrote to Perez to revive the request for the chair and canopy. It would give Don John a seat in the Council of State. He and Perez and their friends the Archbishop of Toledo and the Marquis de los Velez could rule the country as they pleased, relieving his brother of the cares of government. On reflection he perhaps remembered that Philip might not be so anxious to be relieved; four days after the purpose was changed; Don John was to take his army into France as an adventurer, and help the Duke of Guise to destroy the Huguenots. Victorious there, he could hold the Estates in check, the shame of the retreat would be covered, and the 'great design' on England could go forward. Royal princes are excused their follies at the expense of their servants. These feverish dreams were set down at the Escorial to Escovedo's account, and probably with excellent reason.

Meanwhile, Philip's orders were being obeyed. He had agreed to all which the Estates demanded. On the 12th of February the arrangement known as the 'Perpetual Edict' was provisionally accepted, and was forwarded to Madrid for ratification. Don John was distracted. He believed that he might write to Perez confidentially; for Perez, by Philip's order, had encouraged him to suppose so; and much eloquence has been expended on the assumed treachery. But kings may be judged too harshly in such matters, when they have reason to fear that persons whom they have trusted are playing tricks with them. If Don John was acting loyally, he had nothing to fear. After the edict was sent off, Don John wrote again to Perez that he must resign. Sooner than remain to govern Flanders on such conditions, he would turn hermit. If the king insisted on keeping him there he would become desperate, fling up the reins and go home, though he lost his life for it. He implored that he might not be driven to choose between disobedience and infamy.

Perez showed Philip all these letters; and they were considered

in the cabinet. The blame was laid on Escovedo, who was held to have betrayed his trust. Don John was informed kindly, but peremptorily, that his return at such a time would be prejudicial to the public service. No one could be so fit as the king's brother to recover the loyalty of the Estates. The king said that he understood his feelings, and could sympathise with him; but he must try to be patient; least of all must he rush off into France where the Government had not asked for his assistance. The English project and his other wishes should be considered when the time for them was come; but his present duty was to reconcile Flanders, and there he must remain. Escovedo had spoken of returning himself to speak to the king. Perez told him that if he came back without permission, it would be taken as a serious offence, and was not to be thought of.

Don John acquiesced, or seemed to acquiesce. The Perpetual Edict was ratified. The troops began the evacuation, and on the 2nd of May Don John was received at Brussels, and installed as governor. Had he been sincere, the storm would have blown over; but the next news which arrived about him at Madrid was that he had actually made a private treaty with the Court of Rome. The Pope had promised him 6,000 men and 150,000 ducats for the English expedition, while before the Brussels settlement had lasted a fortnight he was again in correspondence with the Duke of Guise, and was threatening open hostilities against Holland and Zealand, which were making difficulties about liberty of worship. The difficulty need not have been insuperable; and the Estates refused to sanction immediate violence. Don John snatched at the excuse to break with them on his own authority; with such regiments as had not yet gone, he seized Namur; and Escovedo, in spite of his positive orders, rushed home after all, to press Philip to allow the army to return. The war should then be carried on in earnest. The Spanish forces should live in the rebel provinces as in an enemy's country, and would lay it waste with fire and sword.

Information more unwelcome never reached Philip. He longed for peace; he had been acting in good faith; he refused to counter-order the troops; he blamed the seizure of Namur, and abhorred the very mention of fire and sword. Still at the eleventh hour he clung to the hope of reconciliation. The Estates declared Don John a public enemy, and invited the Archduke Matthias to take his place. Even so, Philip persevered. He sent a commission to offer a complete amnesty, with the instant and perpetual removal of the army. The Estates might choose their own governor, either the Archduke Matthias, or the Archduke Ferdinand, or the Prince of Parma. But it was too late; the day for peace was gone. Confidence was irrecoverably lost, and the quarrel had to be fought out to the end. The army went back—there was no help for it—with the Prince of Parma at its head; while it was said and believed that

Don John was treating with the Duke of Guise for an open alliance, without regard to their respective sovereigns—a very strange and questionable performance. Both Guise and Philip were no doubt defending the Catholic religion. But respect for forms and secular interests were not to pass for nothing. Spain and France were the rivals for Continental supremacy. They had been at war off and on for three quarters of a century, and, if the religious question was settled, might at any time be at war again. Philip had not forgotten that it was a Duke of Guise who had taken Metz from his father; and for his brother to take on himself to settle points of international policy with the subject of another sovereign, was something not very far removed from treason.

But we must now return to the scapegoat who was to bear the blame for all these things, the unlucky Escovedo: Flying home, as we saw him, in the teeth of a positive command, he landed at Santander on the 21st of July. The worst had not yet happened; for it was not till the January following that the commission went with the last overtures for peace, nor was the treating with Guise as yet more than an unpleasant rumour. But Philip was legitimately incensed with Escovedo, and, if we can believe M. Mignet, had prepared a peculiar reception for him; nay, was expecting that Escovedo was coming with murderous intentions against himself. Perez having informed the king in a note of Escovedo's approach, Philip, according to his habit, and in his well-known abominable hand, scrawled on the margin, 'Menester será, prevenir nos bien de todo y dar nos mucha priessa á despacharle antes que nos maté.' The verb 'despachar,' like its English correspondent 'despatch,' has two meanings, and 'matar' has two meanings. M. Mignet supposes the words to mean, 'We must be quick and assassinate him before he kills us.' He makes Philip suspect Escovedo of intended treason, and resolve to be beforehand with him. But no one would have thought of so interpreting the passage if Escovedo had not in fact been assassinated at a later period. The natural translation would be, 'We must despatch him quickly (*i.e.* send him about his business) before he worries us to death;' and as Escovedo remained, for some months after his arrival, not only unmolested, but transacting business with the king, I cannot infer, with M. Mignet, that Philip had already formed so sanguinary a purpose against him. Unquestionably, however, no good will was felt towards a man who had responded so ill to the confidence which had been placed in him. If Philip could have conveniently punished him without irritating his brother, he would gladly have read him a sharp lesson, and the irritation was likely to be increased as the consequences of his misdoings developed themselves. The especial uneasiness was on the side of France. In the autumn (1577), three months after Escovedo's arrival, Philip sent a new ambassador there, Juan de Vargas Mexia, to inquire particularly

into what was passing between his brother and the Duke of Guise. Maria ascertained that the correspondence was real that secret agents were going to and fro between them, though to what purpose he could not tell. The suspicious feature was the complete silence on the subject both of Don John and his secretary. Escovedo's manners were abrupt and arbitrary. In January Philip received a letter from him, which he described happily as *descosido*, loose, unstitched, visionary. He handed it to Perez, that he might see how 'sanguinary' it was.

Don John, at the reopening of the war, had begun with a success. He had defeated the Prince of Orange at Gemblours. He wrote passionately for reinforcements. The victory had to be followed up, and all would be won. He demanded money—money and Escovedo. Philip, unhappily, had won victories before in the Low Countries, and knew better what to expect from them. His own more temperate policy had been thwarted and ruined, and it was but too natural that he should hold his brother's wild adviser as responsible. If he sent him back, it would be only to throw fuel on the fire. Don John, and the Pope, and the Guises would set all Europe in confusion. Escovedo was no fool. He could not be kept waiting at Madrid with dilatory excuses. To imprison him, or bring him to trial, might drive Don John at once into some dangerous course. It would lead to investigations and the publication of State secrets which ought not to be revealed.

There was a theory much in favour at the Spanish court, that criminals who had forfeited their lives, or persons whose lives were for any reason inconsistent with public safety, might, when the facts were certain, and when an open prosecution would be inconvenient, be removed privately by orders of the Council of State. So Don Carlos had been disposed of; so the Flemish envoys at Simancas. Spain was not the only country where in extreme cases such proceedings were held permissible. Elizabeth would have been grateful to Sir Amiyas Paulet if he would have relieved her of the Queen of Scots. In Italy, in France, in Scotland, a stab with a dagger was an expedient adopted in emergencies, with no great care to ascertain that it was deserved. Spain and England were rather in advance of other nations than behind them; and in Spain, heartily loyal as it was, the public had begun to doubt whether these secret executions ought to be continued.

A zealous court preacher had maintained, in a sermon at which Philip was present, that kings had absolute power over the lives and fortunes of their subjects. The Inquisition, of all courts in the world, took up the question. The preacher was obliged to retract his proposition in the same pulpit, and to confess that kings had no more power over their subjects than divine and human law allowed them. The old view, however, held its ground in spite of the Holy Office,

and was professed in its extreme form by no less a person than the king's spiritual adviser, the same Diego de Chaves who was mentioned at the opening of our story. Don Diego's opinion was this: 'So far as I understand the law,' he said, 'a secular prince who for sufficient cause can take his subjects' lives from them by course of law can also do it without course of law when the evidence of the guilt is clear. Form and order are not essentials in such sense that they cannot be dispensed with; and if the prince has sufficient reasons for proceeding without order, the vassal who by his command puts to death another vassal is doing no more than his duty. He is bound to assume the cause to be adequate. The presumption in all cases is that the prince has reason for what he does.'

This doctrine was still held by Philip; and the difficulty with Escovedo was precisely of the kind where the application of it was convenient. Escovedo's guilt might be assumed. He was a confidential minister who had disobeyed his orders, and had caused a great public calamity, involving the renewal of a civil war. If allowed to live, he would still be dangerous. To bring him to an account openly would be dangerous also. Philip directed Antonio Perez to consult the Marquis de los Velez. The opinion of the marquis was decided, that Escovedo should be killed; yet that the king must not appear to have directed his execution, lest Don John should be exasperated. Some scheme should be contrived by which it could appear that he had been sacrificed to private revenge. A Government must have been singularly helpless which could have recourse to such expedients. But so it was. For the act itself De los Velez had so little hesitation that, 'with the Sacrament in his mouth,' he was ready to assert the necessity of it. The best method, he thought, would be to give Escovedo 'something to eat' from which he should not recover.

There was nothing in such a proposal to disturb Philip's ignoble conscientiousness. He sincerely believed that by consenting he was discharging a public duty, and with no more personal resentment than if he had been signing a warrant for an ordinary execution. It has never been suggested that Philip had any private malice against Escovedo, or had any motive beyond what was afterwards alleged. Why Antonio Perez should have encouraged him, why he should himself have so readily undertaken a treacherous office, is another question on which speculation has been busy. He had been Escovedo's personal friend. They had grown up as boys together in the family of Ruy Gomez. They had been transferred together to the king's service. They had never differed politically until Escovedo had become Don John's secretary, and they had corresponded afterwards on terms of the closest intimacy. It is true that Perez had been the strongest advocate for a policy of peace, and Escovedo for war; but an antagonism of opinion scarcely explains the readiness with which one Secretary of

State undertook to murder another. And it has been assumed as a matter of course that Perez must have had some private motives of his own.

Before entering into these dark regions I will describe briefly what actually happened. The 'something to eat' was administered as De los Velez recommended. Perez took into his confidence his own master of the household, Diego Martinez: he told him that the king and council considered Escovedo's life to be dangerous to the peace of Europe, and that he must be secretly made away with. To satisfy Martinez's scruples he showed him a letter in the king's hand. Enriquez, a page, was also admitted into the mystery. An apothecary was found far away in Arragon who could mix a potion, and Escovedo was invited to dinner. Two or three experiments were tried with imperfect success. The unlucky wretch became very ill after swallowing a dish of cream with some white powder in it; but he had not taken enough. He suspected foul play, and afterwards dined alone in his apartments in the palace. A page in the palace kitchen was bribed to put a larger dose into a plate which was sent up to him. Escovedo discovered the poison, and an innocent slave girl who had dressed the dish was strangled in the Plaza at Madrid.

The fate of this poor creature, so piteous because so utterly undeserved, passed as a mere incident; Perez scarcely gave a second thought to it, and the king's conscience could not descend to a kitchen wench. But poison, it was clear, could not be depended on; and steel was a surer method. Escovedo's habits were watched. He was out much after dark, and returned late to his apartments. Braves were brought up by the exertions of Diego Martinez from remote parts of the Peninsula. Easter had come, and Perez, to be out of the way, went for the Holy Week to Alcala de Henares. On the night of Easter Monday, the 31st of March 1578, Don John's secretary was run through the body in a public street, and was killed on the spot.

Madrid was an orderly city, and open assassinations were unusual. A person, himself of so much consequence, and the notorious favourite of a prince who was the idol of the people, could not be found lying dead without a considerable stir being caused by it. The police were out like hornets. The gates were guarded, and no one was allowed to pass. The hotels and lodging-houses were called on for a list of their guests. The assassins were out of reach, for they were secreted in Perez's own house, and no clue could be found; yet suspicion at once and instinctively pointed to Perez as the instigator, and his absence at Alcala was not enough to clear him. His wife, Juana Coello, called to condole with Escovedo's widow. The widow had not forgotten the dinners and the illness which followed, and the detected attempts at poison. She said significantly she feared the blow had been aimed by a friend's hand. Perez

hurried back to the capital, pretending to be horrified. He saw Escovedo's son. He told the alcalde of the court that Escovedo had many enemies; there were rumours of a love affair in Flanders; Escovedo, he knew, had lately received a message, bidding him beware of some jealous Fleming. Perhaps he overacted his part. The alcalde and the alcalde's son, Garcia de Arce, cross-questioned him unpleasantly. The king was out at the Escorial, where, of course, reports reached him from the magistrates; but he was anxious for particulars. On the 3rd of April, three days after the murder, Perez wrote to him, and the letter survives, with Philip's marginal remarks upon it. Perez told him what had passed with the alcalde, and mentioned what he had said about the love affair. Philip noted, 'This was very right.' Garcia de Arce had asked Perez whether there had been a quarrel between him and Escovedo, implying that he had heard something to that effect from Escovedo's wife. Philip observed, 'There will be danger from that woman.' 'The alcalde,' Perez said, 'had discovered that strange things had been going on during the winter in Escovedo's house; mysterious visitors, night expeditions none knew where, and secret boxes of papers, and keys of other people's houses.' Philip, who evidently looked on himself as a careful, well-intentioned prince, who had disposed of a public enemy in a skilful manner, thought more of Escovedo's plots than of awkward consequences from his murder. He remarked that these keys and visits had a bad complexion; the alcalde must look more closely into that matter, and search it to the bottom. Perez was uncomfortable about his bravoes, whom he knew not how to dispose of. He had thought of sending them away with despatches as Government couriers; but it seemed too dangerous. He recommended Philip to put the inquiry into the alcalde's hands exclusively, and forbid any other person to meddle with it. Philip prudently observed that to interfere with the investigation would provoke suspicion. He would communicate with the alcalde, and would do what he could. The bravoes must be kept for the present where they were, and Perez meanwhile might come out to the Escorial to see him. Finally, to quiet Perez's evident alarm, he said: 'If the widow desires to speak with me, I cannot refuse to see her; but do not fear that you will be unsupported. I am with you, and will not fail you in anything that may be expedient or necessary. Assure yourself of this. You know it well.'

* There is no doubt at all that in the last extremity, and if Perez's life was in danger, Philip intended honestly to tell the truth.

Strong, however, as suspicion was, suspicion was not proof; and proof against Perez there was none. He had been many miles from Madrid when the murder was committed. His servants, Diego Martinez and Enriquez, knew that they had been acting by the king's authority. They had everything to gain by keeping counsel, and

might be in serious danger if they betrayed their secret. The bravoes slipped away after a week or two, when the vigilance had relaxed. Each of them had a bag of doubloons with a commission as *alferez* (ensign in the army, unattached). They dispersed to Italy, to Central Europe, to all the winds. Every trace was thus swept out which could connect Perez with the murder. The excitement died gradually away, and the affair seemed to be forgotten.

But poisoned wounds will not heal, though they be skinned over. The sore was to break out again, and the story to assume a form which has given it a place among the *causes célèbres* of the world.

Brilliant writers of history are subject to one general temptation—they desire to give their narrative dramatic completeness. The drama, if it is to have flavour, must revolve upon personal motives, and history must follow on the same lines. Sovereigns and statesmen who have been charged with the fortunes of nations, are assumed, where their actions require explanation, to have been influenced by no other passions than those which govern private individuals in their own more limited spheres. When a woman's name appears as connected with such high persons, the connection is always assumed to have been of one peculiar kind. To ask for evidence or look for other explanations is taken as a sign of simplicity or of ignorance of human nature.

The legend now stereotyped in European tradition is that the wife of Ruy Gomez, the Princess of Eboli, was the mistress of Philip the Second, and that the Princess of Eboli preferred Antonio Perez to the king. Escovedo, it is said, discovered the intrigue and threatened to reveal it. Perez, in consequence, calumniated Escovedo to Philip. Philip allowed him to be murdered, but discovered afterwards that he had been the dupe of a treacherous minister and a bad woman, and regarded Perez thenceforward with implacable hatred.

Now, before going further, I have to observe that the eleven years during which Philip is assumed to have been occupied with these emotions and the effort to give effect to them, were the busiest in the whole of his long, laborious reign. They were the years in which he annexed Portugal. They were the years of Parma's administration of the Netherlands. They were the years of preparation for the Armada. There was the civil war in France to be watched and guided. There were Naples and Sicily to be ruled, and the Turks to be held in check in the Mediterranean. There were the ambassadors' despatches from foreign courts. There was a close, constant, and elaborate correspondence to be maintained with the Pope. There were the reports of the Inquisition to be received and studied. There were English, Scotch, and Irish Catholic conspiracies to be kept in hand. There was the great new empire across the Atlantic, and Drake and Hawkins, and the English corsairs. There were the

various Councils of State for the internal administration at home, and in every one of these departments Philip not only interfered but exercised the most unrelaxing supervision. Whether he did his work well or ill is not to the purpose; mind and body were incessantly engaged upon it. Minutes of council, tens of thousands of ciphered despatches with rough drafts of as many ciphered answers to them, survive to witness to the industry of a sovereign who permitted nothing to be done without his knowledge in all his enormous dominions. There is scarcely one of them which is not annotated in his hand, and often elaborately; and students who, like myself, have toiled through these mountains of documents, have cursed the writing, the worst perhaps that ever was seen, but have had to confess, when the meaning was arrived at, that the meaning was a real and often a wise one. The poor king did patiently endeavour to understand the subjects before him, and to resolve upon them with the best efforts of his limited ability; while if the working hours of every day had been doubled, and thus doubled had been devoted all to duty, they would still seem insufficient for the business which he demonstrably got through.

That a mind so occupied should have had leisure to trouble itself with 'jealousies' and 'mistresses,' or indeed to give more than a passing thought to the Escovedo affair at all after the public dangers from him had ceased, is to me not easily conceivable, for the simple reason that there was no time for it. The king was occupied all but exclusively with other matters. The murder was an angry spot which would not heal. He had fallen into a scrape, and his behaviour was singular; but it can be more easily explained by clumsy efforts to extricate himself than by a romance of which nine-tenths is conjecture, and the tenth remaining inconsistent with admitted facts.

It is, however, true that the Princess of Eboli was soon supposed to have been connected in some way with Escovedo's assassination. The widow of Escovedo knew that high words had passed between her husband and Antonio Perez in which the name of the princess had been mentioned. Perez had been more successful in life than his companion officials, and had borne himself in his prosperity with less moderation than prudence would have recommended. One of these, a priest named Mattheo Vasquez, and himself one of Philip's secretaries, disliked Perez, and was also employed in some law suit against the princess. He sought out Escovedo's family and learnt what they had to tell. He was busy all the summer and the winter following pushing his inquiries, and thought at last that he had made a notable discovery. In December, nine months after the murder, he wrote and circulated an anonymous *pasquil*, full of scandalous reflections on Perez and the lady, while simultaneously Escovedo's widow and her son directly charged Perez with the crime, adding that it had been committed to gratify the Princess of Eboli. Perez carried the *pasquil*

to Philip—a daring act on his part if he knew himself to be the king's successful rival. Philip again assured him, both by word and writing, that he need not be uneasy, that no harm should befall him ; but he knew his master well ; he knew his unwillingness that his own share in the matter should be made public, and he observed that Philip seemed not displeased that Vasquez and the Escovegos should be running on a false scent.

It is time, therefore, to say a few words about this famous lady ; to tell who she was, and how she came to be concerned in a matter which appeared to be wholly political.

J. A. FROUDE.

(To be concluded.)

THE SUPPRESSION OF POISONOUS OPINIONS.

(CONCLUDED.)

MY reply to the question, Why do you not extirpate poisonous opinions by force? is briefly the old one—Because I object to quack remedies: to remedies in this case which can at most secure a negative result at the cost of arresting the patient's growth. When I come to the strictly ethical problem, Is persecution wicked, and, if so, why? I must answer rather more fully. All that I have said is a simple repetition of familiar and obvious arguments. Not only must Mill, whom I have criticised in particular points, have recognised all the alleged evils in a general way, but I am certain that others less favourable to toleration would admit them in any given case. If, that is, a systematic attack upon any opinion, or upon general freedom of thought, were proposed, every one would admit the futility of a partial persecution, and the impossibility of an effectual one. It is only the form into which the general argument is cast, that perplexes the general theory. It is so plain that a special utterance may be stopped by a sufficient penalty; and again, it seems so easy to assume that a dogma is a kind of entity with a particular and definable set of consequences adhering to it, that reasoners overlook the unreality which intrudes in the course of their generalisations. They neglect what according to me is an essential part of the case—all the secondary implications, that is, of an effectual persecution; the necessity of arresting a mental phase as well as a particular error, and of altering the whole political and social organisation in order to provide an effectual censorship. If these necessities are more or less recognised, they are thrust out of the argument by a simple device. The impossibility of organising an effectual persecution now is admitted; but then it is said that this is a proof of modern effeminacy—sentimentalism, or anarchy, or some other objectionable peculiarity. This is virtually to say that, though toleration must be admitted as a transitional phase, it implies a weakness, not strength; and, in brief, that the advocate of persecution would prefer a totally different social state, namely, such a one as combines all the requisites

for an adequate regulation of opinion. Persecution is wrong, here and now, for you and me, because our teeth are drawn, and we can only mumble without biting; but we will hope that our teeth may grow again. The admission, in whatever terms it may be made, is perhaps enough for us. Virtually it is an admission that persecution cannot be justified unless certain conditions are realised which are not now realisable; and this admission is not less important because made in terms calculated to extenuate the importance and the permanence of these conditions. From my point of view, on the other hand, the circumstances thus treated as removable and trifling accidents, are really of the very essence of the case, and it is only by taking them into account that we can give a satisfactory theory of toleration. Toleration presupposes a certain stage of development, moral and intellectual. In the ruder social order, toleration is out of the question for familiar reasons. The rudimentary Church and State are so identified that the kingly power has the spiritual sanctity, and the priest can wield the secular arm. Heresy is a kind of rebellion, and the gods cannot be renounced without an attack upon political authority. Intellectual activity is confined to a small class, and opinions change by an imperceptible and unconscious process. Wherever such a condition is actually in existence, controversy can only be carried on by the sword. A change of faith is not caused by argument, but is part of the process by which a more powerful race conquers or extirpates its neighbours. The higher belief has a better chance, perhaps, so far as it is characteristic of a superior race, but owes little to its logical or philosophical merits. And, in such a state of things, toleration is hardly to be called a virtue, because it is an impossibility. If the equilibrium between sects, as between races, depends upon the sword, the propagator or the defender of the faith must use the sword as the essential condition of his success. If individuals perceive that toleration is desirable, they perceive also that it can only be achieved through an elevation of the whole race to a higher social condition. It remains as an unattainable ideal, dimly foreshadowed in some higher minds.

In the more advanced stage, with which we have to do, the state of things is altered. Church and State are no longer identified; a society has a political apparatus discharging one set of functions, and an ecclesiastical apparatus (or more than one) which discharges another set. Some such distinction exists as a plain matter of fact. There remains, indeed, the perplexed controversy as to its ultimate nature, and the degree in which it can be maintained. The priest is a different person from the ruler, and each individual is governed in part of his conduct by a reference to the political order, and in other parts by a reference to the spiritual order. On the other hand it is urged, and indeed it is undeniable, that the distinction is not a complete separation. Every spiritual rule has its secular aspect, and every secular rule its spiritual. Each power has an influence over the

whole sphere of conduct, and it is idle to draw a line between theory and practice, inasmuch as all theory affects practice, and all practice is based upon theory. How are the conflicting claims of two powers to be reconciled when each affects the whole sphere of thought and conduct, without making one absolutely dependent upon the other?

This opens a wide field of controversy, upon which I must touch only so far as the doctrine of toleration is concerned. How are we to reconcile any such doctrine with the admission that the State must enforce certain kinds of conduct, that it must decide (unless it is to be absolutely dependent upon the Church, or, in other words, unless the Church is itself a State) what kinds of conduct it will enforce; and therefore that it may have to forbid practices commended by the Church, or to punish men, indirectly at least, for religious opinions—that is, to persecute? We may argue against the expediency in particular cases; but how can we lay down a general principle?

Before answering, I must begin by one or two preliminary considerations. The existence of any society whatever clearly presupposes an agreement to obey certain elementary rules, and therefore the existence of a certain desire for order and respect for constituted authority. Every society also contains antisocial elements, and must impose penalties upon antisocial conduct. It can, of course, deal with a small part only of such conduct. It can punish murder, but not ill-will. And further, though it cannot punish all immorality, it may punish no conduct which is not immoral. The criminal law covers only a part of the field of the moral law, and may nowhere extend beyond it. The efficacy, again, of all State action depends upon the existence of the organic instincts which have been evolved in its growth. Churches, like all other forms of association, depend upon the existence of similar instincts or sentiments, some of which are identical with those upon which the State is also founded, whilst others are not directly related to any particular form of political organisation. Many different churches may arise, corresponding to differences of belief upon questions of the highest importance, of which the members may yet be capable of uniting for political purposes, and of membership of the same State. Agnostics, Protestants, and Catholics may agree to hang murderers and enforce contracts, though they go to different churches, and some of them to no church at all; or hold the most contradictory opinions about the universe at large. The possibility, within some undefined limits, is proved by experience; but can we define the limits or deny the contrary possibility? May not a Church be so constituted that membership is inconsistent with membership of the State? If a creed says 'Steal,' must not believers go to prison? If so, and if the State be the sole judge on such points, do we not come back to persecution?

I reply, first, that the difficulty is in one way exaggerated, and in the way which greatly affects the argument. Respect, for example,

for human life or for property represents different manifestations of that essential instinct which is essential to all social development. Unless murderers and thieves were condemned and punished, there could be no society, but only a barbarous chaos. These are fundamental points which are and must be settled before the problem of toleration can even be raised. The ethical sentiment which condemns such crimes must exist in order that priests and policemen may exist. It is not a product, but a precedent condition, of their activity. The remark is needed because it is opposed to a common set of theories and phrases. Theologians of one class are given to assert that morality is the creation of a certain set of dogmas, which have somehow dropped out of the skies. The prejudice against theft, for example, is due to the belief, itself due to revelation—that is, to a communication from without—that thieves will have their portion in the lake of fire. So long as this theory, or one derived from it, holds its ground, we are liable to the assumption that all morality is dependent upon specific beliefs about facts, of which we may or may not be ignorant, and has therefore something essentially arbitrary about it. It is a natural consequence that religion may change in such a way as to involve a reversal of the moral law, and therefore a total incompatibility between the demands of the religion and the most essential conditions of social life. I hold, though I cannot here attempt to justify the principle, that this represents a complete inversion of cause and effect; that morality springs simply from the felt need of human beings living in society; that religious beliefs spring from and reflect the prevalent moral sentiment instead of producing it as an independent cause; that a belief that murderers will be damned is the effect and not the cause of our objection to murder. There is doubtless an intimate connection between the two beliefs. In the intellectual stage at which hell seems a reasonable hypothesis, we cannot express our objection to murder without speaking in terms of hell-fire. But the hell is created by that objection when present to minds at a certain stage; and not a doctrine communicated from without and generating the objection. From this it follows that the religious belief which springs from the moral sentiments (amongst other conditions) cannot as a rule be in conflict with them, or with the corollaries deduced from them by the legislator. In other words, agreement between the State and the Church as to a very wide sphere of conduct must be the rule, because the sentiment upon which their vitality depends springs from a common root, and depends upon general conditions independent of special beliefs and forms of government. In spite of these considerations, the difficulty may undoubtedly occur. A religion may command criminal practices, and even practices inconsistent with the very existence of the society. Nihilists and communists may order men to steal or slay. Are they to be permitted to attack the State because they attack it in the

name of religion? The answer, of course, is plain. Criminals must be punished, whatever their principle. The fact that a god commands an action does not make it moral. There are very immoral gods going about whose followers must be punished for obeying their orders. Belief in his gods is no excuse for the criminal. It only shows that his moral ideas are confused. If the god has no better principles than a receiver of stolen goods, his authority gives no better justification for the act. The punishment does not transgress the principle that none but immoral acts should be punished, unless we regard morality as a mere name for actions commanded by invisible beings. Nor, leaving this for the moment, is this properly a case of persecution. Toleration implies that a man is to be allowed to profess and maintain any principles that he pleases; not that he should be allowed in all cases to act upon his principles, especially to act upon them to the injury of others. No limitation whatever need be put upon this principle in the case supposed. I, for one, am fully prepared to listen to any arguments for the propriety of theft or murder, or, if it be possible, of immorality in the abstract. No doctrine, however well established, should be protected from discussion. The reasons have been already assigned. If, as a matter of fact, any appreciable number of persons is inclined to advocate murder on principle, I should wish them to state their opinions openly and fearlessly, because I should think that the shortest way of exploding the principle and of ascertaining the true causes of such a perversion of moral sentiment. Such a state of things implies the existence of evils which cannot be really cured till their cause is known, and the shortest way to discover the cause is to give a hearing to the alleged reasons. Of course, this may lead to very difficult points of casuistry. We cannot always draw the line between theory and practice. An attack upon the evils of landed property, delivered in a certain place and time, may mean—shoot this particular landlord. In all such cases, it can only be said that the issue is one of fact. It is most desirable that the principles upon which property in land can be defended should be thoroughly discussed. It is most undesirable that any landlord should be assassinated. Whether a particular speech is really a part of the general discussion, or an act in furtherance of a murderous conspiracy, is a question to be decided by the evidence in the case. Sometimes it may be almost impossible to draw the line; I only urge that it should be drawn in conformity with the general rule. The propriety of every law should be arguable; but whilst it is the law, it must be enforced.

This brings us to a further difficulty. Who, it is asked, is to decide these cases? The State is to punish acts which are inconsistent with its existence, or immoral. But if the State is to decide, its decision is ultimate; and it may decide, for example, as Cromwell decided, that the Mass was an immoral ceremony, and therefore as

much to be suppressed as an act of theft. Simply to traverse the statement of fact would be insufficient. If we merely deny the immorality of the Mass, we say that Cromwell was mistaken in his facts, not that his conduct was immoral in itself. He was mistaken, as he would have been mistaken had he supposed that the congregation was collected to begin a political rising, when it simply came together for a religious ceremonial. The objection (if we may fairly judge Cromwell by a modern standard, which need not be here considered) is obviously different. It assumes that the suppression of the Mass was an act done in restraint of opinion. Nobody alleged that the Mass had any other ill consequences than its tendency to encourage the spread of a religion. A simple act of idolatry is not of itself injurious to my neighbour. I am not injured because, you being a fool, do an act of folly which is nothing but an open avowal of your folly. The intention of the persecutor was to restrain the spread of an opinion by terror; and just so far as that was the intention, it was an act of intolerance. It is easy to put different cases. If, for example, a creed commanded human sacrifices, it might be (I should say that it would be) right to suppress an antisocial practice. The murder would not be justified because of the invisible accomplice, though he were called a god. The action should therefore be punished, though we ought not to punish the promulgation of an argument in favour of the practice, nor to punish other harmless practices dictated by the same creed. But in the case of the Mass, the conduct would be admittedly harmless in every other respect than in its supposed effect upon opinion. The bare act of eating a wafer with certain ceremonies only became punishable because the actor attached to it, and encouraged others to attach to it, a particular religious significance. Restraint of opinion, or of its free utterance, by terror is the essence of persecution, and all conduct intended to achieve that purpose is immoral. The principle is entirely consistent with the admission that a legislator must decide for himself whether or not that is the real tendency of his legislation. There is no appeal from the Legislature, and therefore it must decide in the last resort. But it does not follow that a court from which there is no appeal follows no rules in fact, nor that all its decisions are morally right. In laying down such a principle, or any other first principle, we are not proposing a rule which can be enforced by any external authority. It belongs to a sphere which is antecedent to all legislation. We say simply that a legislator will accept it so far as he legislates upon sound principles. Nor is it asserted that the principle is always free from ambiguity in its applications. Granting that persecution is wrong, it may still be a fair question whether this or that law implies persecution. There may be irreconcilable differences of opinion. The legislator may declare that a particular kind of conduct is immoral, or, in other words, that the practice is irreconcilable with the essential

conditions of social welfare. The priest may assert that it is commanded by his deity, and moreover that it is really moral in the same sense in which the legislator declares it to be immoral. Who is to decide? The principle of toleration does not of itself answer that question. It only lays down certain conditions for conducting the argument. It decides that the immorality must consist in something else than the evil tendency of any general doctrine. A man must not be punished for openly avowing any principles whatever. Any defence of the proposed rule is irrelevant unless it contains an allegation that the punishment is inflicted for something else than a defence of opinion. And further, if agreement be still impossible, the principle does not say who is to give the decision; it only lays down a condition as to the mode of obtaining the decision. In the last resort, we may say, the question must be fought out, but it must be fought out with fair weapons. The statesman, so long as he is seriously convinced, must uphold the law, but he must allow its policy and justice to be freely discussed. No statement can be made as to the result. The statesman appeals directly to one class of motives; the priest to others not identical, though not disparate. The ultimate success of one or the other will depend upon the constitution of the society, and the strength of all the various forces by which authority is supported and balanced. Toleration only ensures fair play, and implies the existence of conditions necessary for securing a possibility of ultimate agreement. The relevant issues are defined, though the question of fact remains for discussion. Even where brute force has the most unrestricted play, and rule is most decidedly based upon sheer terror, all power ultimately rests upon the beliefs and sentiments of the society. The advantage of toleration is to exclude that kind of coercion which tries to restrain opinion by sheer terror, and therefore by considerations plainly irrelevant to the truth of the opinions.

This leads to what are really the most difficult problems at the present day. No moral principle, I should say, and certainly not the principle of toleration, can lay down a distinct external criterion of right and wrong applicable at once to all concrete cases. No test, by the nature of the case, can be given which will decide at once whether a particular rule does or does not transgress the principle of toleration. This is especially true in the questions where the question of toleration is mixed up with the other question as to the proper limits of State interference. A great deal has been said, and very little has been decided, as to the latter problem. We may argue the propriety of the State undertaking the management of railways or interfering between labourers and capitalists, without considering the principle of toleration in the sense in which I have taken it. But when we come to such controversies as that about the Established Church or the national systems of education, the problem becomes more intricate. The briefest glance must suffice to show the bearing of my principles

upon such problems. An Established Church was clearly open to objection on the ground of intolerance, so long as it was virtually and avowedly an organisation for propagating a faith. When it was supported on the ground that its doctrines were true, and dissent was regarded as criminal because heretical, persecution was accepted in principle and carried into practice. At the present day its advocates have abandoned this ground. All that can be said is that the State confers certain privileges upon, and assigns certain revenues to, persons who will discharge certain functions and accept certain tests. Dissenters, therefore, are excluded from the privileges on account of their faith. But it may be urged that the functions discharged by the Church are useful to the people in general, even to unbelievers, and that in the opinion of unbelievers themselves. And, again, it is argued that the formularies of the Church are maintained not as true but simply as expressing the opinions of the majority. There is no direct persecution, for any one may dissent as much as he pleases, and (unless he is Mr. Foote) attack any doctrines whatever. The existence of such an institution must of course act to some extent as a bribe, if not as a threat; but implies so little of direct intolerance that it is frequently defended expressly and sincerely on the ground that it is favourable to freedom of thought. To argue all the issues here suggested would require a treatise. I should certainly hold that so long as an Establishment exists, the free play of opinion is trammelled, in spite of some plausible arguments to the contrary. But I certainly hold also that it is impossible to condemn an Establishment purely and simply on the ground of toleration, without doing violence to fair argument. All that can be said is that questions of toleration are here involved, along with many other questions possibly of more importance in this particular case, and I am not prepared to cut the knot by any unqualified assertion. And this is equally true of national education. It does not necessarily imply any intolerance whatever. Not only may it be possible or easy in many cases to solve the problem by giving an education which all sects approve, and to leave the religious education to each sect; but there is another consideration. Toleration implies that each man must have a right to say what he pleases. It does not imply a right both to impress his own doctrines upon other people and to exclude the influence of other teachers. If I take the child of a Protestant and bring him up as a Catholic, or *vice versâ*, I am guilty undoubtedly of a gross act of tyranny. But I am not necessarily more intolerant than if I decided that a slave was to be educated by the State instead of by his master. The moral question falls under a different head. The Legislature in such a case is altering the relation between parents and children. It is handing over to others the authority over the children hitherto possessed by their parents. This is a very grave and, beyond narrow limits, a most objectionable proceeding, but it is not objectionable as intolerant.

It is simply changing one kind of influence for another. The parent's right to his own opinions and their utterance is not the same as his right to instil them into other minds; the tyranny implied is the tyranny of limiting his power over his children; and that limitation, upon other grounds, may be most oppressive. But if the child was sent to a school where he was allowed to hear all opinions, and his parents had access to him amongst others, he would clearly be freer to form his own creed, and, so far, there would be more room for the free play of opinion. To give the rule over him exclusively to his parents is so far to sanction private intolerance, though for other reasons this may be fully justifiable. The question of intolerance is raised at a different point. If, for example, one creed should be favoured at the expense of others, if all the schools of a country should be Protestant whilst some of the people were Catholic, we should clearly have a case of limiting opinion by force; and so, if any uniform creed were prescribed by the State, all dissenters might complain of persecution. It may further be urged that some such result is a natural result of a State system. I do not argue the question, which I only notice to show how the simple doctrine of toleration may be mixed up with other problems, here, for example, with the enormously important question of the proper limits of parental authority, which render impossible any off-hand decision. The principle of toleration may be simple; the importance of so organising society that it may be carried out without exceptions is enormous; but it is not the sole principle of conduct, and in a complex condition of society, full of fragments of institutions which have more or less deviated from their original functions, we must sometimes be content with an imperfect application, and permit it to be overridden by other principles which spring from the same root of social utility, and cannot be brought into harmony with it without changes which, for the moment, are impracticable.

How far, then, does the principle, thus understood, differ from the simple doctrine of expediency, and therefore exclude the admission that we have in every case to decide by the calculation of consequences? The final reply to this question will sum up what I have to say by indicating what I take to be the weakness or inadequacy of the simple utilitarian doctrine. I entirely agree with Mill that conduct is proved to be immoral by proving it to be mischievous, or, in other words, productive of a balance of misery. But I hold that his neglect of the conditions of social development deprives his argument of the necessary coherency. For the reasons already set forth, I say that toleration becomes possible and desirable at a certain stage of progress. If this condition be overlooked or insufficiently recognised, we fall into two errors. The advocate of toleration tries to prove that persecution is bad, irrespectively of this condition, and therefore that it was bad at the earliest as well as the latest stages. Since this is

not true, and therefore cannot be proved, his argument seems to break down; and so we find that the arguments from history are indiscriminately joined, and that the advocates of persecution argue as if precedents drawn from primitive social stages were applicable without modification to the latest. They frequently try to defend this explicitly by assuming that human nature is always the same, and inferring that, if people once argued with the fist, we must always use that controversial weapon. That human nature always attains certain fundamental properties may be fully granted; but if this inference be sound, civilisation, which consists in great measure in learning to limit the sphere of brute force, must be an illusory phenomenon. From my point of view, on the other hand, the recognition that society does in fact grow is an essential point of the case. When we have to deal with the later stages, Mill's argument fails of cogency just so far as he treats its essential characteristics as though they were mere accidents. So, as we have seen, he says, virtually, that persecution may be effective in suppressing an opinion; and passes lightly over the consideration of the real meaning of this 'may be.' It 'may be' efficient if it is so vigorous as to choke thought as well as to excise particular results of thought, and if therefore a political organisation exists which becomes altogether impossible as society advances beyond a certain stage. But when we restore the condition thus imperfectly indicated to its proper place in the argument, Mill's arguments, cogently stated already, acquire fresh cogency. At that stage toleration becomes an essential condition of development, and therefore it becomes at the same time an essential condition of promoting happiness. Given such a social organisation as exists at present, the only kind of persecution which is possible is that which is condemned by every one as ineffectual. To persecute without suppressing, to stimulate hypocrisy without encouraging faith, is clearly to produce suffering without compensating advantage. Persecution is an anachronism and becomes a blunder, and upon this showing it is so palpably impolitic and therefore immoral that even a theoretical advocate of persecution admits that it is wicked under the conditions. The chief point of difference is that he does not recognise the necessity of the conditions, or fancies that he implicitly gets rid of them by saying that he dislikes them.

This suggests one further explanation. You assume, it is said, that progress is a blessing. We prefer the mediæval, or the pagan, or the savage state of society, and deny that progress deserves the admiration lavished upon it by professors of claptrap. I make no such assumption, whatever my private opinion; I simply allege the fact of progress as showing historically what is the genesis of toleration, and therefore the conditions under which it has become essential. But whether progress be a good or a bad thing, whether men are happier or less happy than monkeys, the argument is unaffected. Perhaps a

child is happier than a man; but a man does not therefore become happier by adopting childish modes of life. When society is at a given stage, you cannot restore the previous stage, nor can you adopt the old methods. The modes by which society progresses determine a certain organisation, and when that exists it becomes an essential part of the problem. It is still possible to be intolerant; but it is not possible to restore the conditions under which intolerance could be carried out as a principle, and therefore you can only tease and hamper and irritate without gaining any proportional advantage, if any advantage whatever. Even if there be a period at which it is still possible to arrest progress, you do not ensure a maintenance of the existing stage, but rather ensure actual decay. The choice is not between advancing and standing still, but between growing and rotting; and the bitterest denouncers of progress may think it less objectionable than actual decline. We have fortunately advanced beyond that period; and may therefore say that, given the existing order, toleration is not merely conducive on the average, but is unconditionally and necessarily conducive to happiness. I do not of course deny that in this, as in all moral principles, there may not be found, here and there, exceptional cases which may amuse a casuist; but they can be only such rare cases as might cause doubt to one thoroughly convinced of the essential importance of a complete permeation of society by tolerant principles. Something, indeed, remains to be done, perhaps much, before the principle can be thoroughly carried. There is a region of difficulties or anomalies not yet cleared up. Toleration, in fact, as I have understood it, is a necessary correlative to a respect for truthfulness. So far as we can lay it down as an absolute principle that every man should be thoroughly trustworthy and therefore truthful, we are bound to respect every manifestation of truthfulness. In many cases a man's opinions are really determined by his character, and possibly by bad characteristics. He holds a certain creed because it flatters him as a cowardly or sensual or selfish animal. In that case it is hard, but it is right, to distinguish between our disapproval of the passions, and our disapproval of the open avowal of the doctrines which spring from them. The virtue of truthfulness was naturally recognised in particular cases before the virtue of toleration. It was obviously necessary to social welfare that men should be able to trust each other, and, therefore, that in all private relations a man's word should be as good as his bond. The theory was virtually limited by the understanding that there were certain opinions which could not be uttered without endangering the social order. If an avowal of disbelief in the gods necessarily meant disloyalty, the heretic was punishable upon that ground, whatever might be thought of his virtue. The conflict began as soon as a respect for such sincerity was outraged by a punishment still held to be necessary. It is solved when society is organised in such a way that this necessity is removed;

when, therefore, the outrage is not compensated even apparently, and the suppression of free utterance is seen to be in itself an inappropriate mode of meeting the difficulty. It is clenched by the spread of a general conviction that the only safe basis for any theory is the encouragement of its full discussion from every point of view. By a strange inconsistency, toleration is still sometimes denounced even by acute reasoners as a product of absolute scepticism. It may spring from scepticism as to the particular doctrines enforced; but it is certainly inseparable from the conviction, the reverse of sceptical, that truth is attainable, and only attainable, by the free play of intelligence. Toleration, it is said, is opposed to the 'principle of authority;' as if there could be a principle of authority in the abstract! To say that we are to accept authority in the abstract is to say that we are to believe anything that anybody tells us: that is, to believe direct contradictions. It is in fact opposed to any authority which does not rest upon the only possible ground of rational authority—the gradual agreement of inquirers free from all irrelevant bias, and therefore from the bias of sheer terror of the evils inflicted by persons of different opinion.

The principle, I have said, is not yet fully developed. Intolerance of the crudest kind is discredited, and has come to be regarded as wicked. It is admittedly wrong to burn any man because he does not think as I think. But there are the cases already noticed, in which, though heretical opinion is not punishable as such, it carries with it certain disqualifications or is marked by a certain stigma in consequence of institutions not exclusively designed for that purpose. Such anomalies may be gradually removed, but they cannot be adequately discussed under the simple heading of tolerance. We are, in regard to them, in the same position as our ancestors in regard to the primary questions of toleration. The concrete facts are still so ravelled that we have (if I may say so) to make a practical abstraction before we can apply the abstract theory. And, besides this, further corollaries may be suggested. It is a recognised duty not to punish people for expressing opinion; but it is not a recognised duty to let our opinions be known. The utterance of our creed is taken to be a right, not a duty. And yet there is a great deal to be said for objecting to passive as well as active reticence. If every man thought it a duty to profess his creed openly, he would be doing a service not only by helping to remove the stigma which clings to unpopular creeds, but very frequently by making the discovery that his opinions, when articulately uttered, were absurd, and the grounds upon which they are formed ludicrously inadequate. A man often excuses himself for bigotry because he locks it up in his own breast instead of openly avowing it. Brought into daylight, he might see its folly and recognise the absurdity of the principle which makes it a duty to be dogmatic about propositions which we are palpably unable to under-

stand or appreciate. If, however, the right of holding one's tongue be still considered as sacred, though it seems to be justified only by the remnant of the bigotry directed against free speech, there is an application of the principle in the sphere of politics which requires explicit notice. The doctrine of toleration requires a positive as well as a negative statement. It is not only wrong to burn a man on account of his creed, but it is right to encourage the open avowal and defence of every opinion sincerely maintained. Every man who says frankly and fully what he thinks is so far doing a public service. We should be grateful to him for attacking most unsparingly our most cherished opinions. I do not say that we should be grateful to him for attacking them by unfair means. Proselytism of all varieties is to my mind a detestable phenomenon; for proselytism means, as I understand it, the attempt to influence opinion in an underhand way, by appeals to the passions which obscure reason or by mere personal authority. The only way in which one human being can properly attempt to influence another is the encouraging him to think for himself instead of endeavouring to instil ready-made doctrines into his mind. Every sane person of course should respect the authority of more competent inquirers than himself, and not less in philosophical or religious than in scientific questions. But he should learn to respect because the authority is competent, not because it is that of some one whom he respects for reasons which have nothing to do with such competence.

The ultimate ground for any belief should be understood to be the fact that it can stand the freest possible discussion from every possible point of view. And, for this reason, I confess that I am quite unable to accept the excuses put forward in the case of the recent sentences for blasphemous libel. So far as the offenders were brutal or indecent in their language, or obtruded insults upon 'unwilling ears and eyes,' I of course admit that they were acting wrongly, and may have been obnoxious to the strongest possible language of moral reprobation. But it seems impossible to reconcile the infliction of a severe punishment with the theory that the manner alone was punishable and the matter perfectly justifiable. If I sincerely hold that a man is right in expressing his opinions and attacking my own so long as he does it decently; and further that he is not only exercising a right but discharging a duty in attacking what he holds to be a mischievous error, I find it very hard to say that he ought to be punished merely for the manner. Of course, an insult to any creed uttered in such a time and place as to provoke a breach of the peace should be restrained like any other provocation of the kind; and the measure of the appropriate punishment depends upon the tendency to produce the specific result. But, in this case, it is clear that the evil is simply the injury to the feelings of believers. Now, it is in the first place clear that a man may say things in all seriousness which hurt my feelings all the more because they are

decently expressed. If I am seriously persuaded that Mahomet was a vile impostor, I can hardly convey my opinion to a Mahomedan in an agreeable way; and yet Christians will admit that it may be my duty to convey it, in proper time and place. It is very difficult, to say the least, to distinguish between the intrinsic offensiveness of certain opinions and the accidental aggravation in the mode of utterance, and difficult, therefore, to punish the offence without punishing the legitimate utterance. And hence, in the next place, it seems that the offensiveness of manner belongs to that kind of immorality which can best be suppressed by public opinion. A man who is brutal in language injures his own cause by his mode of advocacy, and that injury is the proper penalty for his offence. Brutal abuse is common enough in political controversy, and when it is not a provocation to violence it is rightly left to its own inevitable consequences. Nobody has done more service to Mr. Gladstone than some of his virulent denouncers.

If, in short, we really and sincerely held that the utterance of all opinions, orthodox or the reverse, was not only permissible but desirable; and wished to restrain only that kind of utterance which is needlessly offensive—whether offensive to Christians or infidels, Protestants or Catholics—we should, I imagine, be forced to the conclusion that criminal laws should not be called into play to punish people for outrages upon good taste, but only for directly inciting to violence. The fact that an opinion is offensive to a majority is so far a reason for leaving it to public opinion, which in most cases is perfectly capable of taking care of itself; and we are certainly not impartial or really tolerant till we are equally anxious to punish one of the majority for insulting the minority. But I am straying too far from the general question; and only wish to point out that a hearty acceptance of the principle of toleration, and a genuine recognition of the fact that a man is entitled to more than mere impunity when he attacks an established creed, would lead to some practical consequences not yet recognised.

LESLIE STEPHEN.

SERVANTS OF THE SICK POOR.

THE public generally, and even that portion of it which concerns itself with personally looking after the sick poor, has little or no conception of what 'nursing' among them means, or of the necessity for employing in this work really skilled and trained women who are willing to be in the highest sense the 'servants' of their poorer brethren.

Miss Nightingale says: 'Sickness is everywhere. Death is everywhere. But hardly anywhere is the training necessary to relieve sickness, to delay death. We consider a long education and discipline necessary to train our medical man; we consider hardly any training at all necessary for our nurse, although, how often does our medical man himself tell us, "I can do nothing for you unless your nurse will carry out what I say."'

If even among the rich and well educated the generality of people think that any woman can nurse, this is still more the case among the working classes, who in the hour of their need have to depend exclusively on the untaught, love-prompted care of wife, sister, or daughter.

How many lives among all classes are yearly lost by that trust it would be impossible to compute, and for each life thus thrown away we may count another almost equally sacrificed; broken down by the combination of severe labour and trying emotions—labour three-fold harder to the untrained labourer; emotion from which the professional nurse would be almost as free as the physician.

Everyone knows that 'hospital nursing' implies that the patients are taken care of and nursed in a special building devoted to that purpose, and that 'private nursing,' whether for rich or poor, is the care of the sick in their own homes, where the nurse in charge of the case can herself reside.

'District nursing' means caring for the sick in a room where it would be impossible for any one to sleep who was not a member of the family.

Among the poor in London there is generally only one room for a man, his wife, and three or four children. It would be impossible for

a nurse to take up her quarters with the family, and yet if it is the wife and mother who is sick, and she were to be removed to a hospital, her husband would have 'to get in a woman to look after the little ones,' a measure more dreaded in many a poor home than death itself. So the poor mother cheerfully endures all the distress and discomfort that her helplessness and confinement to bed bring with them for the sake of the 'little ones,' who are even more helpless than herself, and whom she dreads leaving to the care of a stranger.

What she really requires is a nurse who will come in the morning to make her bed without moving her, dress wounds, &c., teach the elder children how to make and keep the room clean and tidy, wash and dress the baby, if there is one, and prepare the beef-tea &c. which the patient may require before the second visit of the nurse is paid later in the day.

In fact, to quote a well-known medical authority, what is needed is the daily presence of 'a calm steady discipline, existing but unfelt; the patient cool control which a stranger (if a trained nurse) is far more likely to exercise than a relation; and the experience of illness to note changes and call for aid when really needed, as well as to recognise symptoms and correctly report them.'

In hospitals the sick receive not only the constant attendance of skilled nurses, but also the services of professionally instructed 'dressers,' who are always at hand to note the various forms which disease may assume.

But the 'district nurse' is far less favourably situated than the hospital nurse or 'Sister,' as she rarely sees the doctor so frequently as once in twenty-four hours, and in many cases not at all. His orders are given in writing, and the district nurse must be so well trained as not only to know how to observe and report correctly on every case under her charge, but to allow *no* change to pass unnoticed, and even be able to apply provisionally suitable treatment until the medical man shall have arrived.

For 'district nurses,' therefore, a higher education, in addition to the technical and moral training and discipline which must be undergone in a well-organised hospital, and a higher grade of women, are needed, so that they may be qualified to act as real aids to the medical men of whose patients they are put in charge.

Of all employments open to gentlewomen, there is none more suitable to them than nursing, and especially nursing among the sick poor in their own homes, where tact, discretion, and good breeding are especially needed to introduce sanitary reforms, where laws of health, order, and cleanliness are neglected or wholly unknown, and to effect this without hurting the feelings of those who are to benefit by the change.

The occurrence of illness in a family of the poorer classes usually finds the members of it destitute of the commonest sick-appliances,

ignorant of the simplest means of nursing, and unconscious of preventable sanitary evils surrounding the patient which may impede or prevent recovery.

Yet to send these patients into a hospital would often be to break up the home altogether. There are very many cases involving incurable or chronic forms of disease which no hospital would admit, and which therefore, unless nursed at home, must be sent to the workhouse infirmary at the expense of the parish. Instances of acute disease also occur where removal would be fatal; besides a large number of cases of those diseases common among women, admitting of cure or alleviation at home, with skilled nursing under medical direction, without the patient having to give up entirely the work by which she supports herself and family.

To set these poor people going again with a sound and clean house, as well as with a sound body and mind, is about as great a benefit as can be given them—worth acres of gifts and relief. This is depauperising them.¹

The first district nursing organised in this country was established by Mr. Rathbone, M.P., in Liverpool many years ago.

It was the pioneer of work of a similar kind throughout the country, founded upon the same principles. The results were said to be that although in some instances genuine nursing was provided, and much kindness and comfort brought into the homes of the poor, sanitary reforms and sanitary teaching proved difficult, if not impossible, of introduction by nurses taken from the same class as their patients.

In 1874 the order of St. John of Jerusalem formed a committee to provide more fully trained nurses for the poor; and a sub-committee of inquiry was appointed (of which Mr. Rathbone became chairman,) to ascertain how far existing institutions throughout the country fulfilled the requirements of nursing the sick poor in their own homes, and teaching and introducing among them rules of health, cleanliness, order, and ventilation.

Only those who have worked regularly among this class can realise how much tact and discretion are required by a nurse to induce the relatives of a patient to let her set their room 'in nursing order,' and teach them to keep it so.

And yet, however difficult this may be, the recovery of a patient often depends upon its being done effectually.

There is probably only the *one* room for the whole family, which has to serve as sleeping room, kitchen, washing and dwelling room. The soiled linen, dirty or disused utensils, and very often the coals, are kept under the bed. The window rarely opens at the top, or if

¹ Letter from Miss Florence Nightingale to the *Times*, in April 1876, with reference to the Metropolitan and National Nursing Association for providing trained Nurses for the Sick Poor.

it does, it has no sash and must drop one or two feet to its wooden rest.

Each room with its six or seven inmates has only one pail or gallon-jar to hold the clean water for cooking and all other purposes, and one pail to hold the soiled water and refuse of all kinds. Every time the one has to be filled, or the other emptied, a journey must be made down many flights of stairs to the basement, where the dust-bin and the water-butt are kept for the use of all the families lodging in the house.

A district nurse must know how to purify the foul air of the room of her patient without causing a draught; to make it clean and ensure cleanliness being observed; to dust without making a dust; and to disinfect so as to prevent the reckless diffusion of diseases commonly described as 'catching;' but few persons have practically realised, as have the nurses of the sick poor, how great are the difficulties to be surmounted in establishing cleanliness in small overcrowded tenements.

The result of the inquiries above referred to was that nurses taken from the same class as the poor among whom they had to work, would not generally undertake the task of contending against dirt and disorder in rooms destitute of the proper appliances for overcoming them. One of these nurses said to me, 'There is nothing to clean with among these poor people, ma'am; no proper brushes, or dusters, or anything! So our visiting lady (termed superintendent) just pays a woman to come and clean up now and then.'

But the special fault of the previously existing institutions was the large amount of relief² given by the nurses employed, as it led them to believe they could 'do nothing' for a patient, unless they gave something, or promised to procure it from their superintendent. As food is required more for convalescents than in cases of acute disease, each nurse had a larger number of so-called 'patients' on her register than any one woman could nurse or even visit daily, and when she paid her visit, instead of performing nursing duties (which must be done at regular hours, and *daily*, to be of any real service) her visit was simply a kindly one, differing little from that paid by a friendly neighbour.

In surgical cases (where the nurses had been trained at all) they usually did the 'dressings,' but these were very rarely performed methodically or under medical orders or supervision, and the amount of pseudo-doctoring and surgery occasionally done by some of these women was appalling! In more than one instance a nurse would declare triumphantly, 'The doctor at the hospital said that poor man ought to have his finger off, but *I* saved it for him.' She did not realise that the finger thus 'saved' remained in such a state as

² This relief, generally termed 'medical comforts,' consisted of tickets for groceries, coal and bread, milk, beef-tea, and cooked dinners.

to be absolutely useless, and that the patient's health had suffered and his constitution been undermined by the months of pain and suffering which he had undergone.

In one such instance a young man, who had only been married a year, was unwilling to leave his wife and child to go into hospital and have a diseased finger-joint attended to, as the nurse had said '*she* could cure it, without a doctor.'

From his appearance when I saw him, I thought he had but small chance of life unless he came at once under qualified surgical care. What I said to the nurse frightened her so much that she persuaded her patient to go to the hospital the next day. The opinion of the surgeon who examined him was that, in consequence of improper treatment of the diseased finger, the bones of the hand had become more or less diseased, and that the patient would probably have to lose his hand.

In other cases these nurses, however well-intentioned, did their patients more harm than good. Some of them had never received any hospital training, and were sent as nurses to the poor because they were not thought sufficiently intelligent to be trained as private nurses for those who could afford to pay for nursing service. Others were old monthly-nurses, untrained, or who had been sent to some hospital for a few months to 'pick up what they could in the wards.' They were then put into lodgings to find out any sick in their neighbourhood needing their care. They had to cook, clean, and wash for themselves, and the only inspection to which their work was subjected was, generally speaking, made by a lady who, *being herself untrained*, was no fit judge of how medical or surgical nursing ought to be done.

Let me adduce an actual case to show how serious the results of imperfect training may be. A really skilled nurse can give nourishment to unconscious or sleeping patients without rousing them, but it requires practice as well as knowledge to do this. The wife of a small tradesman told me some years ago that, when her little daughter was dangerously ill, she had called in a nurse of the half-trained description above referred to. 'By nurse's orders,' she said, 'although it nearly broke my heart to do it, I roused the child every half-hour to make her "drink a little," as the nurse said *she* did at night.' The poor mother continued—her voice broken by sobs—'I did it for the best, ma'am, but sometimes I do so wish I hadn't, for I can't get it out of my mind, how my poor girl put her arms round me one night and said, "Mother darling, *you* sit up with me to-night and let me sleep in quiet. Nurse *never* lets me go to sleep without waking me up again directly, and wanting to sleep now is far worse than the pain or anything else.''

The mother refused her little daughter's request, 'for her child's good' as she thought, and from that time the child only prayed

she might die soon. The agony of wanting to sleep and never being allowed to do so became at last too great to be borne, and the child died. She died from untrained nursing, as thousands do yearly.

After the fullest preliminary investigations had been made by the sub-committee above referred to, it was decided to advise the establishment of an Association for training and providing Superintendents as well as Nurses for the Sick Poor. It was also decided that the nurses should be sought among the educated classes. A house was taken ~~and~~ arranged on sanitary principles, as a Central Home and Training School for District Nurses. This step was, a few months later, thus described by Miss Nightingale:—

The beginning has been made, the first crusade has been fought and won, to bring—a truly 'national' undertaking—real nursing, trained nursing, to the bed-sides of cases wanting real nursing among the London sick poor, in the only way in which real nurses can be so brought to the sick poor; and this is by providing a real home, within reach of their work, for the nurses to live in—a home which gives what real family homes are supposed to give—materially, a bedroom for each, dining and sitting-rooms in common, all meals prepared and eaten in the home; morally, direction, support, sympathy in a common work; further training and instruction in it; proper rest and recreation; and a head of the home, who is also and pre-eminently trained and skilled head of the nursing; in short, a home where any good mother, of whatever class, would be willing to let her daughter, however attractive or highly educated, live.

Every district nurse of this Association was required to pass (1) a month's trial in district work; (2) a year's training in hospital nursing; (3) six months' training in district nursing, combined with attendance at a special course of theoretical instruction given at the Central Home by qualified medical men, and tested by written and *viva voce* examinations at the end of each course.

Since the Association was founded in 1875, hundreds of ladies have applied to be received as probationers, but they did not all possess the requisite capacities, nor could the Association train yearly more than a limited number.

District superintendents and nurses have been trained to work among the sick poor in their own homes in four districts in London, each comprising many parishes, and also in several other large cities and towns.

A German lady has also, at the request of the Crown Princess of Germany, been trained in hospital and district nursing by the Association in order to prepare her to take the direction of similar work in Berlin.

Of these ladies I can conscientiously say that the nursing done by them has been of the very highest and most thorough kind, and that their moral influence and practical help have again and again raised the homes of their patients out of dirt and disorder to cleanliness and comfort.

The medical and sanitary officers of health strongly approve the work done, and have repeatedly expressed their gratitude for having sanitary defects in dwellings brought to their notice. As one of them said, 'We can trust *your* nurses not to cry "wolf" without cause, and shall always gladly come at once when they send for us.'

Ever since the Central Home was founded, we have had no difficulty in obtaining nourishment for our patients by applying for it to the proper agencies. On a written order by the parish doctor we have always been able to obtain from the workhouse authorities, for those patients whose state required it, a supply of milk, beef (for beef-tea), brandy, wine, &c. For patients not 'on the parish,' the clergy, district visitors, and charitable missions, have usually supplied us with these, as well as with linen and other necessities. In most cases, the nurses prepare such nourishment as beef-tea, light puddings, and cooling drinks at the homes of the patients; in others, medical comforts of this kind have been made (as well as given) by the district visitors.

In no case has a nurse *given* anything to a patient beyond the actual nursing and service rendered, for one may safely say that if district nurses begin by giving relief, they will end by doing little else.

In order to illustrate the need which existed for work of the kind undertaken by the Association, I will describe a case of fever visited by me prior to its establishment.

I had been asked to inspect and report on the nursing in a certain large town. Among other cases, I was taken by the nurse in charge to a small two-roomed house, where (so she told me) 'all the family had had fever, and the eldest daughter—a child of fourteen—had nursed all of them through it, and had now taken it herself.'

We found the child lying alone in the one bedroom upstairs. Her bed was hard and ill-made. Her hair uncombed, and matted together with perspiration, dust, and neglect. Her lips blackened with fever, and her whole appearance that of a patient neglected and uncared for. The room was unswept, the bed stood in a recess behind the door, where no fresh air could by any chance get round it or under it.

The child was quite conscious, and told me, 'Nurse was very kind.' I asked, 'Who washed her and made her bed?' and she said in reply, 'Mother wipes my face and hands for me, and tries to shake up the bed of mornings, but poor mother is still so weak from the fever, she hasn't strength to do much at it.'

Although I was only a visitor, I could not resist turning to the nurse who stood beside me, and saying to her, 'Do you think, nurse, you could sweep up the room and make it a little fresher and cleaner, while I see if I can make the patient and her bed more comfortable?'

The nurse coloured, and answered in an offended tone, 'I never sweep patients' rooms, ma'am. Our lady superintendents do not expect their nurses to do anything menial.'

I then suggested that I should sweep and dust the room, while she attended to the patient, but she replied, 'There is *nothing* to do for her, ma'am, that I can see, but what her mother can do as well as I can; she only wants her face and hands wiped, and her hair combed out, and if I were to do this for every case I go to, I should have no time to visit half the patients. And as it is, I never get them all in, in one day.'

'But,' I asked, 'what nursing did you do, then, for the rest of the family when they were so ill?'

'I gave them milk and beef-tea,' she answered, 'and sometimes lent them clean sheets, and helped Maggie (the child who was now ill) to make the bed.'

This nurse seemed to imagine that she had received her hospital training for no other purpose than to 'do dressings,' bandage, &c. She had never disinfected anything in the room, and had never taught the people how necessary disinfection was. She had never at the outset of the disease examined the drainage and water supply, and seemed to consider that the sanitary officers would have been much displeased had she or her superintendent meddled in such matters.

In all fevers and other medical cases visited, I found that the nurses thought their chief duty consisted in giving nourishment or medicine.

I will now describe one or two typical examples of the work done by nurses of the Metropolitan and National Association in infectious cases.

One day a clergyman sent a message to the Central Home, that scarlet fever had broken out in a house in some mews in his parish, that none of the neighbours would go near the house for fear of infection, and that the mother seemed absolutely ignorant of what it was best to do for her sick children.

I went with a district nurse and found the case to be one of the saddest I had seen for a long time. Three children had been attacked by fever about the same time. One was lying on the window sill (where she had asked to be carried) dead; the second child was dying, and there seemed only a faint hope of saving the third and youngest, as she lay in bed with the dying child.

The young mother had never seen death before, and was afraid to touch her dead child, or even enter the room where it was. She had carefully pasted up the window and every crevice by which she thought air could enter, and had put the bed behind the door in such a position that by no possible chance could the children obtain fresh air.

The floor was covered with strips of carpeting, there were thick curtains to the window, and the room was filled up with boxes containing the clothes of the family.

We first performed the last offices for the dead child; and then carefully sponged the two sick children between blankets, put on clean linen and made the bed without moving them out of it, took precautions against bed-sores, cleansed the mouth and ulcerated tonsils, and combed and arranged the hair, which was in a dreadfully neglected condition.

We took down the curtains, took up the pieces of carpet and folded them ready for disinfection, prepared a disinfecting solution to wipe over the floor and for all utensils &c. used by the sick children, showed the mother how to disinfect everything, and arranged for the ventilation of the room without exposing the children to draught.

As we had other cases of scarlet fever on our list, we were able to arrange that a nurse should come three times a day to do what was necessary, and that a nurse should sit up every night. We taught the mother what to do during the day when we were not there, and the doctor in charge of the case afterwards remarked, 'If these nurses had been called in sooner, they would probably have saved both children instead of only one.'

One of the medical officers of Holborn stated as the result of his experience, 'that the careful disinfection practised and taught by these nurses always prevented fever spreading beyond the family where it originated, and that he therefore regularly sent them all his fever and diphtheria cases.'

A severe case of smallpox may be mentioned as an instance in point. When the medical man in charge of it sent for us, he said that the patient was suffering from complications which would probably render the excitement of removal to a hospital fatal to her. He left written directions at the Central Home of what he wished done, and, accompanied by a nurse, I went at once to the address given. On arriving at the house of the patient, we found that she had two rooms in a crowded lodging-house. We nursed her until she was quite convalescent, and all rules of disinfection were so carefully observed (we ourselves disinfecting everything before it left the sick-room) that the landlady said none of the other lodgers caught the disease.

I ought, perhaps, to add that superintendents and nurses when on 'fever duty' have to perform *daily* a sort of quarantine, carefully following all disinfecting rules for themselves and everything they have worn near the patients, and changing their dress before coming into contact with the other nurses or any one else.

No superintendent or nurse is allowed to visit other cases while on fever duty.

It would, of course, be impossible to carry out this rule if the nurses lived in lodgings; but in the district homes a special room at the entrance, with a private door to it, is set apart for disinfecting purposes.

Another rule is, that wherever a nurse enters, order and cleanliness must enter with her. She must reform and recreate, as it were, the homes of the sick poor. These unfortunate people often lose even the feeling of what it is to be clean. The district nurse has, therefore, to show them their room clean for once, and to bring about this result with her own hands; to sweep and dust, empty and wash out all the appalling dirt and foulness; air and disinfect, rub the windows, sweep the fireplace, carry out and shake the bits of old sacking and carpet and lay them down again, fetch fresh water and fill the kettle, wash the patient and the children, and make the bed.

‘Every room thus cleaned has always been kept so. This is her glory. She found it a pigsty: she left it a tidy, airy room.’³

These results can be attained only by one who is content to be servant and teacher by turns, and has the tact needed to command the patients’ entire confidence. In short, a woman of a higher stamp than will suffice for most other kinds of work is indispensable here.

A severe surgical case, to which we were sent by the parish doctor, illustrates the kind of demand sometimes made on the courage and endurance of the nurses.

The medical man in charge of the case said that unless we could take it up, the patient must go to the workhouse infirmary, as the condition of her wounds and the neglected state of her bed rendered her continuance in the house insupportable to the other tenants; she was, however (he added), most unwilling to be removed to either hospital or infirmary, as she said she should ‘never get her bits of furniture together again.’

We found the room, bed, and patient in a state of appalling filth and disorder, yet after the first visit of the district nurse everything was made clean, sweet, and fresh. The patient told us that she had only had a small wound at first, and that she was visited by the parish nurse (from one of the institutions already mentioned), who said she would cure it without any need to call in a doctor. To use the patient’s own words: ‘She said to me, you know if you have the parish doctor to attend to you, the first thing *he’ll* do will be to send for one of those district nurses from Bloomsbury Square, and if *they* come here you’ll have to keep your room clean, and open your window, and clear out the things from under your bed, and be made to keep everything just as straight as if you were in hospital; and they’ll never give you no grocery tickets, nor milk, nor nuthin’ else, and so’—continued the old woman—‘I thought it was a deal more comfortable

³ Miss Nightingale.

like to let *her* cure my leg; and she was very free and kind in giving things. But there! the wounds got bigger and bigger, and *she* got frightened like at last, and then she called in another nurse who tried something else, and I nearly went mad with the pain. So I told 'em I must have a doctor to it, and they never came near me again; and the doctor, *he* says, if he had been called in a week later he couldn't have saved my leg, and he don't think he could have saved my life. And then he sent you nurses, and you *did* wash me and turn my room inside out, as those other nurses said you would. But oh! what a different place you have made my room, and how comfortable you have made *me*! The first night after you came to me I hardly knew myself for the ease I was in, after having been for so many nights nearly mad with the pain. And as to what you've done to the room! Why, I just hope I'll be able to *keep it the same* when I get about again.'

The following figures, extracted from six successive annual reports of the Metropolitan and National Nursing Association, show the number of cases taken charge of by nurses from three district homes alone, viz. the central one in Bloomsbury Square, and those at Paddington and Holloway:

Year.	No. of the report.	No. of cases nursed.
1876	1st	339
1877	2nd	907
1878	3rd	1,094
1879	4th	1,341
1880	5th	1,334
1881	6th	1,284
		Total 6,299

Of the character of the success attained, the following estimate has been given by Miss Nightingale:—

As to your success? What is not your success? To raise the homes of your patients so that they never fall back again to dirt and disorder—such is your nurses' influence. To pull through life and death cases—cases which it would be an honour to pull through, with all the appurtenances of hospitals, or of the richest of the land—and this without any appurtenances at all. To keep whole families out of pauperism by preventing the home from being broken up, and by nursing the bread-winner back to health. To drag the noble art of nursing out of the sink of relief doles. To carry out practically the principles of preventing disease by stopping its causes or infections which spread disease.

I trust the foregoing pages may succeed in directing public attention to the importance of having trained nurses for the sick poor, and in inducing ladies who at present have no aim or occupation in life, or

who desire to maintain themselves, to take up this work as a profession.

In answer to those who object to women of the higher classes doing such 'menial' service as I have described, I need scarcely quote what is to many of them the highest authority—viz. the example of One who came 'not to be ministered unto, but to minister.'

FLORENCE CRAVEN.

THE FUTURE 'CONSTITUTIONAL PARTY.'

For the well-working of our system of government by party it is, under all ordinary circumstances, desirable that an Opposition should be strong, united, and capable of vigorous action; strong enough to check the tendency of men in power to abuse that power, and to keep the Government in a state of watchfulness over itself; sufficiently united to offer firm resistance to excessive measures, whether of a revolutionary or reactionary nature, and to overcome the obstructive tactics of small parties; capable of vigorous constructive action in so far as it should have a definite policy, the articles of which it is determined to uphold under all circumstances, even in concert with its adversaries in office. The Opposition at present fulfils none of these requirements, and as no man, except an extreme Radical of the modern school, can view the condition of the Conservative party with complete satisfaction, a few remarks on the subject may perhaps be permitted, even from an outsider.

There can be no doubt that the great Conservative party is in a despondent and unhealthy condition. The magazines are full of complaints and lamentations. Scarce a ray of light breaks the darkness of despair that without any apparently adequate cause has settled down over the Opposition. And yet Lord Salisbury has declared that only a few thousand votes turned the scale at the last general election, and the great organ of the Tory party endorses his view. The unpopularity which, owing to various causes, always attaches itself to the party in power would more than make good the loss of two or three thousand votes in a general election, and it is impossible to attribute to their late defeat the despondency that overwhelms so many Conservatives. It can only be satisfactorily accounted for by assuming that they are uncomfortably conscious of some weakness and deficiency inherent in the party that paralyses its action, and that may turn a defeat by a few thousand at the last election into an overthrow by many thousands at the next. In good truth there is much to justify their fears. The party is partially paralysed. It needs vitality, it lacks vigour, it wants the principle of growth. Lord Beaconsfield knew that, in order to seize upon the great mission waiting for a constitutional party in the future, it was necessary to make Tories progressive and liberal. He educated

his party, but he was too careful to conceal the education. He tried to define a popular Tory policy, but his definitions were too vague. He appealed to the 'noble instincts of an ancient people;' and he did well, for the workmen of England have noble instincts which can be safely relied upon and are worth cultivating. But they are practical men, and the practical side of their character must also be appealed to. In a man who spends laborious days following the plough, or amid the din of a great factory, sublime instincts are apt to be smothered by the stern realities of life. Appealing to his instincts will not improve his material condition, and a party to be trusted by him must not only stimulate his sublime instincts, but must show an intelligent interest in the circumstances of his life. It must be ready to legislate where legislation can improve his condition, and be active in explaining its reasons for opposing legislation designed by others for that purpose. The *Quarterly* quotes Lord Beaconsfield as saying that the Tory policy is a policy 'having definite aims,' in support of its argument that Tory policy is not a mere policy of negation. A working man, anxious to be instructed in Conservative politics, would not receive much information from the statement that the Conservative policy was a 'policy having definite aims.' He requires something more substantial and practical. The aims of the party and their bearing upon his own condition of life, and the compatibility of Conservative principles with an orderly but progressive state of society, should be explained to him. It will no longer suffice for the Tory party to move forward while pretending to stand still, or to suffer themselves to be pushed forward by their antagonists. They must formulate a definite line of progressive policy capable of dealing with the great difficulties of the present day, and the greater difficulties that loom large in the future. Let them leave to Radicals the fashion of legislating spasmodically in deference to pressure. If they look forward and endeavour to anticipate evil and meet difficulties by wise and timely legislation, they may with confidence appeal to the 'sublime instincts of an ancient people' to support them in the attempt.

There are three main causes operating adversely to the future of the Conservative party. First, the peculiar position of the House of Lords. Secondly, the imperfect condition of the party 'machine.' Thirdly, the want of a positive policy.

The anomalous position occupied by the House of Lords in the Constitution is a disadvantage to the members of that House, to the House as a body, and, of necessity, to the party that commands a permanent majority in the House. The question of the value of a second chamber, or of the merits of the House of Lords as a second chamber, is not suitable for discussion in this article. Most men are agreed that the Upper House is the weak point in our Constitution. In former days under a limited franchise the British peers fairly well represented the unenfranchised masses of their country-

men ; but those masses now send representatives to the other House. If parties were nearly equally divided in the House of Lords, the converting effects of debate and the exercise of the right of the Crown to create peers would afford a sufficient check and balance to that chamber. But, owing to the permanent and overwhelming majority of one party in the Upper House, no constitutional check whatever can be placed upon its power, and in order to make Government by party possible it is constantly obliged to efface and stultify itself. It must agree to legislation it disagrees with, or cause a complete deadlock in our whole system of government. It must discredit itself or disgrace the Constitution. Such a state of things is demoralising to the nation, detracts from the dignity of the House, and diminishes the influence of the individual members of it. The people know that to obtain the sanction of Parliament to measures approved of by their elected representatives they must agitate. Popular agitation is a threat of appeal to physical force, and the knowledge that agitation has become an essential element in our system of government, and that in it, and not in any constitutional check, lies the only check upon the absolute power of the Upper House and of one of the great political parties, is not calculated to form a law-abiding national character, to engender reverence and love for our ancient Constitution, or to create respect for our system of government by party. The people govern. The future prosperity of England depends upon their governing wisely, with due respect for the great principle of liberty, and according to law and the Constitution ; but the fact that in the Upper House one form of political opinion is represented by a large and unalterable majority throws an unnecessary obstacle in their way. They are tempted to rule as a despot rules, by the power of appeal to physical force ; and we need not wonder if, under such circumstances, the people become infected with the vices of despotism. That the peers are animated by a sincere respect for public opinion and desire to conform as far as possible to the carefully considered will of the nation, is admitted by all who know anything of the matter ; but what sure method have they of gauging the strength and direction of the national will ? How are they to appraise the clamour of the press and the resolutions passed at public meetings ? With a House of Commons elected monthly the views expressed in that House might be taken as a fair indication of opinion out of doors, but that the elected chamber affords no safe guide now is proved by the vagaries of by-elections and the unexpected results of the last three general elections. The Upper House must be influenced by the voice of the public out of doors. In many cases, no doubt, it changes its opinion spontaneously in the popular direction, but in others it must legislate against its better judgment in deference to public opinion. No body of men should be placed in such a position. This state of things is as conducive to

the success of Mr. Chamberlain and his caucus and the newly imported system of extra-Parliamentary government as it is antagonistic to the well-working of the Constitution. Until the decisions of the peers can be modified or reversed by a change in the constituent parts of their assembly, the people will consider that when the Lords yield they have yielded unwillingly and upon compulsion only. Such an opinion is derogatory to the dignity of the House, and destroys its influence as a body. Moreover, it tends greatly to diminish the influence in the country that many peers are individually entitled to possess through their talents or owing to the services they have rendered to the State.

The House of Lords being so largely Conservative, it follows that the Conservative cause suffers most from the loss of influence on the part of individual peers, and from the feeling of dislike with which the House is viewed by certain classes in the country. As in many cases the majority cannot proclaim and maintain their views and at the same time sanction legislation which the nation is determined upon, they are debarred from appealing to the sense of justice of the nation, however clearly subsequent events may prove the truth of their opinions. If the Conservative majority throw out a Bill, Liberals throughout the country invariably say that matters would have turned out better if it had passed. On the other hand, if the majority give way and evil results ensue, they are held responsible for unsuccessful legislation. The Conservative party would be far stronger at present if they were in a minority in the Upper House. They would not have to wait long for a reaction. Take, for instance, the Irish policy of the Government, especially the Land Act. That disastrous consequences will result from that Act to Ireland and the United Kingdom is as certain as that the sun is in heaven, and the Liberal party will be discredited thereby. But not to the extent they deserve, because the Bill was passed by the majority of the House of Lords, and theoretically by the free will of that majority. It would have been better had the House of Peers persisted in referring the Land Bill to the country, and had braved the issue of a general election upon it. Their position would have been strengthened in days to come. One sad fault of the Tory party is a timid reluctance to fight a great battle in a strong position where the issues are clear, and an insane tendency to struggle wildly over comparatively small questions in which no great principle is involved, or where the evil principle is so obscured as to be indistinguishable to the public eye. They passed the Land Act, and came 'within measurable distance' of rejecting the Arrears Bill. The public refused to see the germs of a revolution in the Ground Game Act; but they might have been made to see, they will certainly in the future see, that the Irish Land Act is essentially revolutionary, and is opposed to those principles which have en-

abled this and every other fairly well-to-do country to attain prosperity. The Conservatives should reap the benefit of opposing such a measure to the bitter end, and had it not been for the anomalous position of the House of Lords they would have done so.

A popular but erroneous idea prevails that the House of Lords has existed from time immemorial as at present constituted, and has from its inception exercised functions similar to those it now discharges. It is supposed that the hereditary principle was always predominant in that assembly and is involved in its maintenance in its present shape. There cannot be a greater mistake. The House was not originally composed mainly of peers having an hereditary right to legislate, and it has assumed various aspects at different times. Were it to become elective no greater change would be wrought than others which have been made in past times. The adoption of the principle of selection by the Crown or of election by the freeholders of the United Kingdom would indeed be only reverting somewhat to an earlier type. The Upper House, as it now exists, is a grievous detriment to the Conservative party. Reformation, if it is possible at all, must be attempted by that party, for Radicals will not try to reform an institution which they wish to abolish. And yet, no doubt, if the question were even hinted at, the Conservative party in Parliament and out of Parliament, with all its organs great and small, would raise a roar that the Constitution was in danger and the revolution at hand. The status of the hereditary chamber, however, presents an exceedingly difficult problem, and it is more profitable to leave that topic and turn to the consideration of a very practical question, namely, the condition of party organisation.

The Conservatives are not provided with efficient party machinery. What they do possess is worse than useless. It is antiquated, quite unsuited to the 'spirit of the times,' to adopt a Radical phrase, and serves only to delude the leaders by its picturesque appearance. It looks pretty, but breaks down directly any pressure is brought to bear. It should be entirely remodelled. The Conservative party have lately started a new magazine and a big club. No doubt they expect great things to result from this exhibition of energy, but they are doomed to disappointment. They are merely adding a dab of fresh paint to a rotten structure. They have begun at the wrong end. The head is alive and flourishing, it is the body that is in evil plight. Much unmerited abuse has been heaped upon the two leaders, Lord Salisbury and Sir Stafford Northcote. They are not to blame in the slightest degree for the partial paralysis of their party. No doubt, if the two chiefs could change places it would be advantageous. But on the whole there is no fault to be found with the conduct of the Conservative leaders, or of their principal men, except that their utterances are somewhat vague; and

after all it is scarcely fair to lay that fault to their charge, seeing that the mouthpiece of a party without a policy can scarcely be expected to emit any very definite sound. The head is sound enough, the mischief lies in the extremities. The people require attention, not the upper classes; it is the masses that must be won over to constitutional principles. How will the new magazine affect north-country miners, agricultural labourers, and the artisans of our great towns? Will the proselytising influence of even a brand-new club make itself felt among Welsh Nonconformists and the hard-headed Liberals of Scotland? The magazine will circulate among Tories, and perhaps add a little to the strength of their convictions, if it is well conducted, but not a line will be read by working men. It will never reach their level. It is not suited to their needs. The leaders may pipe as much, and as sweetly, as they please in their magazine, but the people will not dance. A number of excellent gentlemen already Tory to the backbone will belong to the club and wax eloquent over the impending destruction of the Constitution; but not one single working man in the United Kingdom will be connected, or will be able to imagine that he is connected in the remotest degree, with the palatial home of Conservatism in London. Clubs and magazines will not reorganise a party. Mr. Chamberlain would not have won a seat in the Cabinet or gained a vote for the Liberal party had he founded fifty clubs or started a magazine for every month in the year. He introduced a system of organisation founded on a popular basis, and greatly benefited his party and himself. It is true he also inflicted great damage on the nation, but that is owing chiefly to the manner in which the machinery is worked, not to the nature of the machine. I am far from recommending the Birmingham Caucus as a model to be closely followed by the Tory party. But they must take it as a model, accepting what is good and discarding what is bad in it. The idea is good. Organisation to be successful must originate in the people. The people must be made interested in party politics. The active pushing local men must be utilised, must be given an outlet for their energy, and a field for the exercise of their talents. The men of 'light and leading' in London must be brought in contact with the masses of their supporters, and their views and ideas must be transmitted to them through local men selected by those masses in every county and borough; and the drift and tendency of public opinion must be transmitted to headquarters by the same means. Constitutional principles should circulate through the country like blood through the human frame. At present all the blood is in the head, and the extremities are very cold. A species of political apoplexy is the cause of paralysis in the party. Delegates from all parts of the country should meet occasionally, compare notes, and learn from each other what are the opinions of the voters among whom they live. It may be urged that members of Parliament are the

proper persons to exercise these functions, to understand the moods, wishes, and wants of their constituents, and to inform the party leaders on those points. They cannot do so. The strain upon members of Parliament during the Session is almost beyond human strength to bear, and during the recess they have their own affairs to attend to, and ought to enjoy some rest. The days have gone by when the fate of a party during an election could be trusted to the care of old-fashioned agents, and the promulgation of its principles at all times be satisfied by a few set speeches from magnates brought down from London. The people must be interested and taught to feel that they can do something more than merely record their votes. If the managing committees of local Conservative clubs were selected by popular vote and became *ex officio* members of a great central club in London where they could meet prominent members of the party, and could compare notes and discuss questions of interest to the party and the cause, then, indeed, the new institution would not disappoint the expectations of its founders.

Lecturers and the press must be included among party weapons, and Conservative principles are not sufficiently advocated by these means. A monthly magazine can do but little good. Its influence cannot reach far enough, for price alone forms an impermeable barrier between it and the people who require instruction. But a good active combatant daily paper, devoted to the exposition of popular progressive constitutional principles, would be of immense service in fighting communistic Radicalism. The people are left too much to the tender mercies of Radical lecturers. No doubt 'the truth is great and it will prevail,' even if left to itself, in the long run. But it will prevail much sooner if actively preached than if left to be gradually discovered through a slow process of the elimination of errors, every one of which produces incalculable damage while it lasts. Conservatism is not and never can be made as outwardly attractive as Radicalism. There is a fascination about the wild theories of Radicals and their picturesque but delusive short cuts to the millennium, that cannot be found in the sober, somewhat commonplace aspect of Conservatism, and it is necessary, therefore, that the fallacies of the Radical creed should be exposed, and the truth of Conservative principles should be defended by every legitimate means. The strong practical common-sense of the people should be appealed to. The effort would not be made in vain. Conservatives trust the people too much in leaving the pernicious doctrines of Radical enthusiasts unanswered; they trust them too little in supposing they are unwilling to be undeceived or incapable of distinguishing truth from error, and in fearing they are bent upon a revolution and general raid upon property. The bulk of the English people desire that the Constitution shall be maintained, but they know perfectly well that in order that it may be maintained in the present as it was

in the past, and retained in the future as it is now, changes must be made to suit changing times. It is the work done by an institution that is of consequence, not the institution itself. The life and vigour of it must be preserved; the outward appearance is of small importance. In practical politics unchangeableness in reality produces the greatest change. Modification is absolutely essential to stability and permanence. Timely reform is true Conservatism, and the people are wise enough to know it. A dislike to violent change and a desire for consistent progress is the political creed of most Englishmen. If Conservatism is to form an effectual check to modern Radicalism it must adopt the same views. It must be made popular, and to be popular it must become vigorous and creative. Stagnant Toryism must be exchanged for progressive constitutionalism. Conservatism can become vigorous only by an active propaganda of its principles, by means of lecturers and the press, and by a complete reorganisation of the party machinery. To become creative it must adopt a defined policy of assertion as well as of negation.

It is the duty of Conservatives to deny and expose false doctrines, but is that their only duty? Are there not great principles that they can actively uphold? Are there not large questions they can make their own and earnestly plead for? Plenty, if the party is prepared to become progressive; none, if it is determined to be the enemy of moderate progress and reform. There is a great party, a party numerically strong, with talent in plenty within its ranks, and adorned by great traditions in the past. What it wants is a policy, an active policy in the present and for the future. There is a policy, a noble policy, embodying the principles of the old Liberal party, but abandoned by the present Government. What it wants is a party. Can the policy and the party be fitted to each other and cordially united? It is a momentous question, for upon it the future of Great Britain, and the cause of liberty and law in Europe, largely depend. The main object of Conservatism is to fight against Radical false doctrine. That is also the aim of Liberalism. The moderate Liberal and the Tory have the same purpose in view, but they seek to gain it by different means. The former holds that institutions to be maintained must be altered to suit the requirements of the times; the latter objects on principle to any change whatever. The one believes that in timely reform lies the best security against revolution; the other contends that revolution is only encouraged by reform. To effect a junction it will, no doubt, be necessary for each to make some concession to the other. Liberals would have to content themselves with progress less rapid than they think desirable, and Tories must abandon the attitude of constant and universal resistance to change. Whether such a union is desirable must be decided in the course of a few years. Whether it is possible is a question that should be considered by members of both parties before the necessity for action arrives.

Surely the history of the last half-century must have taught Conservatives how fatal to their mission is the theory of resistance. Take, for instance, the case of the Nonconformists. Nonconformists have nothing to hope for in the future from the Liberal party except the satisfaction of a mere sentimental grievance against the Established Church—a grievance which would disappear if Dissenting ministers could be brought to see that no social disability attaches to them in the eyes of country squires and local magnates. Dissenters are, owing to religious convictions, utterly at variance with a large section of the modern Radical school. And yet the Nonconformists cast an almost solid Liberal vote because they are not unmindful of the fact that to the Liberal party they owe religious liberty and freedom from persecution. The same arguments hold good to a considerable extent as regards Roman Catholics. There probably does not exist in the United Kingdom a single Tory layman who would wish to reimpose penal laws upon members of the Church of Rome and of the Dissenting bodies. The only result of the blind resistance of the Tory party in the past is the alienation from them of a vast number of law and order loving citizens, and their own conversion to the principles they so earnestly opposed.

There is a great mass of sound moderate Liberal opinion at present 'in the air.' It oscillates at elections between the Tory party and the existing pseudo-Liberal party. It seeks a safe and permanent resting-place, and it is far too important to be ignored. The fate of the country depends upon whether this mass of Liberal opinion will in the future colour and dominate the whole Liberal party, whether it will be absorbed by the Conservative party, or whether it will, in the main, be perverted to a belief in Radical principles. To attempt to forecast the future is at present idle, for no man can see the results of the *débâcle* that will follow upon the removal from active political life of the present Prime Minister. As long as Mr. Gladstone retains office, Radicals are content to play a theoretically subordinate part, knowing how easily they can manipulate so flexible a minister. As long as the Cabinet contains a large majority of moderate men the Whig section are satisfied to wait, feeling that no great harm will be done in the present, and hoping that in the future their principles will prevail. But before very long the struggle between Whigs and Radicals must come about. One section or the other must be reduced to a subordinate position. Anything like equality is impossible, for between the two sections a great gulf is fixed, bridged over for the moment by a thick shower of words from Mr. Gladstone, as a pitfall is concealed by a covering of withered leaves. But the gulf is there, and will some day be laid bare and found impassable. If Radical views prevail, Whigs will be forced into opposition on all main questions of principle while assisting a Radical Government in matters of minor importance. If the

opinions of moderate men gain the upper hand, Radicals, while openly adhering to the Government, will be busily engaged in undermining their influence throughout the country. It is impossible to foresee the outcome of this struggle. It is absurd to suppose that the complex affairs of the British Empire can be carried on by a Parliament composed of four parties, Conservatives, Liberals, Radicals, and Irish Home Rulers, each one strong enough to overthrow any purely party Government by a temporary and unholy alliance contracted for the purpose. Parties must crystallise into some more definite shape, but what that shape will be, no man can tell. If Radicalism sinks to a small minority in the country and in Parliament, there are no very brilliant prospects in store for Conservatives. If Whig principles are overwhelmed, great discontent will prevail among moderate Liberals throughout the land; and if Conservatives know how to avail themselves of that discontent, they need not despair of the future. If they are wise they will not lose time in preparing themselves to become, what they now sometimes erroneously claim to be, a great constitutional party. At present Conservatives can advance no just claim to such a title. A constitutional party must be broad enough to embrace constitutional Liberalism. It must be prepared not only to attack great errors and defend great principles, but also to undertake just measures of reform. And its organisation must be based upon the people. Such a party may be a dream, but it is a dream capable of accomplishment. A truly Liberal policy exists, but it finds no abiding-place in the present Liberal party. The party organisation is in the hands of Radicals, and it is not likely that they will lose control of the 'machine.' The spirit of true Liberalism lives, but it is a disembodied spirit. The body of Conservatism exists, but it possesses no soul. If necessary, can the two be united into one strong and vigorous whole?

A live constitutional party created by such a union would not be satisfied by a mere policy of negation. Such a policy, or rather such an absence of policy, never led a party to power. The contention that the proper duty of a Conservative Opposition is to sit down and wait till the nation is out of breath, when it may hope for a short lease of power till the national lungs are sufficiently recovered to admit of another onward rush, is a proposition so ignominious and so destructive of all healthy life that the spirits of a party doomed to accept it are inevitably quenched. Everything about a party in such a case grows rusty. Now-a-days men and combinations of men must aim at something more than standing still, they must do something or fall out of the race. The Conservative party are in danger of sharing the fate of Rip van Winkle. They will some day awake—indeed, they appear even now to be growing restless in their unnatural sleep, but it will be to find themselves out of joint with the times, partially clothed in the tattered remnants of mediævalism,

grasping the rusty fragments of an antiquated party organisation, mumbling forgotten sentiments, venerable but useless, unrecognised and unrecognisable by the people.

It surely ought not to be difficult for them to enunciate a policy. Material is not wanting. There is plenty of work to be done. Modern communistic Radicalism must be fought; and it is an enemy not so very easy to deal with, owing principally to the fact that it has not yet assumed any definite and tangible shape. Radicals, being wise in their generation, are unwilling to formulate their creed. They do not wish to scare the people by their programme. Mr. Labouchere has, it is true, contributed an article on the subject to the *Fortnightly Review*. It fairly represents the opinions of great numbers of the advanced democratic party, but they will, on the ground that it is not serious, refuse to endorse the views put forward in it, and will shirk the deductions logically following upon those views. In the vision of England as seen by Mr. Labouchere, it appears that a gilt club is to be worshipped as the symbol of authority, and the country is to be governed by a small knot of professional politicians, acting on and through a body of hired delegates. The dream has at least the charm of simplicity, with the exception of the gilding on the club. What is the object of the gilding? If one pure-minded patriot objects to 'encircle the mace with a string of diamonds,' is it not likely that a still purer-minded patriot would object to the gilding on the club? Mr. Labouchere does not condescend to explain very clearly what will be done by the club-worshippers when they come into power. He hints at a little trivial law of no importance limiting the number of acres that any one person might hold, but, with strange inconsistency, acknowledges that to limit the amount of money that any one individual might hold would 'have its disadvantages.' It is difficult to see exactly on what principle the quantity of one commodity should be limited, and not the quantity of another. There is no reason why any man should possess several pairs of trousers; indeed, during warm weather they are not at all necessary for the preservation of health; and pure-minded patriots might reasonably be expected to dispense with a useless and costly luxury, and appear as *sans-culottes* during the summer months. Mr. Labouchere asserts that if power is placed in the hands of the many, the many will exercise it for their own benefit; or in other words, but strictly in accordance with Mr. Labouchere's programme, in robbing their neighbours by means of Acts of Parliament. Mr. Labouchere would admit that the people of England shrink from committing robbery with violence, perhaps through dread of the policeman's truncheon; but he holds that the gilded club of the future will not deter them from committing robbery by means of legislation. He stigmatises those who think otherwise as the wildest dreamers. I cannot agree to this estimate

of the English national character. If Mr. Carlyle was right in saying that we are a nation of 'thirty millions, mostly fools;' if Mr. Cobden was right in calling the British public 'beasts;' and if Mr. Labouchere is right in supposing that the vast majority of his countrymen are thieves—then, no doubt, the Radical programme may be carried out. But if the English people are neither thieves, beasts, nor fools, it is not unlikely to remain a picturesque but delusive dream, provided that the people are enlightened as to the true meaning of it. Still the dream is picturesque, and the party of law and order cannot afford to sit still in dignified silence, gazing with contempt upon a vision which they know to be a mere mockery and a snare, but that appeals very differently to the eyes of the uneducated and the poor. A great advance has lately been made by the new Radicals. No distinct line of demarcation now exists in principle between the most moderate member of the Government and the most advanced communist. No amount of sophistry will suffice to show that the Irish Land Act did not cause a loss of property without compensation. The nature and quantity of property confiscated and the uses to which it is put are mere questions of detail and degree. It behoves a constitutional party, therefore, to wage war without ceasing against the Radical programme, and to point out the fallacies with which it abounds. The evil consequences of unwise interference with natural laws must be pointed out. The truth that national prosperity can only be attained, and retained, by allowing freedom and fair play to individual effort, must be urged. The absolute antagonism of the principles of equality and liberty must be strenuously insisted upon, with the inevitable deduction that liberty is impossible under a Radical Government. In these subjects lies abundant occupation for the lecturer, the press writer, and the pamphleteer; but the statesman cannot concern himself much with them until the Radical programme is more fully developed. The Irish Land Act is the only thoroughly Radical measure we have yet seen, and that was not resisted with sufficient force.

Another point on which the Conservative party should join issue more directly with the advanced Liberals is the adoption by the latter of cosmopolitan instead of patriotic views. A policy of aggression should form no part of the Conservative creed, but it should insist that it is the duty of every nation to look after its own interests, and the duty of every government to concentrate their energies upon the well-being of the people committed to their charge. The fallacies involved in specious picturesque dreams of universal brotherhood, and the fact that lust of conquest and wars are stimulated by such theories, must be indicated. The day is far distant when the rule of love will govern the world. The duty of self-preservation, the necessity for self-help, and the virtue of patriotism, will for ages be recognised among mankind.

There is yet another matter in which the views and hopes of the bulk of Englishmen are at variance with the opinions and anticipations of the Radical section. The issue is most important, and in reality clear enough, though at present somewhat shadowy and vague. It lies in the general view of the future circumstances of the country taken by advanced Liberals, and the attitude they propose to assume under those circumstances. They are determined at all hazards to maintain that system of trade which they are pleased to term free trade; and they are prepared to see our manufacturing industries transferred to other countries, and our agricultural interest ruined, sooner than abandon their theories. They look forward to an England supporting a small population composed of a few rich men drawing large incomes from capital chiefly invested in foreign countries and in the carrying trade, and enough poor men to minister to the comforts and requirements of the rich. They care not if a large business is shifted from an English town to a French or Belgian town, or if thousands of English families are deprived of bread in order to increase the well-being of foreign workmen. They gauge national prosperity by import duties alone, and think that as long as capitalists grow rich it matters not in what country their investments are made. They do not concern themselves with the fate of English artisans. In their eyes one country is as good as another, and it is a matter of no consequence whether our manufacturing trade is ruined, so long as it is transferred to other nations. They know that agriculture must sink rapidly with a rapidly-sinking trade, but that is a matter of small concern to them. They think they can delude the people by schemes of rent-adjustment, interference with the rights of property, the nationalisation of land, and other communistic measures. Where the tenure of land is involved they acknowledge no value in economic laws; but on the great questions of agriculture in general, of trade, and of national finance, they insist that the working of economic laws must not be disturbed, and assert that our present system is based upon a true understanding of those laws. There cannot be a greater fallacy than this last assertion. If under universal free exchange Great Britain could not compete with foreign countries, it may be safely said that any attempt to bolster up her trade by artificial means would eventually result in disaster, though it might be attended with temporary success. But we have not got free exchange. The system of so-called free trade under which we labour is not free trade at all. We are suffering from protection. Economic laws are not allowed full scope and fair play. Their action can be entirely free only under a system of universal free trade, but their action can be freed to a very great extent by an adjustment of our system to meet the consequences of the systems adopted by other countries. Wise legislation can never run counter to natural laws, but it can assist, guide, and control their

working, modify their bad effects, and obtain from them the greatest possible good, with the least possible suffering. But this cannot be done merely by granting freedom at home; it is necessary also to counteract the effects of interference from abroad. Universal free trade is a dream, as beautiful and impalpable almost as the vision of universal brotherhood. England is not called upon to immolate herself at the shrine of universal brotherhood; neither has she any right to commit suicide in the cause of universal free trade.

These reflections naturally lead to the great questions of the value of our colonies, the consolidation of the empire, emigration, and the condition of trade and agriculture. Any examination of them in this article must of necessity be very brief. On all these points Radical doctrines are fundamentally wrong.

Radicals attach little importance to the colonies, whereas our national existence is bound up with our existence as an empire. More than half our food comes from foreign countries at present, and in the future the proportion will perhaps be larger still. Whether we starve or not depends in time of war upon our fleet. Fleets are valueless unless they are able to keep the seas for any length of time, and they can only keep the seas by means of the accommodation afforded by the various dependencies and colonies of Great Britain dotted about the globe. Without our colonies and dependencies our existence as an independent nation could not be secured from day to day. When the reign of universal brotherhood has set in we may afford to become careless as to our colonies, but pending the arrival of the millennium we shall do well not to under-estimate their value.

The colonies and India are all-important, also, in another respect. They are by far our best customers. Our only chance of increasing or maintaining our trade lies in the development of the colonies, and in their willingness to deal fairly by the mother country. Our objects should be to direct emigration to them, and, if possible, to devise some means whereby the independent colonies should have a voice in the management of matters affecting the empire. No arguments are needed to prove that emigration should be to our own colonies. It makes a great practical difference to every working man remaining in England whether any single individual emigrating goes, say, to the United States or Canada. In the former case he is lost to us as a customer; in the latter we experience scarcely any loss whatever. In Canada he continues a British subject, and whatever he is worth remains to the credit of the empire of England. In the United States he is as much lost to us as though he were dead. The thinly-inhabited portions of the empire are the proper refuge for the overflow of the over-populated parts. British emigrants should never leave the shelter of the British flag, and need never do so. To set the tide of emigration flowing towards our colonies it is necessary to give those colonies some pull over other

nations, or, to speak more correctly, to neutralise the advantages which other nations have gained through high protective tariffs. Cheap passages, subsidised emigrant ships, and such-like small encouragement may be dismissed from consideration as futile. If the English labourer, farmer, sheep-raiser, cattle-breeder, mechanic, or handicraftsman can do as well in the colonies as elsewhere, they will prefer the colonies; if not, they will adopt some more favourable land, for in such cases patriotism must give way to the stern necessities of life. If foreign countries were superior in natural advantages to the British Empire, the case would be different, and strong arguments might be urged against endeavouring to guide emigration into unnatural channels, and to encourage an artificial trade. But such is not the fact. Other peoples are overriding us under the spur of protection. Whether they will be eventually damaged thereby is beside the question. A man, struggling for his life with an adversary not a disciple of Sir Wilfrid Lawson, would derive scant satisfaction, as he gave up the ghost, from a last glance at his blue ribbon, and the reflection that stimulants were injurious in the long run, and that his conqueror would live to find it out. Many excellent results would follow upon the adoption of a fiscal policy designed to encourage the development of our colonial empire and of India. The injurious tendency of wealth towards concentration would be checked. Our capitalists and workmen at home would be able to rely upon a steady, or rather a steadily advancing business, and agriculture would revive with a reviving trade. By bringing the mother country and the colonies closer together, men would move more readily, and capital would flow more freely within the empire from one portion to another. Supply would at last have an opportunity of accommodating itself to demand without let or hindrance over a large area of the earth's surface. Moreover, our revenue would be assisted by the duties levied on imported goods and extra-colonial produce, and some substantial relief could be afforded to ratepayers.

Local taxation is a heavy burden. Grants from the Treasury in aid do something to remedy the grievance; but it would be more satisfactory if rates could be reduced by the contributions of foreign nations. It is admitted that half the revenue raised by import duties is paid by the exporter. One half, therefore, of our import duties would be a clear gain to the nation; the other half we should pay ourselves. But what we paid in one direction we should save in another; and, moreover, the burden would fall upon those best able to bear it. Under a revised fiscal system, as suggested above, the necessities of life would not be affected. The rich would have to pay a little more for the luxuries of life than heretofore; but the poor would not suffer—on the contrary, they would greatly gain.

Whether or no injustice is involved in this inequality may be a matter of opinion; but the principle that the strong must assist the

weak, and that the rich should bear more than their proportionate share of the burdens of the State, is conceded in the fiscal systems of all nations, and among us by the duties we levy even now upon some foreign luxuries, and by our Poor Law. The Radical doctrines limiting incomes and asserting that no man should be allowed to inherit more than a certain sum, or hold more than a certain quantity of land, or dispose of his property as he thinks fit by will, are monstrous; but there is a good deal to be said for the theory that luxuries may be taxed for the public benefit.

There is no sound argument either against the proposition that income should, if taxed at all, be taxed exceptionally according to its origin and amount. An income of 10,000*l.* a year accruing from capital invested in Peru contributes to the State exactly the same amount as an income of 10,000*l.* a year derived from capital invested in England. But in the latter case the State benefits to a much greater degree than in the former, and there would be nothing extraordinary or unsound in an income tax so arranged as to equalise the difference between the benefit derived from capital invested within the empire and in foreign countries. Mr. Labouchere suggests a sliding scale for income tax, and says that incomes exceeding a certain amount should pay a tax of 50 per cent. Such an idea is absurd, but it does not follow that the principle of a sliding scale is wrong. It may be argued that, the principle once admitted, it would be impossible to limit its application, and that a tax of 50 per cent. or 99 per cent. might be levied on large incomes. But it must be remembered that a Parliament capable of levying 50 per cent. on incomes over, say, 10,000*l.* a year would be just as likely to limit incomes to 10,000*l.* or 1,000*l.* or 100*l.* a year. The limit would probably be fixed at the income enjoyed by the majority of the members of the Government for the time being. There is a good deal to be said against any tax upon income, and more against the manner in which our income tax is levied; but it is worthy of consideration whether a properly adjusted sliding scale is not necessary to make an income tax equitable. At present it presses with disproportionate severity upon the possessors of small incomes.

These are matters which, as they would tend to equalise wealth by natural and legitimate means, at any rate deserve the attention of a party pledged to oppose communistic principles that aim at equalising it by violent and unnatural methods. The fight is not an easy one. The reverence of the English people for property, as being materialised freedom, the outward and visible expression as well as the natural result of liberty, has received a severe shock from Mr. Gladstone's Irish policy. Our load of taxation waxes heavier and heavier, our means of supporting it do not proportionately increase. The food supply raised in these islands diminishes year by year. The people in their perplexity do not know which way to

turn. They are slow to accept communistic doctrines, but they think that the strong ought to help the weak, and that luxuries should be made to lighten the load that presses upon those who find it hard to obtain the mere necessities of life.

The principle of local self-government is one which the Conservative party should adopt, so far, at any rate, as the administration of rates is concerned. There is much to be said for and against the principle. Judging by the example afforded by the United States of America, it would seem to be one fraught with immeasurable evil. But the circumstances and condition of Great Britain and the United States are very different, and there is no reason to fear that evils will arise here such as those which have so deplorably affected the administration of justice and local finance in the latter country. The elective principle is certain to be adopted, and the country gentry and aristocracy, who are so numerous represented in the Conservative party, will do well to consider carefully whether by opposing it they will not forfeit the power of control they would otherwise possess. They need never lose their influence if they will accept the new order of things, and meet the local busybodies and demagogues they so greatly dislike on their own ground. The position of the country gentry and of great landowners is much in their favour. The people still look to them as their natural leaders. They are willing to be led if the others are ready to lead. It is to be devoutly hoped that we shall never see in England that abstention from public life on the part of the best men in the country which obtains so largely and with such disastrous effects in the United States. Under an elective system local affairs may not at first be conducted as well or as economically as they hitherto have been, but that is all the more reason why the best local men should throw all the weight of their influence and their superior training, experience, and education into the scale. They need not fear the people. The people will find out what is best for them, and they are ready and anxious to be guided in the future by those who have led them in the past. If through pride or prejudice our best men hold themselves aloof, if they refuse to compete with men socially and intellectually inferior to them, if they lose their influence by a blind opposition to the popular will, it will be an evil day for them and for the country. It matters not if they are beaten at first; they must not abstain from the fight, for they are sure to win in the long run.

As regards the laws and customs affecting land, a negative policy is almost the only policy open to a constitutional party. Very little improvement can be made by means of legislation, yet that little should be made. Our present system is good; its weakness consists not in any defect in itself, but in the fact that comparatively few persons own land under it. It is this weakness that recommends it to Radical attack.

It is a great misfortune to the State and the landowning class that so few families are directly interested in the ownership of land. On the relative merits of large or small proprietorship and of the various systems of land tenure in different countries, it is not possible to enter. It is sufficient to consider the dangers that threaten a landowning class numerically small. That the landowning class should be preserved, and that the terrible calamities which would follow upon any attempt at violent change, whether successful or not, should be averted, must be the ardent wish of all friends of liberty and law. That the vast bulk of the population engaged in agriculture have no direct interest in the land, and no hope of ever acquiring such an interest, is greatly to be deplored. It is a lamentable fact that small freeholders, and the yeoman class, have to a great extent disappeared. Such men form an invaluable and truly conservative element in the State. Had the large estates absorbed the small estates by the purely natural action of natural laws, there would be nothing to be said against the process. But the growth of large estates has been stimulated in the past by the power and privileges attached to the ownership of land. Great estates do not now-a-days confer proportionately great powers upon their owners. Land offers but a poor investment for capital, and the responsibilities entailed by ownership more than counterbalance the privileges attaching to it. It may be safely assumed, therefore, that, owing to these and various other causes, the tendency to accumulate has died out, and is succeeded by a natural tendency towards division. But no appreciable effect can be produced for a considerable length of time, and the natural disposition in that direction should be encouraged.

Two methods are available for this purpose. Obstacles can be removed from the way of rich owners willing to sell, and assistance can be offered to poor men anxious to buy. Lord Cairns's Act has done much to liberate the position of limited owners—indeed, it is difficult to see how legislation can go any further in that direction. But something may be done in other ways. In cases of intestacy, real estate should be made subject to the rules affecting personal property. The law of primogeniture should be abolished, and entails should lapse unless renewed by the tenant in tail. The distinction between real estate and personalty deters many men who have saved a few thousand pounds in trade from investing their savings in land. As regards abolishing the law of primogeniture and altering that of entail, it must be confessed that, although the effect upon the public mind might be good, the practical effect upon landed estates would be exceedingly small. As in many other affairs of life, money is the one thing necessary to create a class of peasant owners in England. But the application of public funds to such a purpose is, for many reasons, undesirable. The constant desire of classes and individuals to draw upon the resources of the State, as upon an inex-

•

haustible milch cow, is one of the worst signs of the times. We English seem to be losing all the healthy self-reliance, and preference for self-help instead of State help, that so honourably distinguished our forefathers. There is no sound reason why the State should advance capital to agricultural labourers, any more than to labourers in factories, mills, or mines; and although it is highly desirable that agricultural labourers should receive assistance, it is equally desirable that it should be supplied by private agencies. It is strange that landowners have made no effort to add to the stability and influence of their class by increasing its numerical strength. Do they not see that whereas fifty years ago the power of the class was augmented by the existence of great magnates and the absorption of small freeholds into great estates, the converse holds good in the present day? A society having for its object the insurance of titles to small plots of ground, acting as agent between buyer and seller, prepared to effect a transfer, grant a title, and insure that title for the amount of the purchase money on payment of a small fee, would do much to overcome the discouragement to possible purchasers of small lots caused by the difficulties and expense attending the transfer of land. It may be as hard to prove a title to a field of five acres as to an estate of 50,000 acres. The legal technicalities to be observed in both cases are similar, and the relative expense is out of all proportion to the size of the property. An association, however, having large dealings, and acting on purely commercial principles, could afford to insure the value of the title to the extent of the purchase money at a very low rate, and this safeguard to his capital would be a great boon to the poor man anxious to invest his savings in land.

To advance money for the purchase of small freeholds is of course a much more formidable undertaking. It would require large capital and careful management, yet it would probably succeed as well in the hands of a private company as if undertaken by the State, though the available capital would be less and the rate of interest higher. If a Land Bank were formed for the purpose of making loans and insuring titles, acting on commercial principles, but limiting profit to four and a half per cent., and if it could obtain the co-operation of Government to the extent of having an inspection of books and audit of accounts taken by Government officials, an impetus would be given to the principle of a labourer proprietorship that in the course of a few years would make itself widely felt, and materially add to the stability of the great landed interest of the country.

The times are perilous for owners of land. They are attacked by earnest and able enthusiasts like Mr. George. They are looked upon with most unreasonable and unnatural jealousy and dislike by rich but landless politicians, and they are the butt of demagogues and of the Radical press. The House of Lords is unpopular with a large section of the people, and the unpopularity of that institution is ex-

tended to the interest and class which it is supposed especially to represent. To make matters worse, the business in which their capital is sunk is suffering from deep depression, and all but the owners of very great estates find themselves in straitened circumstances. No class has ever deserved greater sympathy, and no class has ever been more fiercely or more unjustly attacked. If the propertied classes are wise, they will rally round that particular class which happens to be the immediate object of attack, for their turn will come. At any rate, it behoves landowners to make what preparations they can to ride out the storm by casting away incumbrances and strengthening the crew. Economists and lovers of the principle of liberty have unanswerable logic on their side, but they do not take sufficient pains to argue their case before the people; and even if they did, the skin of ignorance, prejudice, and passion is so thick as to be impermeable to argument in many cases. More men must if possible be made personally interested in the cause. If the upper classes wish to wage a successful battle for themselves, for their countrymen, and for the world in the great cause of liberty and property, they must strip for the struggle; they must cast off useless privileges, and fight it out on the solid ground of the rights of man.

A constitutional party must have a policy of construction as well as of resistance. It should uphold liberty, and oppose equality. It should recognise that despotism is still despotism, whether exercised by an individual or by a mob. It should oppose Radicalism not only on account of the evils inherent in that system, but also because of the evils inseparable from the violent reaction that is sure to follow upon its adoption. It should understand that the advantages of our geographical position are not sufficient to enable us to compete with the protective policy of the rest of the world, and it should seek to place our trade and finance on a sounder basis by a due recognition of that important fact. It should endeavour to increase the prosperity of Great Britain by developing the resources of the British Empire. Abroad its policy should be the safeguarding of British interests and non-intervention in other respects, and this policy should be honestly professed and honourably carried out. It must understand that a democracy can be guided but cannot be coerced by an aristocracy, and that for an aristocracy to have fair play it must be relieved of class privileges and of class prejudices resulting from them. It should resist interference with the liberty of individuals, and deprecate State help, but should seek by all legitimate means to increase the number of owners of land. It must recognise the popular principle in local government, and identify itself with it. It must introduce and utilise the same principle in its party organisation. It must uphold the Constitution by all constitutional means, assisting it to adapt itself to novel circumstances, and striving to strengthen its manifestly weak points. It must believe that the world moves, and that institutions

and constitutions, to remain the same in reference to the uses they were designed to serve, must move also. It must be prepared to remedy abuses and undertake moderate reforms. Its platform must be broad enough to hold the great mass of moderate Tory and Liberal opinion. In a word, the programme of a constitutional party should be popular organisation, reform, adjustment of trade and finance at home; consolidation of the empire, and non-intervention abroad.

That such a mission belongs by right to the Liberal party is the firm belief of the writer, but whether that party will not be defrauded of its rights is a matter concerning which he has grave doubts. To come into its inheritance the Liberal party must be severed from its unnatural alliance with new Radicalism. Unfortunately it is doubtful whether it can ever shake off the fatal entanglements into which it entered of its own free will. The reversion of this great mission lies with the Conservatives. If they intend ever to accept, and hope ever to be worthy of it, they must enlarge their borders, increase their Liberalism, and condescend to use modern weapons and adopt the tactics of modern war.

DUNRAVEN.

ENGLAND AND SOUTH AFRICA.

GUIDED by their public statements, we find that Her Majesty's present advisers, as well as those of the late Government, recognise the importance to England of her colonial possessions, and also her responsibilities in connection with them. Indeed, the noble lord who has just assumed the office of Secretary for the Colonies has lately expressed the opinion that henceforth the attention of England should be directed to her colonial possessions more than to the affairs of the continent of Europe. Of all her colonial family, South Africa has, perhaps, been to England her most troublesome child. It is well known, however, that troublesome children are often misunderstood and mismanaged. There can be no doubt that England has occasionally both misunderstood and mismanaged affairs in South Africa. At the same time, the history of our past government of that country is not the gloomy story which it is often thought to be. Results of a highly gratifying character have followed from our rule there. To some of these we now beg attention.

I. ENGLAND AND THE CAPE COLONY: EUROPEANS.

We found the southern part of what is now the Cape Colony in the hands of the Dutch East India Company. The European inhabitants were of many nationalities, and were united only by the colour of their skin and the use of the Dutch language. Natives of Continental States, who had entered the service of the Company, had their numbers augmented by political exiles, who were sent to South Africa by the Batavian Government. They had suffered the most grinding oppression at the hands of the Dutch Company, which occupied the Cape for its own advantage, and not for the benefit of those who were, or had been, its own servants. In those days freedom could be obtained only by escaping to Europe, or by proceeding so far into the interior of the country as to be beyond the reach of the local government. The Company alone could deal with

foreign vessels; the Company alone could enter into trade with the natives. Prices fixed by the Company were given to the farmers for their produce, leaving a wide margin of profit to the Company and its officers. Petitions to Holland for redress were mostly unavailing, as they were usually referred back again to the local officers whose conduct was complained of. Frontier disturbances were not uncommon in those days—especially as the number of burghers increased, and the power of the Company declined. Shortly before the advent of the English, these commotions went as far as the proclamation of a 'Free Republic' in the town of Swellendam; and the people then proceeded to elect what they called a National Assembly. The inhabitants of Graaff Reinet, the most northerly town of the colony in those days, expelled their landdrost or magistrate, and set up a local government for themselves. The central power at the Cape was unable to move a step to put down these acts of rebellion. On the establishment of the English Government, however, the disaffected party at Swellendam made no opposition to the change; and the more distant frontier-men of Graaff Reinet, having been threatened with a visit from the English troops, sent a deputation to tender their allegiance. The immediate benefits flowing from the change of government were apparent to every one, and the inhabitants generally accepted the new order of things with goodwill—some of the functionaries of the former Government transferring both their allegiance and their services to the new authority. When the Batavian Government sent a fleet of some nine vessels to retake the colony, they hoped that the burghers would join them against the English; but the burghers refused to do so, and the entire force of ships and men fell into the hands of the English without any bloodshed.

Living in mere huts or hovels, clothed mostly with the skins of the game which had been killed for food, their blankets being furs stitched together like the native 'kaross,' the Cape Colonists did not retain much of European civilisation when they came under the English Government. We learn that when Moravian missionaries sought permission to pursue their labours among the Hottentots, the argument was put forward by the burghers that, inasmuch as there were so many of themselves who could neither read nor write, it would be wrong to teach the Hottentots more than was known by those of European extraction. With no fair market for the produce of industry, industry itself declined. But the English Government announced that all monopoly should cease, and that trade should be free throughout the country. Instruments which were in use for the public torture of prisoners were removed from the streets by the English, and a more humane system commenced. A period of prosperity set in, which was not interrupted by the assumption of the government of the Cape by the Batavian Republic during the

three years 1803–1806; and which, under English rule, with occasional fluctuations, has never ceased till the present time.¹

Attention was given at an early date in the history of our government of the Cape to the subject of Education. As there was uniformity as to creed and ecclesiastical arrangements between Holland and Scotland, a number of teachers were selected from the *alumni* of Scottish Universities, to carry out the first Colonial Scheme of Education, in devising which the Governor of the day was assisted by Sir John Herschel, who was then residing at the Cape. There is now an extensive Government Scheme of Education in the Cape Colony; an Education Department under a superintendent-general and staff of inspectors. In 1880 there were 780 schools attended by 62,209 scholars; and there were 19 native industrial institutions receiving Government support. In 1873 the Cape of Good Hope University was established; and in 1877 a Royal Charter was issued by which degrees conferred by this University are entitled to the same rank and consideration as if granted by any University in the United Kingdom. The Cape University is attended by students from the Free State and Natal, as well as from the colony itself.

It was natural for the Dutch Company to insist that the somewhat heterogeneous European population should use the Dutch language on all formal and public occasions, and so the use of French died out completely among the descendants of the Huguenots. The English Government, having in view the same object of union and harmony, after the lapse of several years enacted the public use of the English language. In almost all districts of the colony there have been rapid strides made in learning English; and the most distinguished colonists of Dutch descent have recently expressed in public their opinion that English will undoubtedly be the future language of South Africa. There is, however, a small reactionary party opposed to this, who have gone the length of issuing a newspaper in the colloquial Cape Dutch. By a recent Act of the Cape Parliament the use of Dutch is permitted in Parliamentary discussion as well as English—a graceful and reasonable arrangement. The Dutch Church in the colony most wisely and patriotically insists that her young ministers, while qualifying themselves fully to minister stately in the Dutch language, should also be able to conduct Divine service in English; and usually in colonial

¹ The trade of the Cape Colony when it first came into our hands was of no account whatever. The exports amounted to:—

In 1821	£ 130,000
In 1881 (excluding diamonds and specie)	4,220,706
In 1880 diamonds exported through Post Office only	3,367,897
Imports in 1881 from United Kingdom only (exclusive of specie)	7,312,255
Total imports for 1881 (exclusive of specie)	9,227,171
Tonnage, shipping—1881:	
Inwards	2,540,910
Outwards	2,526,591

towns these ministers conduct one of the services of the Sunday in English. It ought also to be mentioned as an evidence of the growth of a healthy public opinion in the Cape Colony, that the Dutch Church there has for some time followed the example of the European churches and societies which have long laboured to spread Christianity in South Africa. It gives attention to the spiritual wants of the native population in colonial villages, and has also its own mission to the heathen tribes on the borders of the Transvaal. Its missionaries are the sons of Cape Colonists; its funds consist entirely of subscriptions of Dutch Reformed Churchmen.

The Dutch Company possessed a printing press at the Cape; but it was used only for printing the paper money which they occasionally issued. The first book printed in South Africa was a spelling-book for the use of schools, issued at a mission-press in 1800. In 1824 the first newspaper was published; but it was not till 1828 that full liberty was accorded to the press by law. There are now more than fifty newspapers published in the Cape Colony, several of which are issued daily, while Natal has some six or seven; the Free State, two; and the Transvaal, one or two.

The Dutch Company owned only a small part of what is now the Cape Colony. Their possessions were confined to the four districts of Cape Town, Stellenbosch, Swellendam, and Graaff Reinet, the population of which at the beginning of the century stood as follows:—

Europeans	.	.	.	.	.	.	21,000
Slaves	.	.	.	.	.	.	26,000
Hottentots	.	.	.	.	.	.	14,500
Total	.	.	.	.	.	.	61,500

In 1875 in the Colony itself there were—

Europeans	.	.	.	.	.	.	236,783
Hottentots	.	.	.	.	.	.	98,561
Other natives	.	.	.	.	.	.	385,040
Total	.	.	.	.	.	.	720,984

In 1881 in the Colony itself, Griqualand West, Basutoland, and other outlying territories, the total population was estimated at 1,240,824.

At first all power and authority were vested in the Governors of the colony, and the country owes much to the ability and public spirit of those who first filled this office. In 1825 an Executive Council was appointed to assist the Governor. In 1835 the first Legislative Council was constituted, one half being Government officers, the other half nominated by the Governor and approved by the Crown. In 1850 this council was authorised to enact ordinances for the establishment of complete representative government, and in 1853, by an Order in Council, what is termed the Constitution

Ordinance came into force, providing for the creation of a Colonial Parliament consisting of a House of Assembly and Legislative Council. In 1872 'responsible government' was conceded to the Cape Colony.

Such have been the rapid strides by which the Cape Colony has left far behind it the condition in which it was found at the beginning of the century. European nations have not changed so rapidly; the political and social changes and improvements which have taken place among the Europeans in the Cape Colony since it came into our hands have taken hundreds of years to work out in some European countries. Found in degrading bondage to a commercial company—from whose authority part of the population were in actual rebellion—the European inhabitants of the Cape Colony have enjoyed a period of ever-increasing prosperity under the government of England.

II. ENGLAND AND THE CAPE COLONY: NATIVES.

In the preceding record of rapid progress in the Cape Colony there is scarcely a jarring note of discord. It can hardly be said that the Cape Colonists have ever complained as to their own treatment as subjects of the English Government. The struggle for the freedom of the infant colonial press was conducted by Englishmen. The colonists as a body successfully opposed the proposal of the Imperial Government to establish a penal settlement at the Cape. But with these exceptions there has been no complaint against the English Government as to its treatment of the colonists themselves. The one complaint of the Cape Colonists against the English Government has been the manner in which England has treated the native races. We have here the fruitful cause of all the South African irritation and opposition to England. Had there been no coloured people in South Africa, or had England remained a slaveholding Power, there never would have been a breach or a jar between the Cape Colonists and England. The wound caused at the first conquest would have healed, as the doctors say, by 'first intention,' and by this time would not have left a single mark of its existence. The native question, therefore, in South Africa is a subject of the first importance—if for no other reason—because on account of it we have had to undergo the opposition of the colonists in the past, and in many thin disguises are confronted with the same opposition at the present time. In reviewing our past dealings with the native races in South Africa, therefore, we shall bear in mind the twofold aspect of the question—the effect of our policy on the natives themselves, and the reflex result on the European colonists.

We have seen that two districts were in open rebellion against the authorities when the English first took possession of the Cape.

The burghers of Swellendam elected what they termed a 'National Assembly,' and styled their new government a 'Free Republic.' What was their projected native policy? They decided that every Hottentot that could be caught should remain for life the property of the captor; and the instruction of the Hottentots by Moravians was forbidden. During the short interval that the Cape was in the hands of the Batavian Government, the High Commissioner endeavoured by personal inspection to arrest abuses on the frontier districts, and projected the establishment of courts of justice in these regions. It was not till afterwards, however, that an English governor was able in 1811 to carry out what the Dutch Commissioner De Mist had planned so wisely. The result was the establishment of peace and order in those districts to which they had always been strangers. This, however, was followed by the creation of a party on the frontier who felt themselves aggrieved by what the Government had done, and who held it to be intolerable that the evidence of a Hottentot should be taken in court as against a man of European descent. This disaffection came to open rebellion in 1815, when five of the ringleaders were hanged. The sentence was a severe one; but it was one which had no 'English' complexion or character. Had the country remained in the hands of the Batavian Government, and had the policy of De Mist, on which the English were then acting, been carried out, these lawless men would assuredly have met a similar fate. They fought and died for that bandit life which is the disgrace of weak governments everywhere.

When England assumed the government of the Cape Colony the coloured population consisted entirely of either slaves or serfs. The slaves had been procured from different places on the Mozambique coast, or from the Batavian possessions of the Company. The native races of the Cape district were in serfdom, as distinct from slavery. A 'vagrancy' law prevented these people from moving about in the colony; and as every child born on a farm was apprenticed to the farmer as soon as it could walk, and was bound to remain in his employment till twenty-one years of age, the serfs had as little virtual freedom as the slaves. In some cases the fact that they were unsaleable was perhaps not in their favour. In 1829 these serfs were freed, not by the force of local opinion, but by the English Government. They have since risen rapidly in the scale of civilisation. Rapidly decreasing under the former serfdom, their number was estimated at 15,000 at the beginning of the century. In 1836 it was reported that they were 32,000 in number; and in 1875, according to the census, the number of Hottentots in the colony was 98,561. They are employed as labourers throughout the colony, and are especially skilful in the management of horses or mules. For many years the 'Cape Corps' of mounted Hottentots performed good service as soldiers. As 'levies' they are still extensively used in war by

Colonial Government. A few have received a higher education, and have become ministers, schoolmasters, and clerks.

The emancipation of the slaves followed in 1838 the liberation of the serfs; in this case also the movement was not the product of local but of English public opinion. Nowhere have more beneficial results followed to both masters and slaves from emancipation than in South Africa. Thirty-five thousand slaves were raised to the position of free people without outrage or riot of any kind. Agricultural operations were carried on, under the new conditions, with an energy and success which had never before been shown. At present the labouring population of the Cape Colony, the descendants of the disenthralled serfs and slaves, are as capable and as free from crime as any peasantry in the world. Most of them profess Christianity, and many of them engage in Christian work in their own neighbourhood.

Even the abject Bushman in the South African desert was affected by the advent of English rule. Government returns from Graaff Reinet district show that under the Dutch Company's rule the proportion of Bushmen shot to those taken prisoners was as 4 to 1—a course which would soon have led to their extermination. When the government passed into the hands of the English, the proportion of those killed decreased at once, and the number of those taken prisoners increased, under the English the figures being one Bushman killed to three taken prisoners.² The lesson taught here is not how much more humane is an Englishman as compared with a Dutchman, but that border quarrels should not be left to the settlement of border men. Feuds arise, ill-blood is begotten, revenge is cherished, till the ordinary feelings of humanity are blunted and destroyed, as in both North and South America. It is well known that in the Western States of the Union when a 'territory' is 'cleared' it means, among other things, that the Indians have been shot down, or driven further into the forest. In the capital of Colorado, not many years ago, the reward was publicly offered of 'twenty dollars apiece for Indian scalps with ears on,'³ as elsewhere rewards are offered for the destruction of wolves or of tigers. The figures given above show that this sort of thing had made a commencement in South Africa, but was changed by the advent of English rule.

We do not exhaust this subject, however, when we narrate the historical facts, however gratifying these may be. It is not enough to say that in South Africa, as the direct result of English rule, no native tribe has decreased, much less died out, but that, on the other hand, all have increased. We have also to consider what the Europeans in South Africa have been saved from by our rule there. There can be no doubt that there has always been a party in South Africa

² Mackenzie's *Ten Years North of the Orange River*, p. 510.

³ *Greater Britain*, by Sir O. Dilke, p. 180.

in favour of what—disguise it by other names as you may—Englishmen call slavery. But for the restraining and directing power of England this party would have had the guidance of South African policy towards the natives. The results which would have followed may be learned from the history of the United States, where no such restraining power was felt. Some races would have disappeared entirely, like the Indians; but the others would have become in Southern Africa what the slaves were in the United States, the cause of civil wars and wars of races. Had the views of the Southern States of America—which animated the old colonists of the Cape—not met with restraint and opposition from healthy English opinion and authority, they would infallibly have led to scenes more tragic in South African history than those of the American War. When we reflect upon the magnitude of the field to the north, on which Europeans in South Africa could have acted as an enslaving power, and the corresponding greatness of the convulsion which must sooner or later have overtaken them, we can form some idea of the horrors from which the government of England has saved South Africa. No doubt these points will become increasingly clear as time goes on; and the opinion will then be general that the blessings conferred on the European population in South Africa by their connection with England have fully equalled those conferred by that power on the native African races.

III. OUR BORDER POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Before entering upon this part of our subject, the reader will please to take note of the ground gone over. Within the Cape Colony England has performed a work as beneficent as it is unique. We look in vain for similar results in North or South America, in Australia, or in New Zealand. The native races in South Africa have been saved from destruction, while the general prosperity of the country has made remarkable advances.

The question of Border policy is necessarily one of the utmost importance to the Central Government of South Africa. And yet our statesmen have freely admitted that they were not able to master its complications; 'all we could attempt to do,' said the Prime Minister lately, when speaking on this subject, 'was to stave off the evil day.' Let us make an effort to understand a subject which is interesting in itself, and whose history is full of practical lessons.

As early as 1702 a hunting party of Dutch burghers and their Hottentot servants met with a party of Kaffirs in the hunting field, and fought with them. A considerable belt of country inhabited by Hottentots then stretched between the Kaffirs and the Europeans. But both these peoples were aggressive, and both were urged forward

of Sir B. Durban, which he had overthrown in South Africa, was after all the right and only effectual one. In the same way Sir Andries Stockenstrom, who, as Lieutenant-Governor, had done his best on the frontier to carry out the 'confidence policy,' believing that it was the best, came forward in 1846 and announced that, whilst his sympathy for the native races was unaltered, his opinions had entirely changed as to the recent policy. This officer assisted in retiring from the district of country occupied by Sir B. Durban in 1836; in 1846 he assisted in retaking it!

The fact was—and it is of the utmost importance that it should be noted—the Kaffirs were entirely unable to comprehend, much less to appreciate, the motives or designs of the 'confidence policy;' and it is matter of history that they completely misapprehended them. The Kaffirs, reasoning from their own point of view, held that conduct such as that of the English, in retiring from the position which they had won, could be the result of weakness only. They admitted to themselves that the English had conquered them; and it was evident that some English chiefs thought that they could govern them. It seemed to the Kaffirs, however, that this opinion was not shared by the wisest Englishmen at headquarters, who had ordered the giving back of the country. England had conquered Kaffirland; by its own admission, however, to the Kaffir mind, England could not hold Kaffirland; therefore, it might turn out in the future that, where forces were so equally balanced, victory would not always be on the same side. On this occasion far more was expected from the tribes or clans of South Africa than was warranted by the past history of other freebooting clans. Indeed, the past history of his native Highlands might have taught the Colonial Secretary of that time a different policy from that which he pursued.

The Kaffir war of 1846 was only the breaking out into a blaze of material which had been long smouldering. And the settlement at its close was to the Kaffir chiefs merely the terms of a truce which came to an end in 1851, when they had recovered from their losses, and felt that they could again take the field.

The settlement after the war of 1851–53, which, in 1854, was proceeded with by Sir George Grey, was in effect to return to that of Sir B. Durban of 1836—after twenty years of miserable frontier disturbance and war! The actual condition of the Kaffir chiefs was now taken into account. The English government was once more established over the district which had before changed hands. Commissioners or residents were appointed to reside with chiefs beyond this border. Education was encouraged; industry was stimulated by the opening up of trade.

Reviewing our past border policy, we find that our first idea, naturally enough, had reference to a boundary line. It was said: 'Sweep the natives over a certain line, and prevent their return.' The

converse of this also became law: 'Prevent Europeans from crossing the border into native territory;' and it is amusing to learn that the natives always refused to inform against those who had broken this law. Then it was said: 'Fully and definitely recognise each Kaffir chief who is our neighbour, and trust to his honour; and lastly we have come to this: Govern the chiefs and tribes with whom we have fought, and operate by Residents and Commissioners on the tribes next to our actual borders, not interfering in their tribal affairs, and yet not trusting implicitly to the power and the goodwill of the chief.'

The manner in which responsible government was pressed by the Home Government on the Cape Colony and more recently on the handful of European colonists in Natal, and especially the effort made some years ago by the English Government to join all the European colonies and states in South Africa in one confederation, combine to show that our legislators entertain an entirely mistaken opinion as to the nature and extent of the duty of England in South Africa for some years to come. The policy which may have answered admirably in Canada or in New Zealand is confronted by entirely new conditions in South Africa, where we have an immense and increasing native population, energetic, irrepressible, and yet capable of improvement.

When the Cape Colony assumed the duties connected with responsible government, the management of the native races within the Colony passed at once into its hands. Not content with this, the Imperial Government, from time to time, has devolved responsibilities on the Cape Colony as to the government of outlying territories, such as Basutoland and the Transkei territories. At present the whole country lying between the Cape Colony and Natal has been joined to the Cape Colony, and, with the exception of Pondoland, is occupied by colonial magistrates and police. Thus the responsibilities of the Cape Colony outside its own boundaries are of the gravest character, on account of the large population of their territories.'

The Colonial Government has complained of the manner in which responsibilities were undertaken by the Imperial Government and then devolved on it. The fact that the High Commissioner was also Governor of the Colony, seemed to render such transactions easier of accomplishment. At the same time the Colony buckled to the task of territorial government with commendable zeal, and among other necessary steps a Native Laws Commission was appointed by Sir Bartle Frere to arrange a code for the provisional government of these out-

Population of Basutoland	127,000
" Transkei	80,000
" Tembuland	98,410
Estimated population of Griqualand East	100,000
" Pondoland	150,000
Total	555,410

lying territories, and we hear that this Commission has just completed its labours and issued its report.

The present theory is, then, that the Cape Colony itself can not only manage its own affairs, but can also rule subordinate territories on its borders. The history of the last few years has shown that this heavy burden has been too much for the Colony. Many hold that a happier commencement would have been made in the management of its own internal affairs, if the granting of responsible government to the Cape Colony had been delayed for some years; and if people can barely manage their own affairs, it does seem absurd to suppose that they can assume the rôle of wisdom and experience and direct the affairs of their neighbours also. Then it must be borne in mind that the bulk of the colonists are pastoral and agricultural farmers. So, in a rude but real way, are all the native tribes on the colonial border. To expect that this fact will be inoperative when one class of farmers has to legislate for another and unrepresented class, is to say that human society has reached a state of perfection in South Africa. Take Basutoland as a case in point. The Basutos owed much to the government of the Queen, which delivered them from imminent destruction as a tribe at the hands of the Free State Boers. When the government of Basutoland was carried on by a Governor's Agent acting under the High Commissioner at the Cape, there was probably no class or race of men more satisfied with the sway of the Queen than were the Basutos. Indeed they were proud of being 'English,' and their conduct in capturing the chief Langalebalele was admirable in itself, and produced a great impression among all the tribes. The taxes were cheerfully paid; the annual revenue was more than the expenditure; in grain, cattle, and horses, the Basutos were producers; and on the whole they seemed worthy of the special act of grace by which they had been preserved. But all this has been changed, and to-day Basutoland is sullen, distrustful, rebellious. What is the cause? When everything was going well, and there was a balance of some 10,000*l.* in the tribal exchequer, the Imperial Government induced the Government of the Cape Colony to 'take over' the government of Basutoland. Little or no notice was taken of this step in Basutoland at the time, and its importance was not realised. Basutoland came now within the sweep of colonial politics. But it came as an outside 'territory,' and had no representation in the Cape Parliament. The protracted war against the Gaikas and Galekas had been concluded. It was reasonable that those who had been conquered in this war should be disarmed. But an Act was passed in the Cape Legislature which had the effect of disarming all coloured people in the Colony and its dependencies, friends as well as foes. This Act was proclaimed in Basutoland. The Basutos refused to give up their arms: war followed, but the whole native territory between the Cape Colony and Natal being in a blaze, the war in Basutoland dwindled on the

colonial side to the holding of certain entrenched positions. The colonial forces crushed the rebellion in the eastern territories, but no such success attended them in Basutoland, the affairs of which were settled by arbitration. But the confidence of the Basutos has been shaken if not destroyed in the Colonial Government—a state of things which some of the chiefs are of course using for their own aggrandisement. When the Basutos were asked to give up their arms, one of their first answers was, How can we be sure that the Government which now changes its views about us so seriously as to wish to disarm us, will not again change its opinion and abandon us in our defenceless condition? This was thought to be merely the product of an astute mind, and the Basutos were assured that the idea was preposterous. The ‘abandonment of Basutoland,’ however, is a question which is now before the Cape Parliament, and it is already well known that there is a large body of the colonial public who are in favour of this course. This brings the whole question of the government of Basutoland before the English Government, which in a certain sense is clearly responsible for the present state of things. The Cape Colony governed Basutoland according to its lights with the results which we have seen. Is the Imperial Government now satisfied that it was a wise act on its part to hand over Basutoland to the Cape Colony, with no arrangement whatever as to the manner in which its government should be carried on? And what has been said of Basutoland might be said of the other outlying territories. Their government by the Cape Colony will unfairly strain the powers of that country; and while it is an arrangement better than leaving the country in the hands of native chieftains, we hope to be able to show that a third and still more desirable course might be pursued, with advantage to all parties.

There are many striking points of resemblance between our border policy in Kaffirland in 1835 and our recent doings in Zululand. A question of border policy arose in Bechwanaland (adjoining Griqualand West) in 1878, which has not yet obtained settlement. The Bechwana clans had profited considerably by their intercourse with Europeans—missionaries and others—and had passed from among the number of savage tribes. Their political condition, however, did not keep pace with their advance in other directions. Chieftainships were subdivided, jurisdiction overlapped and was uncertain, and the country for many years enjoyed peace more through the general good conduct of the people than from the efforts of any governing body. The political weakness of these people was recognised at the Royal Commission; and the Commissioners gave up the idea of retaining territory to the east of the Transvaal, where the natives were powerful, with the express understanding and consent of the Boer leaders that the protectorate of the natives on the western border was to be a reality.⁵

⁵ *Report of Royal Commission*, pp. 18, 19.

When disturbances arose in Griqualand West, and the evildoers fled into Bechwanaland, there was no power there to arrest them or to punish them—indeed some of the chiefs were suspected of complicity in the acts themselves. The marauders were followed by an English force, with the concurrence of the most powerful and best disposed chief in the country. He and other chiefs afterwards formally ceded the government of the country to a duly accredited English officer, and English officers and police occupied South Bechwanaland for some two years. The whole circumstance, however, was ignored in England, and no notice whatever was taken of Bechwanaland when Griqualand West was annexed to the Cape Colony. A lawless band of Europeans has lately taken advantage of the disorganised state of Bechwanaland, and has robbed the people of their cattle, and indeed carried on war in that territory. They were able to do this with the greater success that they have obtained at all times refuge for themselves and their stolen stock in the Transvaal, whilst the government of that State had no quarrel whatever with the Bechwana chiefs. Thus a people beg for our help in the establishment of good government; they agree to submit to us and to pay the necessary taxes; and they befriend our people in a time of trouble. We govern them for a time, and then leave them; turning a deaf ear to them, when we see them shot down by irresponsible filibusters, whose base of operation is a country of which we have the suzerainty!

IV. NORTHWARD.

In North America there is a westward movement of Europeans, which finds its counterpart in the northward movement of Europeans in South Africa. This movement was steady in the time of the Dutch Company's administration; it goes on still. There are reasons for it deeper than political ones; it is a movement which can be counted on and legislated for, but not arrested. In America those who move westward never think of severing their connection with the east; and if they did think of it, the United States Government would insist that there should be no such separation. England unfortunately has never recognised this northern movement as a fact in South African history. Events connected with it seem to have come to the notice of her statesmen as surprises for which they were totally unprepared. Consequently the action of the English Government on this subject has been extremely vacillating and uncertain, and, to a corresponding degree, irritating and unsatisfactory to all concerned.

Although our interference with the domestic institutions of the colonists was not the cause of the northward movement, it is matter of history that our policy towards the native races in the Cape Colony

gave it a great impetus. Ignorance and superstition strengthened the minds of many to embark in the journey northward; they were the favoured people of the Lord, who would give them the victory over their heathen enemies, and bring them to the Promised Land. Wherever they settled, it was their resolve that white people and coloured people should not be on an equality before the law.

Both in Natal and what is now the Free State, England fought these men to establish her supremacy over them. She still governs Natal; the affairs of the Orange River Sovereignty were administered by England between 1846 and 1854, at which latter date the country was left to the Boers. But practically England never ceased to be involved in the affairs of the Free State. By English influence and the gift of a large tract of land to the Griquas, a war between that people and the Boers was averted. In 1858, and again in 1864, the Free State Government applied for and obtained the mediation of England between that State and the Basutos. It was next the turn of the Basutos to beg for the friendly offices of England, and, in answer to this petition, Basutoland was proclaimed to be British territory. In the final settlement a considerable tract of Basuto country was ceded to the Free State; but as an act of policy on the part of the Central Government, the annexation of Basutoland was regarded by all who knew the circumstances as a good action, the merit of which was seriously lessened by the delay which took place before England could make up her mind. Thoughtful people saw in the annexation of Basutoland the complement to the abandonment of the Free State; in some form, the Central Government had to appear on the scene.

The discovery of diamonds in South Africa was an event of the utmost importance to the whole country. The district yielding diamonds was on the border of the Free State, Griqua, and Bechwana territories. The Diamond Fields had Free State, Transvaal, Griqua, and Bechwana claimants. It was not unreasonable that the English Government should administer justice and uphold order among a large population, most of whom were her own subjects, suddenly collected in a desert part of the country. The Griqua chief ceded his claim to England. Eventually the sum of 90,000*l.* was granted by the English Government to the Government of the Free State, with a further grant of 15,000*l.* whenever the Free State commenced its first railway works. These sums were to be paid out of the local revenue, and were in consideration of disputed claims put forward by the Free State to the possession of part of the Diamond Fields. The province of Griqualand West has since been annexed to the Cape Colony.

Having had its foreign relations thus satisfactorily settled for it by England, the Free State has lately enjoyed much prosperity. With a market at their doors for all that they can produce, the Free

State burghers have turned their attention to industrial pursuits, and warlike aspirations have very much died out. Bounded on all sides by countries under European rule since the annexation of Basutoland, the Free State has no longer native anxieties. The condition of society within the Free State is, however, a study worthy of close attention by those who legislate for South Africa. The estimated population of the Free State is given at 70,000 Europeans and 18,000 or 20,000 coloured people of all races—more than three Europeans to one native. In all other countries in South Africa the number of blacks far exceeds that of whites. We must search for the explanation in the local laws. Natives do not own land in the Free State. Provision is made for no native population beyond the requisite number of servants for farm work. The law limits the number of huts which may be erected on a farm for the use of servants. Then it costs every native one shilling for a 'pass' or passport to enter the Free State, or pass through it. If he resides there, the native pays a poll-tax and hut-tax also, the revenue from which amounts to over 8,000*l.* per annum. In these repressive regulations we find the secret of the smallness of the coloured population of the Free State, as compared with the Europeans. We are brought also face to face with the social scheme of those who disapproved of emancipation of slaves and disenthralment of serfs; not as that scheme would be developed away from English influence, but as it has been found practicable in the Free State. In the first place this leads to depopulation—there was doubtless a larger population of natives in the Free State than there is of Europeans and natives now. This repressive policy to natives would not be practicable but for the fact that the Free State is surrounded by countries where more favourable laws obtain. If all colonies and states in South Africa imitated the Free State as to the management of the native population, there would be no place in their own native land for the various tribes! In other words this policy inevitably leads to war—a war of races, and is thus both impracticable and dangerous if attempted on a large scale.

The fair regions of the Transvaal were unknown to Europeans till about 1830. The Boers who settled in that country were long divided among themselves by ecclesiastical as well as political questions; and more than once the contending parties carried their disagreement to open hostilities. In no part of South Africa was there less true freedom enjoyed than by the members of one of those Transvaal sects or parties, living under their own local leader in bitter jealousy of the others. There were at least three of these parties at the date of the Sand River Convention in 1852. Commandant Andries Pretorius, from the colonial district of Graaff Reinet, was the head of the most important and most accessible division of the Boers. Our zigzag ways of dealing with South African affairs came out strongly in this transaction. As a reward had been offered for Pretorius's appre-

hension, it was necessary first to issue a pardon. Years before, Pretorius had ridden many miles to solicit an audience with an English governor and was refused. Now two commissioners from England meet the newly-pardoned rebel and sign with him a convention! By the Sand River Convention, Commissioners Hogg and Owen, in the plainest terms, placed the future of Southern Africa in the hands of Pretorius and his followers. The boundaries of the Cape Colony were limited; so were those of Natal and the Free State; but the Sand River Convention left the Boers without any boundary to their territory! By this convention England actually precluded herself from entering into any treaty with any African chief whatever; promising an open market to the Boers for the purchase of guns and ammunition; and stipulating that no weapons of war should be supplied to any of the native tribes! The best excuse that can be given for the conduct of the English Government at this juncture as a Central Government in South Africa is to suppose that the whole thing was transacted without the knowledge of the public, and while our legislators were under the influence of a 'scare.'

It was easy for the Boers to promise that they would not practise slavery, and it has been easy for them to satisfy the English Government that they have kept this promise. Cape historians, such as Noble and Theal, inform us that the opposite was the truth; and those who have lived in the Transvaal know that children were obtained extensively from native slave-owners in regions beyond the Transvaal and enrolled as apprentices. It may be true that the children are usually better off with Boer than with native owners; but to deny the existence of the custom is absurd.

In some districts of the Transvaal the native population were compelled to do work for the Boers without payment; in others a heifer (value 2*l.* or 3*l.*) would be given for a year's work. In native wars the little children were the only prisoners taken by the Boers, among whom they were distributed after the war was over. In a short time after they received their 'freedom,' the Transvaal authorities destroyed no less than four mission stations supported by different sections of Christians in England. One of these stations was that of Dr. Livingstone at Kolobeng. Even after President Burgers had been elected, and the more ignorant leaders had been superseded, French Protestant missionaries were prevented by the Transvaal authorities from passing through the Transvaal in order to evangelise the native tribes beyond. Themselves the supposed descendants of French Huguenots, the Boers failed to 'count kinship' with the French Protestants of the present day, but treated them in a hostile manner. As we have seen, the Cape Colonists have to a great extent grown out of such narrowness and bigotry.

President Burgers soon used up his popularity in the Transvaal. His journey to Europe, the project for a railway, and the introduc-

tion of foreigners to work the newly-discovered gold-mines, were all exceedingly distasteful to the Boers, who object to the increase of Europeans in their country. Then followed the Sekukuni war, which we shall describe in the words of the reliable historians already named :—

The commando mustered 540 wagons, 2,500 white men, and about an equal number of natives. Two divisions attempted to carry the place by a night attack. One body, after some difficult climbing and skirmishing, gained a position near the town, but, on day breaking, found themselves unsupported, the main body not having come to meet them as agreed upon; some of their number, when called upon to move forward, taking refuge in the gullies and other places of shelter. The whole body afterwards beat a retreat. The moral effect of this disgraceful failure, coupled with the prevailing lack of discipline and the known scarcity of provisions and ammunition, produced a general mutiny in the camp. With one voice the men declared they would not storm the mountain again, and their determination to return to their homes.⁶

The investigation into the causes of the 'retreat' showed an utter absence of discipline, as well as a want of organisation in every department. The commissariat was a failure, for many of the men were half-starved. A large proportion mustered without guns or ammunition, and there was no source from which they could be supplied. In short, it was clearly shown that though a body of men brought together in this way might be capable of inflicting enormous loss upon an enemy armed with assegais, in a campaign lasting only a few days, or a few weeks at most, they became an unruly rabble in front of a foe armed with guns, and when the campaign seemed likely to be protracted over months.⁷

The Volksraad was assembled; a war-tax of 10% was imposed on every occupied farm, increased to 12% for farms owned by foreign proprietors. But the Boers refused to pay the war-tax, as they had done with reference to the railway-tax, which amounted to 1% 10s. per farm. The republican chest was absolutely without funds: the interest of the public debt and even the salaries of officials were unpaid.

It was at this crisis, in April 1877, that the Transvaal was annexed to England by a special commissioner, to whom discretionary power had been given by her Majesty's Government, and who had been already some time in the Transvaal prior to annexation. When the question of annexation came before the Volksraad, the vote went against it; but the members, well knowing that annexation was impending, broke up without making any alternative suggestion by which the government of the country could be relieved of its pressing difficulties. Fearing the one subject of the native policy of England, the members of the Volksraad did not vote for annexation, but virtually acquiesced in it as inevitable in the circumstances. Several of the government officials retained office under the new government; and the 'revolution' took place without any friction or disturbance. As a matter of fact, the annexation was an immense

⁶ Noble's *South Africa, Past and Present*, p. 332.

⁷ Theal's *South African History and Geography*, vol. II. p. 167.

relief to all parties. The Boers had time to attend to their farms, trade revived, and English money flowed into the country. For the first time in its history the Transvaal was truly free. The idea of supposing that the government of England, well-known in all parts of the world, amounted to a tyranny in the Transvaal, is absurd as well as false. Those who most sincerely and consistently complained of the English government in the Transvaal were themselves oppressors, from an English point of view.

It is no part of our present plan to enter into a detail of the events connected with the counter-revolution and rising of the Boers. We shall come at once to the Pretoria Convention. The movement against the English government in the Transvaal may be broadly described as led by a small but self-assertive coterie of Hollanders, who spoke and wrote about 'liberty for the Boers,' which subject included, from their standpoint, a Dutch instead of an English Civil Service in the Transvaal; by certain adventurers, stormy petrels of the political world, whose chief object seemed to be to speak and write 'agin' the Government;' by a section, at first small, of the less intelligent Boers themselves. The English inhabitants, the Cape burghers in the Transvaal—the wealthiest and most intelligent Transvaal Boers—approved of the annexation. The large body which in such a case 'waits to see how things go,' were eventually induced to join the Boer side. How much this increase in the Boer ranks was owing to the revival at this juncture of the old project of conquering Mashonaland, may yet come to be known.

The Pretoria Convention is the result of the labours of three Royal Commissioners, Sir Hercules Robinson, Sir Evelyn Wood, and Sir Henry De Villiers, the last-mentioned being chief justice at the Cape, and himself a Cape Colonist by birth. They were assisted by the friendly advice of President Sir John Brand of the Free State, also a Cape Colonist by birth, and a large-minded South African statesman. The Royal Commission sat in Pretoria, the capital of the Transvaal, and its members were in constant communication with the Boer leaders. They were thus in circumstances favourable to the ascertainment of the truth; and in the Convention, and the Report accompanying it, we have the result of their labours.

The Pretoria Convention establishes the truth of all for which we are contending in this paper. It defines the boundaries of the Transvaal. It grants self-government to the Boers, fully and without reserve; but not independence—the Queen of England is suzerain of the Transvaal. Native questions within the Transvaal come under the notice of her Majesty's representative, the British Resident. Questions between the Boers and natives outside the Transvaal come also before the British Resident, whose settlement can be appealed against, not to a Transvaal court, but to the High Commissioner at the Cape, 'whose decision shall be final.' The theory on which the

whole Convention is based is the local freedom of the Boers: the supreme, active, and, of course, forceful control of all outside affairs by the English Government, as the central or supreme power in the country.

Nothing could show more clearly the thoughts which were uppermost in the minds of the members of the Royal Commission at Pretoria than the following words of friendly advice and warning spoken by the President of the Commission to the Boer representatives:—

Before signing the Convention, which we have now finally agreed to, we are anxious, whilst expressing our best wishes for the success of the future Transvaal State, not to conceal from the Transvaal representatives our opinion that the greatest danger which the future Government will have to contend with is the native difficulty. The impression left on the minds of the Commission is, that however anxious the leaders may be to restrain their people, the treatment of the natives by individuals has often been harsh and cruel, and if we may, as sincere well-wishers, express to you one word of parting advice, it is this, that you should employ all the moral influence you possess, and all the legal powers you can exercise, to secure for the natives, who have had no voice in the change now brought about, kind and considerate treatment.

We have here in small space the whole difference—to a Transvaal Boer—between the English Government and his own. One of the Boer representatives, in reply to the warning and advice of the Commission, made a promise that they, as leaders, would do their best in the matter referred to. For a Boer Government, however, to venture to restrict the latitude which each Transvaal Boer enjoys as to the treatment of his own servants would be the most unpopular line of conduct which they could adopt.

It is estimated that there were 50,000 European inhabitants in the Transvaal, with over 300,000 natives! It is now well known in England that these natives—chiefs and people—hailed the advent of English rule in the Transvaal, and deprecated our departure from the country. What was called in England the oppression of the Boers by English law, is called even-handed justice by the natives of the Transvaal. What the Boers call freedom, the blacks call by another name.

Has there been time enough since the signing of the Convention for us to judge of the working of the new arrangements? We say nothing of the collapse of trade in the Transvaal following the change of government, on account of which the Cape Commercial Bank has been forced to stop payment. We say nothing here of the internal affairs of the Transvaal either as to Europeans or as to natives. We have granted the Boers self-government within the Transvaal. If they grant 'concessions' of newly-discovered mines to individuals, rather than induce a large European population to enter the Transvaal, and if in other ways they turn back the hands of the clock; still, within the borders of the Transvaal the Boer has

his self-government as in the Free State, and we have no wish to interfere with him beyond what is written in the Convention.

It has, however, been conclusively shown that our present arrangements for enforcing the decisions of the British Resident and High Commissioner as to aggressions by the Transvaal Boers on native territory are entirely inadequate. The state of Bechwanaland as already described is proof enough of this; and no one knows how far these encroachments might have gone, had it not been that the war with Mapoch in the north has in the meantime diverted attention from Bechwanaland. As in the case of the Free State and Basutoland, the complement of the grant of self-government to the Transvaal is the protection and government of Bechwanaland by the English.

V. THE LESSONS OF THE PAST—OUR FUTURE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICY.

In reviewing the ground which we have gone over, we shall take a glance at the South Africa of to-day. We have a population of some 2,000,000, of whom some 350,000 only are Europeans. Whole tribes of these natives owe their existence, as well as their improvement and prosperity, directly to England. The advancement of the Cape Colonists has been steady, and of late years most rapid. In the Free State also progress has been made; but in the Transvaal—notwithstanding its superior natural advantages—affairs are in a very backward and unsatisfactory condition. Nothing could be more confused than the present political condition of South Africa. We have the prosperous and progressive Cape Colony enjoying responsible government, but handicapped by the government of immense outlying native territories which it is unable to manage. We have the Crown Colony of Natal, whose very richness of soil has attracted to it a population of refugee but indolent blacks, altogether disproportionate to the number of Europeans. The Free State is following a most dangerous native policy, which if followed elsewhere would plunge the whole country into war. In the Transvaal of to-day we have the counterpart of the ‘Republicans’ of Stellenbosch and Graaff Reinet of some eighty years ago; whose real quarrel with our Government is not that it is English, but that it is fair to all classes, and strong enough to carry out its decisions.

As we have seen, the tendency of the European population is to spread northward. The natural capabilities of the country increase the further north we go. It is well known to several travellers and explorers that a gold-field far more extensive than those in the Transvaal is lying unworked in the far north. The soil is the richest;

water is abundant; and the native population is very small. By the Sand River Convention all the possibilities of the future as to the interior were handed over to the Transvaal; by the Pretoria Convention these are carefully reserved for the English Government. Unless, however, the Central Power becomes a reality in the country, and especially on the borders of the Transvaal, and unless the provisions of the Pretoria Convention are upheld, it is quite evident that the whole of the past work of England will be practically subverted, and a war of races will take place. The most northerly State—if it has flexible boundary lines—will become the most influential in South Africa, having the rich native territories to the north to work upon and assimilate to itself. Already well-nigh swamped by native responsibilities, the Cape Colony is, at the same time, so bounded on the north as to preclude it from occupying the chief place in the South African affairs of the future. Hitherto, the large trade of the interior has found its way into the colony through the native territory of Bechwanaland. If this territory passes into other hands, the political fate of the colony is sealed, so far as future predominating and civilising influence is concerned.

In the nature of things, it is impossible that England can occupy a secondary or even co-ordinate position in South Africa. In a haphazard but yet beneficent way she has hitherto exercised the functions of a central government. It is true there have been times when she has endeavoured to divest herself of all responsibility; but from what has been already narrated it will be seen that at no period has she been successful in such efforts. We have seen that the Free State became 'independent;' but England, as a central and not as a co-ordinate power, nevertheless twice saved it from the Basutos, and once saved the Basutos from the Free State. The Transvaal became 'independent;' but when its forces fled from a Basuto tribe—when its burghers refused either to fight themselves or to pay a war-tax—when they more than once assembled in Volksraad, and broke up without proposing any feasible mode of carrying on the government of the country—then England as a Central Power appeared with her men and her money in the Transvaal, and the real difficulties, internal and external, vanished. Now all this has been accomplished by England without plan or premeditation—accomplished, therefore, at much cost of feeling and money and men. It is therefore high time the English people put to themselves the question: Such being our past history in South Africa, such our obstacles, such our successes, are we content to close the record and retire altogether from the field; or are we, guided by the light of the past, to adopt a rule of action for the future which shall be steadily borne in mind throughout the changes of party government? It so happens that the present is a crisis when England must make a movement of some kind. Who is to govern Bechwanaland? Then with reference to the Cape

Colony, is England to leave her to be swamped with outside native responsibilities; or, reversely, is England to leave such tribes as the Basutos to be misgoverned and mismanaged till, from being a source of strength, they become a weakness and a danger? With reference to the Transvaal, are we to yield the native policy of the whole interior of South Africa into the hands of the Transvaal Boers; or are we to stand upon the written terms of the Pretoria Convention? If we are to listen to the report of the Royal Commissioners themselves; if we are to respect our own signature to the Convention; if we are to regard the wishes of the great body of the English people, who without doubt desire even-handed justice and fair play to be administered to both natives and Boers in South Africa; if we would regard the repeated and earnestly expressed wishes of the natives themselves, in various parts of the country—England will not retire from South Africa, but will retain her position as the Central or Supreme Power, having, as hitherto, the native policy in her own hands. Taking this for granted, we wish to make some practical suggestions—the result of close attention to the subject for many years. They are not written in the interests of a political party, nor are they for the benefit of one people or colour. We hope to show that it will be possible, nay easy, for England to exercise the supreme or central government in South Africa, without pressing unjustly on any class, and without interfering with any pledged engagements. In our discussion we have the advantage of studying the history of the Confederation Scheme of the late Government. It was undoubtedly a well-meant effort to repeat in South Africa what had been successfully accomplished in Canada. What we think of its method and details, as applied to South Africa, will fully appear in the suggestions which follow.

The object in view is the management of the local and general affairs of the various colonies and countries of Southern Africa. Our scheme would take up matters as they are now. The first step would be the selection and appointment of one head of colonial and native territory, who would represent Downing Street in South Africa, and who would be the highest officer in her Majesty's Civil Service in that country—we may call him Governor-General. A suitable establishment as to secretaries, &c., would be provided for him. He would have no colony or territory in special charge. After the most careful consideration a place would be selected for his residence, which, after its suitability had been tested, would in the course of time become the political capital of the whole country. This appointment would imply the withdrawal from governors of colonies of the anomalous office of High Commissioner, which they have hitherto held; the Governor of the Cape would exercise that

office and nothing more, and so in the case of the Governor of Natal.*

Our scheme would relieve the Cape Colony of its present burden in the government of such outlying territories as Basutoland, Transkei, Griqualand East, &c.; but for that relief the Colony would be expected to pay such sum as might be agreed upon as its quota towards defraying the expense of upholding the peace of its borders. There can be no doubt that the Colonial Government would be ready to perform its part in this arrangement. Within its own borders there would still be a large native population, whose management, with all other internal affairs, would be left entirely in the hands of the Colonial Parliament. Responsible government would then have a fair trial at the Cape, which it has not had hitherto.

The native territories thus severed from colonial control would be placed under administrators and magistrates, assisted, in certain cases, by native chiefs as assessors. Under this provisional or 'territorial' government taxes would be raised to defray local expenditure, and 'territorial' law would be administered. The English colonial law would be looked upon as the standard; but as to modes of procedure, our rigidity would be departed from, and the local customs of the district would be followed to some extent, so that the people might from the first understand what was being done. This provisional arrangement would always be regarded as temporary, and as used for the purpose of training and accustoming the people to the general law of the country. In a large territory there would be a court of appeal, presided over by a territorial judge, whose decision in civil and criminal cases would be final. Each administrator would be in direct correspondence with the Governor-General. Thus cases between one territory and another, or between a colony and a territory, would come, fully stated on both sides, before this officer, whose freedom from territorial influence or bias, and whose local experience and knowledge, would be of the utmost service to her Majesty's Government in the settlement of such questions.

With reference to land, which is the question of questions in South Africa, our scheme would recognise the rights of all *de facto* chiefs as the heads of the people found under them. The land would be regarded as the property of the tribe—chief and people—in such relative proportion as had been found actually in use. It would be entirely unjust to deal with a chief alone concerning the land of the tribe. To buy or sell land was unknown to all these people. The land was only for use. The chief used what he needed. So did his people. The right of the people to their smaller plots was thus

* When the Peace Preservation (Disarmament) Act was passed in the Cape Colony, we had two High Commissioners in South Africa, one in favour of the Act, the other opposed to it. The value of a Governor-General in such circumstances will at once appear.

exactly the same as that of the chief to his larger fields. When a town removed, or was driven from, a country, the future settlement was matter of public discussion and agreement. Taking up this state of things where we find it, we would proceed to give to each of the actual occupiers of land in a native territory titles to their individual holdings. This would be a step in the right direction, leading to the encouragement of individual effort and enterprise, and weaning men from their old gregarious or tribal ideas. On account, however, of the 'land sharks,' who teem in such a country as South Africa—and especially on the boundaries of civilisation—those titles to farms or holdings would not, in the first instance, be transferable or saleable; and this would be plainly printed on the title-deed in two or more languages. This would only be going on the native custom, and would not be regarded as a hardship by the natives. When time had passed, education made some progress, and the people had become familiar with civilised procedure as to deeds, titles, &c., it would be competent for the people in *pitso* assembled to desire, and for the Governor-General to grant, that territorial law should cease, and English colonial law take its place; and that land throughout the bounds of the tribe in question should henceforth be saleable. This would at once be effected, and without a single lawsuit, by cancelling the words 'not saleable' in each title-deed. Thus the native owner of the title, whom we found a mere vassal or tribesman, and whom we introduced to civilised landholding by an individual (but unsaleable) title, is now advanced a third step, and presented with a saleable title to his land—while he also possesses the same rights and privileges as other subjects of the Queen.

In every native territory there would be tracts of land which had not hitherto been occupied by any one. These would be disposed of to suitable claimants, without respect of colour, who would be capable of working the land, and who would agree to live under the territorial government. Whether Europeans or natives, these strangers would receive the same unsaleable and untransferable titles to their holdings—with the prospect, of course, that in the course of time they would become saleable. The territorial governments would thus, in cases where there was not a sufficiently dense native population, have a considerable number of Europeans among the native settlers. This would be fraught with advantages to both classes. The European settlers would have no lack of cheap labour near them; while the natives would see in the farms of the more enterprising Europeans a great deal to imitate, both in agriculture and in stock-breeding. Although no land would be saleable under this territorial government, so as to become real property, every landholder would have confidence in the permanence of his tenure, so long as he occupied and improved it.

It would be expected that each territory, with its administrator

and magistrates, would manage its own local affairs, and 'pay its own way.'⁹ Besides doing this, it would also contribute towards the central government of the country in such proportion as might be judged fair. The Basuto and Bechuana tribes have long been accustomed to the transaction of the public business of the tribe at their public *pitso*. Our true policy is not to stifle this or ignore it, but to turn it to use. With a little guidance these people could transact the business of municipal and divisional councils, as well as take part in the general government of the tribe. Such a territorial government would have been a positive boon to Zululand during the time which has elapsed since Ulundi. And now that Cetywayo has been released, the more clearly he and his people feel themselves to be connected with the general government of South Africa, the better for the general peace and prosperity.

'Then you would go in for annexation?' 'Where would you stop?' These are questions which it is necessary to answer clearly. As to the first we reply that any satisfactory solution of South African difficulties must take into account the northward movement of Europeans. This movement is itself the annexing or aggressive force; our scheme seeks to control it; and its tendency would on the whole be to curb rather than to stimulate 'forward' tendencies. Take a sample of the cases most likely to occur for some time to come. Our colony or territory bounds on a country inhabited by natives under a chief. As Europeans increase in his country, the chief finds himself unable to decide in many cases which come before him, and which have reference to deeds, accounts, &c., which he cannot read, and about which he cannot form an opinion. Our first step would be to place a Resident with the chief to assist him in cases where Europeans were concerned—leaving him, however, to adjudicate among his own people as before. This might go on peacefully for years. The tendency, however, would still be the increase of Europeans and natives from other parts, and the growth of lawlessness, through the effeteness of the old tribal system. In these circumstances chiefs *have asked*, and would ask again, for English assistance in the government of their country throughout its districts. In such case the Resident becomes Administrator, assisted by district magistrates. Taxes are raised for purposes of local government; the native country becomes a 'territory.'

We must not shrink from giving another sample of probable experience. A warlike chief and tribe are our neighbours. So long as they are good neighbours our system leaves them to enjoy their independence. But when there are frequent cattle-thefts and other outrages, the perpetrators of which, and their plunder, are kept secure

⁹ We have seen that when the Imperial Government transferred Basutoland to the Cape Colony, there was a balance in favour of that territory of 10,000*l.*, after paying the expenses of its local government.

by the chief in question, the Administrator will first patiently exhaust his own means of effecting a settlement, and then lay the matter before the Governor-in-Chief, whose resources are well known, and who is not in England, but within a few days' march. We are not sanguine enough to say that in no case would a chief refuse the decision of the Governor-General; but we affirm that our scheme increases the likelihood of peaceful settlement, and renders the resistance of any chief perfectly hopeless. After such an affair had been settled, with or without war, we should place a Resident with the chief, or otherwise treat the country on the principles already laid down.

So much for the regulation of the northward movement of Europeans, which is destructive of the tribal government of the native chiefs. The Central Government in South Africa would perform a work there similar to that which was done in the Highlands of Scotland from Edinburgh. As to the limit of our operations, the careful reader will find the answer is contained in what has been already said. When 'annexation' comes to mean growth, it will cease to be a bugbear, or to cause uneasiness. Our limit would be contact with an enlightened and able government; its rights would be respected in Africa as elsewhere.

In case of disturbance between two of the territories under the charge of Administrators, the new order of things would render a settlement more easily attained than it has hitherto been. Both sides would be fully represented before the Governor-General, whose local knowledge and nearness would be in favour of a thorough mastery of the case. When force had to be used, it would at all times be possible for the Governor-General to call into the field such an overwhelming army as to make a breach of the South African peace a hopeless undertaking on the part of any chief or tribe.

The present proposal introduces no change in our relations to any colony or state in South Africa. The President of the Free State at present addresses Her Majesty's High Commissioner when occasion occurs; in the future, on similar occasions he would address himself to the Governor-General. While no contribution would be asked from the Free State towards the native administration of the country, it is not unreasonable to suppose that an annual vote towards this would be proffered by the State—if not at first, after a time, and when the beneficial effect of the central government had become apparent. It is hardly necessary to say that there would be no interference whatever with the internal affairs of the State. As to the Transvaal, there would not be the slightest departure from the Pretoria Convention. Instead of addressing the High Commissioner, the British Resident would send his communications to the Governor-General, to whom also the Transvaal State Government would address the communications which are at present

sent to the High Commissioner at Capetown. The internal affairs of the Transvaal would be managed as laid down in the Convention, without any outside interference. If the affairs of neighbouring native territories, such as Bechwanaland, were in the hands of an English Administrator, under a Governor-General, the benefit would be felt nowhere sooner than in the Transvaal. In a few years the Transvaal history would be as pacific as has been that of the Free State in recent years.

In such a scheme as that now sketched, there would be the true nucleus of a United South Africa. As no class would be ignored and none unduly favoured, no passions or sentiments would be arrayed against it. The initiative of England would be recognised all round as a boon. Without forcing it or seeking to anticipate its true time of birth, formal union would follow in due time, and as a natural growth. The occasional correspondence of the present between the local Government Secretaries and Her Majesty's High Commissioner, will increase in the nature of things. Interviews for consultation with the Governor-General would be found advisable. But such meetings would be less valuable if representatives of all interested were not present. Out of circumstances such as these would grow a general council or parliament representing all colonies and states, and assisting the Governor-General in the management of the general affairs of the country. At present we have mere *disjecta membra* in the South African body politic, the head being one of those disjoined parts. The members have need of one another, and all have need of the head.

The progress and development of the country would go steadily forward. Education, resource, and enterprise would secure for their possessors the chief prizes, so that the way to success would be seen to be through the school, and by means of character and industry. The ignorant but able-bodied native would continue to be, as he is now, the labourer of the country. But class would not be arrayed against class; the hatches would not be battened down over the heads of the blacks, to be opened in bloodshed at some future period. Our land arrangements, thought out on the spot, and put forward to meet the circumstances of the country, would take away his occupation from the disaffection-monger and sower of sedition among the natives. On our frontier, the Resident and the Territorial Administration would minimise the friction resulting from the contact of the European and African races. We conclude, therefore, by expressing our confident belief that when England establishes some such government as that which we have here imperfectly sketched, she will at length have solved the problem of successfully governing Europeans and Africans in mutual helpfulness.

JOHN MCKENZIE.

•

THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY.

No. LXXV.—MAY 1883.

DESULTORY REFLECTIONS OF A WHIG.

MUCH has been written lately in reviews and newspapers about our different political parties, and the space allotted by editors to the discussion of these matters seems to show that the public is interested in them.

In nearly all these articles and letters, approaching as they do the subject of politics from almost every conceivable point of view, there appears something disparaging about the Whig party. Sometimes it is said to be already extinct; sometimes it is only on the eve of becoming so. When admitted to be alive, and not altogether powerless, it is often represented, both by Liberals and Conservatives, as mischievous, and at the same time contemptible.

The Conservative picture of a Whig is something of this sort: a man who by circumstances belongs to the party which possesses and ought to defend, but who from some vile or weak motive joins those who attack; a man who, though he will be among the first to suffer by the insidious advance of revolution, yet, through love of place, or love of popular applause, through a sentimental attachment to an old party name, an amiable wish to follow the opinions of his family, and a mistaken impression that he is doing so, perhaps through mere blindness and stupidity, instead of resisting that revolution, joins it and helps it; a man who is complacently lending a hand to saw off the branch on which he is himself sitting—this seems to be the Tory notion of a Whig.

The advanced Liberal, on the other hand, distrusts him as a half-hearted comrade in the noble army of progress; a leader who will avoid a pitched battle as long as possible, and take great care not to follow up a victory too far; or a private who must be regarded with suspicion as being likely to desert at any moment. He is almost as much astonished as the Tory to see him where he is instead of on the other side, and thinks there must be some very foolish or very sinister motive for his conduct. He tolerates him as helping to swell the numbers of the force, but looks forward to the time when he may do without him.

These are the hostile views of the Whig party. Supposing that party still to exist, can nothing be said in its favour?

Many thoughts on this subject have occurred to me. Perhaps I can produce some of them; but if so, it must be without defining the word Whig or pursuing an abstract argument in a connected manner. Everybody should bring out his thoughts as best he can, and he ought sometimes to be grateful if he can bring them out at all.

In order, then, to put my thoughts into some sort of shape, I will adopt the following course, though it may make me appear somewhat egotistical. I will begin by stating my own experiences, which will probably be similar to those of many others.

I was born of a family which has professed Whig principles for more than 200 years: in fact, ever since the word Whig was first invented. As soon as I began to think seriously of politics I was naturally inclined in the first instance to adopt if possible those of my forefathers. But I soon determined that any feeling of that sort ought to be of very secondary consideration. I soon reflected that neither my father nor any other of my family for whom I felt any respect would have allowed a mere sentiment to influence them, or would have wished it to influence their descendant in so grave a matter. I very soon resolved that my deliberately formed opinions should determine what party I should belong to, and that I would not fall into the fatal error of twisting my opinions into accordance with a party adopted from other considerations.

I endeavoured, therefore, to approach the subject in an impartial spirit, and in this I was greatly assisted by a study of history, for which I have always had a strong liking. I read pretty deeply, perhaps even more so than was required, for the broad outlines of English history are in themselves sufficient, and no minute or critical investigation is necessary.

A careful historical study of the last few reigns convinced me in the first place that the bugbear of approaching revolution or anarchy is of too long standing to terrify us any more; that changes have been made in every generation which have been resisted by a large body of our countrymen and accompanied by the most sinister

forebodings, and that those changes have been almost always productive of good. On the other hand, there have always been a certain number of men who have sought to break altogether with the past, who have been anxious to plunge into an entirely new state of things, and who have affected to despise and hate and abuse those who advocated and carried out a cautious and moderate progress.

It was brought home to me with irresistible force that if our past history has on the whole been great and glorious, it is owing to the men in each generation who were in favour of moderate innovation.

It occurred to me that what has been going on till now must in all human probability be going on still, and that our hope for the future is more likely to lie with men of the same kind than with any others.

I do not think, then, that anybody who rises fresh from a study of English history will either be frightened on the one hand by the phantom of an impending revolution from advocating any measure which may in itself seem expedient, or on the other hand will be in favour of any sudden or fundamental change in the Constitution which it has taken so many years to build up.

Every such student, I repeat, will find that in every generation there has been, as now, a large body which wished unduly to hang back, and another large body which tried to push forward too fast; but that in every generation the men, on whichever side they ranged themselves, who were in favour of moderate changes are those whom posterity admires.

All the reading and all the observation and reasoning which I was capable of resulted eventually in my taking up the same position in politics which I should have taken up if I had blindly followed the hereditary opinions of my family.

It would be absurd for any man to prophesy what his politics will be in ten years' time, and circumstances may so alter as to cause many of us to change our sides, but I can honestly say that up to the present moment every year that passes and every opportunity that I have had of taking part in public affairs have tended to confirm me in the views which I have stated. I mention this, not because my own experience or my own opinions are of any intrinsic value, but because I believe many others to be in the same position as I am.

The word Whig may become extinct. It was originally a nickname, and it may cease to be used, and be superseded by another; but Whig principles must always continue to exercise a large influence and to animate a considerable party.

Whig principles, then, as I understand them, are based upon a study of the history of England. The man who holds them must begin by admiring that history and being proud of that country;

and I do not think this will be difficult. I do not allude only to the increase of wealth and population, or even to the improvement in the material comfort of all classes. I am thinking also of the great increase of education, the higher moral tone which generally prevails, and the greater stability of the Constitution compared with what it was and compared with the Constitutions of other countries. All this can be readily proved, and will, I think, be taken for granted. I am strongly tempted to dwell upon the last, and to contrast the amount of socialist and revolutionary spirit abroad with what it is at home. I am tempted to draw attention to the state in this respect of Russia, Germany, France, Spain, and Italy—particularly to the two first, where despotic government still exists—and to compare them with England. But I will resist my temptation, for my object is not to establish the fact that the condition of England is superior to that of other countries, and that our history is glorious. I am content with the admission that many of us believe them to be so, and this can hardly be denied. It is to those who hold this belief that I address myself. Let them consider how it was that we arrived at such a state of things. It was by the leading men of each generation feeling their way carefully, remedying as far as they could those evils that appeared most prominent, overcoming Conservative obstruction on the one hand, and restraining impetuous Radicalism on the other.

I do not mean to say that every wise measure was carried by the Whigs, but I think it may fairly be maintained that when they were carried by Tory leaders, those leaders for the moment assumed the character of their opponents, were supported by their opponents, and found their own followers more or less reluctant. Witness Canning's inauguration of a new foreign policy, Wellington's Catholic Relief, Peel's abolition of the Corn Laws, and Lord Beaconsfield's Reform Bill.

But I resume my consideration of the spirit in which legislation has hitherto been conducted, and the result reached which some of us regard on the whole with satisfaction. It was certainly not by laying down hard-and-fast principles and by pushing them to their furthest limits. It was by considering, not only what was in itself right, but what was opportune.

A politician, when he fixes his attention on the imperfection of the world, the misery and the crime and the injustice which exist, may sometimes be tempted to despair, and to feel that it is useless to attempt anything, and better to sit still. At another time he may feel that the whole thing is altogether wrong, and that a fundamental change is necessary. Patience! We are better than we were. Do what lies before you. Don't try too much at a time. Take up some obvious evil to which you see a remedy, and help to apply that remedy. Not much can be done in a single generation, and if you try to go too fast you will do more harm than good.

Here is a whole string of homely maxims which are too often forgotten; but it was by attending to them that our ancestors made England what she is, that we may hope to make her better, and that our descendants may carry on the good work to an unlimited extent.

In making changes we must, as I have said, consider, not only what we think right in itself, but also what is opportune. A great deal may with advantage be done gradually, which if attempted suddenly would be disastrous. If you wish to fill a basin with water you must pour slowly, for if you empty your jug straight in, you will make a great splash and a great mess, and your basin will only be half full after all. If a man wishes to change from a sedentary to an active life he must begin by moderate exercise and gradually increase the amount, or, unless he is very young and very strong, he will run the risk of a permanent injury. So in politics, change must be gradual. Many measures may be advisable now which would not have been so fifty years ago. Those who were most in favour of the Reform Bill of 1867, even those who are open to conviction that an extension of that measure may already be desirable, may doubt very much whether in 1832 a stronger measure could have been introduced without a serious shock to the Constitution.

Again, take the Disestablishment of the Irish Church. If this had been attempted at the same time as Catholic Emancipation, the change would have been too violent. Even as it was, the just and necessary measure of Catholic Emancipation was accompanied by too vehement an exultation of those emancipated, and by great discouragement and exasperation among those who were suddenly deprived of the ascendancy which they had so long enjoyed. These feelings would have been so great as to cause serious danger if the other measure had been brought forward at the same time. It is difficult exactly to prove what I say, but I think the truth of it will be acknowledged even by those who were in favour of the disestablishment when it was carried.

If, then, things which are very useful now would have been altogether premature fifty years ago, we may assume that fifty years hence we may see carried easily and by common consent measures which would be thought preposterous now, and it will probably be thought far better, even by those who then advocate them, that we should have left them to our descendants instead of forcing them through in the teeth of violent and irritating opposition.

Another reason which often exists for holding our hand and biding our time, is that we can only make vague and probably wrong guesses at what will in another generation be the condition of things.

I will take the question of the Disestablishment of the Church. In approaching this I will at once put aside and take no account of those who, having laid down a general principle that all State-aid to religion is wrong, think it right at all risks to push that general

principle to a logical conclusion. People who lay down general principles and insist upon always pushing them to a logical conclusion are, from my point of view, altogether outside the pale of argument. The science of politics is essentially a tentative one. No principle can ever be laid down, however apparently just, which is really sound enough to be acted upon without large exceptions. I repeat what I have endeavoured to show above, that it was not by laying down general principles and pushing them to their extreme limits that our ancestors made our Constitution what it is, or that we may hope to improve it.

But, taking no notice of these *doctrinaires*, I admit that there are some who think that the Church of England no longer represents the feeling of the nation; that her creed is already too narrow for the expanding spirit of religious thought, and will every day become more so; that the increased energy of her ministers, the larger congregations which she attracts, the amount of money yearly collected to supply her needs, are no proof of lasting brightness or of sound vitality, but are like the last flicker of an expiring flame, or like the spasmodic and unnatural return of strength which in a sick man so often precedes death. I myself feel that people who think this are mistaken; that the revival of the Church is too real and too gradual and has lasted too long to be considered in this light, and that her hold over the people is steadily increasing. But this is a thing that time only can show; and to discuss properly now whether the Church of England ought to be disestablished fifty years hence is utterly impossible, for want of sufficient knowledge of what her condition will then be.

Take also the question of the House of Lords. It consists too exclusively of men of a particular position and in peculiar circumstances, and is unduly Conservative in its composition. The seventy or eighty members who attend regularly and do the real work of the assembly are liable to be swamped on any important question by the votes of those who never attend except for the purpose of voting, and never vote except at the dictation of the Whip. The House of Lords has these and other serious faults. But a Second Chamber is absolutely necessary. All other Second Chambers that have ever been devised have much greater faults. The advantage of historical association in regard to a Second Chamber is inestimable. The House has in general shown a thorough knowledge of the real feeling of the country, a sincere respect for those feelings, and considerable tact in knowing when it ought to give way to them. In short, the practical advantages of the House of Lords are so great, and there is so much ability and such high personal character among its members, that it is in no present danger of being abolished. What will be its fate in the future, and what ought to be its fate? These, I maintain, are questions which we have no possible means of answering. It may, on the

one hand, before fifty years are over, fall into a succession of bad hands and altogether lose the delicacy of its touch in dealing with public opinion. The ability which adorns its benches may by some accident disappear. Its spirit and its views may become altogether incompatible with the spirit and the views of the nation. On the other hand, it may have some grand opportunity and may prove itself worthy of the occasion. It may withstand some passing madness of the multitude, before which the House of Commons may have momentarily succumbed, and by doing so earn lasting gratitude. It may sustain the spirit of the people in some overwhelming national calamity. It may so act in some great national emergency as to render its position much stronger, instead of weaker, than it is now.

It is, then, I say, utterly impossible to predict what reforms will be necessary in fifty years time. If we believe in the improvement of the human race, we may leave our descendants to look after these things for themselves. Don't try to look too far forward. The beautiful hymn of Dr. Newman may apply to nations as well as to individuals—

Keep Thou my feet. I do not ask to see
The distant scene ; one step enough for me.

The dislike to looking too far forward fortunately comes natural to the English people. Much of our greatness and our success comes from a happy propensity to concentrate our attention upon the problem of the moment. The two extreme parties in the State seem to be those in whom this happy propensity is least strongly marked. Much harm is done by the speculative Radical who is always contemplating and bringing upon the scene changes to be made in coming years. He unsettles men's minds and diverts them from the business of the moment. But the Conservative who is always judging present measures, not on their merits, but by the measures to which they are likely to lead, and is always meeting us with the thin-end-of-the-wedge argument, is perhaps the more dangerous of the two. He is certainly by far the more miserable.

There are some of these who carry their gloomy anticipations to an extraordinary extent.

To anyone who has accustomed himself to look upon the present time in England as a mere continuation, rather better in most respects, but not very different to the past and likely to lead to a rather better but not very different future, it is very astonishing to meet people who are really apprehensive of something like an impending revolution. And yet such people actually exist. I have sometimes, after passing the evening with them, attempted to realise what, supposing such a revolution to break out, would be my feelings as to the conduct hitherto pursued, and the votes given in Parliament by myself and those who hold the same opinions as

I do. Should we be overwhelmed with our folly? Should we strike our breasts and say, 'We are partly responsible for these things. Would that we had listened to our Conservative friends, and leant all our weight towards pulling back while it was yet time'? I sometimes think that even in case of a revolution we should have a grain of comfort. Let us turn to the time of the Great Rebellion for an example, and let us for the sake of argument assume that this rebellion was a wrong and mischievous thing. Who, I ask, were those who did most towards arresting it, and very nearly succeeded in doing so? Men like Hyde and Falkland, who, up to very nearly the last moment, were what we should now call moderate Liberals. Let us turn to the French Revolution. Is not Mirabeau now by general consent considered as the one man who, if he had lived, could have stemmed the tide? I am inclined to believe that we should fight just as well on the side of order as any of those who began to pull back sooner; that our past conduct would assist us rather than otherwise in so doing, and that at all events we should fight with a better conscience.

But it is only for a moment that I allow myself to dream of a state of things which I see less signs of at present than there have ever been. Let us turn to another bugbear, which at all events has a show of reason.

There are only a few people who imagine that we are on the eve of a revolution, but there are many who think that we are drifting very rapidly towards democracy. Now I am not much in favour of democracy, and I particularly dislike the feeling that we are doing anything very rapidly, so I should be glad to see what grounds there are for this belief.

I think it arises in part from the mistake that I have already alluded to. People are apt to see a general principle in every measure, and to take for granted that that principle must eventually be pushed to its extreme limit.

Because the Irish Church was disestablished and disendowed, they think that the English Church must be the same, quite forgetting that the former contained only one-eighth of the population—a drowsy, lukewarm, and unenterprising fraction; and that the latter consists of the most fervent, zealous, and energetic part of the religious world in England, and forms a majority of the population.

Again, because in Ireland it was found necessary to fix the rent of the agricultural tenant by an independent authority, and to give security of tenure in order to prevent the decision of that authority from being evaded, the same thing, they say, must sooner or later be done in England, forgetting the complete difference of circumstances in the two countries. In Ireland the tenant was completely at the mercy of the landlord. He had no choice but to pay whatever rent was put upon him or go to the workhouse, unless by a miracle he

had money enough to emigrate. In Ireland a universal opinion existed that the tenant, as long as he paid his rent, had a right to be where he was, and that his rent ought not to be so high as in a roundabout way to deprive him of his right. It does not much matter how that opinion arose. It was partly from the knowledge that the tenant had nowhere else to go, partly from the indolence and perhaps from the kindness of the landlord in old days, partly from old traditions of the time when the land belonged to the clan, and though the chief could walk off with the produce pretty much as he pleased, he had no power to dispossess. But I am not concerned to trace the origin of this feeling that the tenant had a right to be there. There is no doubt that it existed to such an extent that a landlord who went counter to it had the opinion of everybody against him. Even his own class disapproved, and, as to the rest of the people, he might be shot down in broad daylight in the market-place of his own county town in the presence of every one of his neighbours and dependents, and the murderer might walk quietly off, perfectly sure that nobody would try to stop him or would give evidence against him if he was brought to justice. The Land Act may be said to have merely given shape and sanction to the general opinion of the country. Can anybody dream that such an opinion exists in England? In England so far is the farmer from having nothing else to turn to, that he is constantly leaving his occupation for another, of his own free will. Very few sons of farmers in these days follow the profession of their fathers. There is no tradition in favour of joint ownership, and it is universally recognised that the connection between a landlord and tenant is simply and entirely of a commercial character. As long as the money laid out upon the land by the tenant is not confiscated by the landlord, the landlord is universally considered as perfectly justified at any moment in putting an end to his contract and entering into a new one with some one else. Any law to the contrary would in this country be not in accordance with public opinion, but directly against it.

I have taken for examples two subjects on which the fears of the alarmists are particularly active, the Church and the land. If we were governed by some pedantic despot, who habitually pushed principles to an extreme and totally disregarded the vast difference which very often in reality exists between cases which are similar at first sight, there might perhaps be some cause for alarm among the landowners and the clergy. But, governed as we are by public opinion, I feel that these interests, instead of being weakened on account of the supposed precedent which has been established against them, are actually stronger, from no longer coming in for a share of the rebellious feeling which existed against interests erroneously considered the same.

Perhaps, however, the alarm to which I have alluded comes, after all, not so much from an idea that principles once accepted must be

pushed to an extreme, as from an impression that a very strong Radical feeling exists in the country which would be glad of any pretence whatever for carrying out its designs. If this feeling really exists it will not be stopped for want of a pretence. I doubt its existing to any great degree. But, be this as it may, nothing that we have yet done will really increase that feeling, and no vote that we have yet given and no action that we have yet taken will weaken any of us in opposing any future innovation of which we may disapprove. A man who has shown that he considers that certain changes may be desirable, and that he is willing to assist in making those changes which he thinks right will act with double effect when he resists those which he thinks wrong.

One point more and I have finished. Though up to this moment I am a warm adherent of the Liberal party, and hope and expect to remain so for the future, I emphatically decline to pledge myself.

I have already said that it would be very foolish for any man to predict what his politics will be in ten years' time.

It may be that we shall some day see a so-called Conservative Government willing to seek out and redress grievances and to meet public opinion as it deliberately forms itself. Some enlightened Conservatives have before now professed to wish for something of the sort, but they have always been hampered by the bigoted and the stupid who form a large portion of their natural followers. But leaders may arise powerful enough to drag these gentlemen forward, and liberal enough to conciliate support from the other side. On the other hand, preposterous and unconstitutional theories may really be adopted by the so-called Liberal party, or that Cæsarism which is often the offspring of Democracy may be seen approaching in the distance.

Nothing of this seems to me in the smallest degree probable, but it is as well to be prepared for every contingency, and it is just possible that we may some of us some day find ourselves changing our sides without changing our opinions.

We must remember also that the position of parties may suddenly be disturbed by accidental circumstances—I mean circumstances that have nothing to do with the old difference between Whig and Tory.

A war, for instance, may break out. It is sometimes thought that men of Whig opinions must necessarily under all circumstances incline to peace, because ninety years ago Charles Fox with a large section of the Whig party denounced the war with France. But ninety years before that, it was the Whigs who were the war party and the Tories who advocated peace, and at last succeeded in making a very disgraceful one.

The justice of each war ought to be judged exclusively by our view of the circumstances of the case and the degree in which our

honour and interests are concerned ; but I am afraid that it is generally judged also in part by the sympathy or antipathy which we feel towards some particular nation.

Party politics may sometimes be mixed up with the question of peace or war ; but it is probable that any serious war in which we might be engaged would cause a complete break-up and reconstruction of party arrangements.

It is time that I brought this somewhat discursive paper to an end. In the course of it I have touched upon a variety of topics, many of which if thoroughly opened out would furnish matter for a whole volume of controversial writing. But my task will have been performed if I have shown that a member of a Whig family may sometimes happen to hold Whig doctrines without taking his views upon trust ; that a moderate Liberal may be as sincere and as decided in his opinions as the staunchest Tory or the most enthusiastic Radical ; that it is not wise to look too far ahead in politics, and that not to push principles too far may be a principle in itself.

COWPER.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY IN INDIA.

I.

I HAVE just returned from a short visit to our greatest dependency, India. The number of visitors like myself is increasing yearly, and some of them have given their 'impressions de voyage.' It is not my intention to follow their example. What I propose to do is entirely different. I have taken some trouble to inform myself on the political questions which we all know are now most prominent in India, and I have had, perhaps, exceptional opportunities of judging of the views which guide and influence some of the leading spirits of the country. Consequently, being not unaccustomed to political discussion, it may be of interest if I endeavour to explain the impression which has been produced on my mind by what I have seen, heard, and read.

To begin, then, I would say that, strangely enough, the question which now is coming to the front in England, that of local self-government, is, after making due allowance for the vast difference between the conditions of English and Indian life, one of the most important problems which Indian statesmen have to deal with.

Assuredly, it is one of vast proportions. If we compare the autocratic and despotic system of Russia, the enormous centralisation of France, or the intelligent but stern central bureaucratism of Germany with the local autonomy of Switzerland, the State self-government of America, or the active local life of some of our colonies in the southern hemisphere, we see how wide the differences are, and what a vast field is open to the ingenuity and the constructive power of the lawyer and the legislator.

Obviously, then, if the rulers of a vast country like India—and many of us who have not seen something of it hardly appreciate, I think, how vast it is—are, after careful consideration and study, of opinion that the time has come when a somewhat greater extension should be given to the principle involved in the expression 'Local Self-government,' they would not be doing their duty in the positions to which they have been called, they would be neglecting the highest responsibilities and ignoring the greatest privileges of a Government worthy of the title of good, if they did not endeavour to do something

to accomplish what they have satisfied themselves is for the benefit of the teeming populations under their sway.

This, then, is the condition of things in India. Lord Ripon, his Council, and his Government have so satisfied themselves, and are proposing certain changes which have met with warm support in some quarters and stern disapproval in others. But before I go into this matter it is necessary to clear the ground, and the question immediately arises, Is this something new? Is it, rightly or wrongly, the invention of the present Viceroy and the present Government of India? Many have written and spoken as if they thought it were so; but no error can be more fundamental. Many, again, have written and spoken not only as if it were so, but as if it had been invented and promulgated by a Liberal Viceroy for party and political objects. All this, however, is pure error. The thing, be it good or bad, was started years ago; and even if its initiation was due to a Liberal Viceroy it had the support of a wise and discriminating Conservative statesman who succeeded him. The two men to whom I am now referring are Lord Lawrence and Lord Mayo.

On the 14th of September 1864, Lord Lawrence's Government (see Gazette of India, Extraordinary) issued a resolution in which it is said:—

The people of this country are perfectly capable of administering their own local affairs. The municipal feeling is deeply rooted in them. . . . Holding the position we do in India, every view of duty and policy should induce us to leave as much as possible of the business of the country to be done by the people, by means of funds raised by themselves, and to confine ourselves to doing those things which must be done by the Government; and to influencing and directing, in a general way, all the movements of the social machine.

Such was the view forcibly put in the plainest language worthy of the man, which Lord Lawrence advanced as the basis of his legislation.

Then Lord Mayo followed in 1870, and published a resolution (February 11), in the course of which he said, in the 23rd paragraph:—

Local interest, supervision, and care are necessary to success in the management of funds devoted to education, sanitation, medical charity, and local public works. The operation of this resolution in its full meaning and integrity will afford opportunities for the development of self-government, for strengthening municipal institutions, and for the association of natives and Europeans, to a greater extent than heretofore, in the administration of affairs.

Here was a wide and far-reaching programme, which Lord Mayo never could have expected to carry entirely into execution himself, but which prompted the measures he did introduce, and which might serve as a basis and a guide to the legislation of far more ambitious, but far less generous, politicians and statesmen. He himself introduced in consequence the system of financial decentralisation, which is now firmly established and has already been productive of much good; and he initiated, and Lord Northbrook passed in 1873, most

of the bills by which most of the municipal committees in India were called into existence and were chosen by local election.

Consequently, I have thus shown that the question now so hotly discussed is not a new one; nay, on the contrary, that it has for years excited the attention of the Government of India; and that therefore what Lord Ripon has done has merely been to say that, in his opinion and that in the opinion of his Government, the time has come for another step in the direction started more than eighteen years ago by Lord Lawrence, and strongly supported more than thirteen years ago by Lord Mayo. Surely, then, I am justified in saying that this at least is not precipitate legislation, and that if evil is caused to British rule in India, as some predict, by giving the natives a share in their local administration, that evil was begun long years ago. For what is it that the Government really propose? Lord Mayo has practically, by the five years' contract system, made the local governments independent of the Government of India; and now the Government of India propose that the local governments should follow that successful precedent, and apply the principle in their financial relations with the local bodies beneath them. It is true that the resolution involved two consequences, viz.:

(1) That the general system of appointment of local bodies had to be investigated; and (2) that in many cases where none were found to exist, means had to be devised to create them; but it is obvious that these are necessary corollaries of the system urged and enforced by Lord Lawrence and Lord Mayo. Moreover, it is right to say even here that no blind uniformity, no unintelligent inelasticity, no hard and fast line came within the Government plan. What they did was this. They laid down the principle, and they left to each superior local government the power, nay more, they threw on them the duty, of making due arrangement and suitable provision for the wants and capabilities of their respective territories. This, assuredly, is not unwise; this can in truth hardly be called the unreasoning action of the rash innovator careless of future consequences!

But in order to comprehend more exactly the views of the Government, let us just look for a moment at some of the terms of the resolution of the 18th of May, 1882, which followed and amplified the original resolution of the 30th of September, 1881, and of the explanation contained in the letter written in October last to the Bombay Government.

In the former, paragraph 5, there is said:—

As education advances, there is rapidly growing up all over the country an intelligent class of public-spirited men, whom it is not only bad policy, but sheer waste of power, to fail to utilise. The task of administration is yearly becoming more onerous as the country progresses in civilisation and material prosperity. The annual reports of every Government tell of an ever-increasing burden laid upon the shoulders of the local officers. The cry is everywhere for increased establishments. The universal complaint in all departments is that of overwork. Under

these circumstances it becomes imperatively necessary to look around for some means of relief; and the Governor-General in Council has no hesitation in stating his conviction that the only reasonable plan open to the Government is to induce the people themselves to undertake, as far as may be, the management of their own affairs; and to develop, or create if need be, a capacity for self-help in respect of all matters that have not, for imperial reasons, to be retained in the hands of the representatives of Government.

Surely in this we can find nothing exceeding or antagonistic to the principles of Lord Mayo and Lord Lawrence; and that is confirmed by the letter to the Bombay Government, in which it is said:—

The desire of the Government of India is not to force upon all parts of the country a uniform system of its own devising, but to secure the gradual training of the best, most intelligent, and most influential men in the community to take an interest and an active part in the management of their local affairs.

Consequently, my argument is, I think, proved—viz. that the proposals of the Government are the continuation of a policy long since deliberately adopted; a policy not carried into execution recklessly, but with due regard to local possibilities and capabilities, as well as local requirements.

In support of the latter part of the proposition, I have only further to bring forward the fact that the Government of the Central Provinces has, I believe, already passed its Act, and that the Bengal Government has practically completed, and, I believe, by this time, introduced its Local Government Bill; and that all the other governments are already deep in the preparation of similar measures. That they will vary and vary widely is evident and notorious, and is certainly not only foreseen by, but within the intention of, the Government of India; for in the original May resolution there is said:—

The Governor-General in Council does not require the adoption of the system of election in all cases, though that is the system which he hopes will ultimately prevail throughout the country, and which he wishes to establish now as widely as local circumstances will permit. Election in some form or other should be generally introduced in towns of any considerable size, but may be extended more cautiously and gradually to the smaller municipalities.

And again:—

As to the system of election to be followed, the Governor-General in Council would here, also, leave a large discretion to the local governments.

Terrible innovation! startling radicalism! Surely the prophets who say this plan of the Government is the commencement of the decline and fall of British rule in India are drawing mighty conclusions from premisses of mouse-like proportions! And still more so, when we find that in many parts of India, and notably in the Central Provinces and in the North-West, these very institutions have existed in many towns for several years past. Let me quote an example. I find that at Dongargarh, at a Durbar held by Mr. Morris, who is

shortly to retire from the office of Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, which he has so ably and honourably filled, it was stated that the regulations made ten or twelve years ago for introducing the elective principle into the constitution of the municipal committees of the larger towns have been completely successful. The consequence was that when the Government of India indicated its opinion that the time had come for a further extension of the principle, the Central Government was quite ready, and was, owing to its previous experience, able to be the first to carry a deliberate Act for the accomplishment of the object in view—an Act under which, if I am not mistaken, a number of administrative rules have already been promulgated.

So much for this, the main part of the case. It now devolves upon me to mention and deal with some of the chief objections raised to the principle of the measure. Of these many are to be found in the Anglo-Indian press; some I have heard used in conversation.

It is said, for instance, that if the local duties discharged hitherto by the collectors, magistrates, or other officials, are taken out of their hands, their position will be lowered, and, consequently, their influence and authority will be seriously impaired. And still more so, it is alleged, will this be the case, as, where municipalities have existed, it has hitherto been the practice that the chief executive officer of each district should be the chairman of those municipalities or local boards within his jurisdiction, and should therefore exercise a direct control over their proceedings, but now under the plan of the Government this is no longer to be so.

In reply to this, I would say in the first place that it is true the Government stated in their resolution of the 18th of May that it was their wish 'to see non-official persons acting, wherever practicable, as chairmen of local boards;' but they not only laid down no rule, but even pointed out there might probably be districts where for the present this would not be possible. But the real answer is this, that the Government plan reserves to the executive officer a revising control over the acts of the municipalities and local bodies, and points out carefully that this is the part of the system which each government must carefully consider and legislate upon. Surely, then, the local officer will occupy a far more important, though in most cases it is to be hoped a far less onerous position, when he can only interfere as a *deus ex machinâ*, whose potent hand will alone be felt if the local body has failed in its duty, or requires to be checked in any undue exercise of authority, or if its acts have to be confirmed by him. This is provided for by the 17th paragraph of the resolution of the 18th of May; which also points out under what circumstances the Government should have the power of entirely superseding the local authority, just as, in fact, in England the Government, through

the Local Government Board, have the power in certain cases to supersede local authorities, and just as in others the action of the local authority, to be valid and complete, has to be confirmed by the Local Government Board.

The next objection urged is, that the plan may be all very well ; that it may be desirable to have local boards ; but that, in fact, it will not be possible in the great majority of districts, for the simple reason that persons capable of performing the duties are not to be found ; and that even if there be capable persons, they will not do the work without salary, and that the native is naturally so subservient and so unstraightforward that you may be certain that the work will be done (if it is done) only in the way indicated by the local officer, or in a method so unsatisfactory and so extravagant that the cost will far exceed both what is reasonable and what would have been incurred under the old system. But, in reply, I would say an ounce of experience is worth a bushel of argument. In the Central Provinces no such results have followed ; on the contrary, as I have shown above, the experiment has, where tried, been eminently successful ; and what is the advantage of the civilisation and education we boast to have introduced into India during the long years of our rule, if we cannot give the more educated natives a chance at least of having something to say in the management of their hospitals, their roads, their schools, their sanitary matters, and so on ? The men may not be forthcoming at once ; they may commit blunders ; they may be corrupt ; they may have relied too much on the initiative of the district officer ; they may be more extravagant ; they may do the work less efficiently ; but, as they will have in the end to pay, they will ultimately learn their work, discard their inertness, be neither afraid of the responsibility nor indignant because in the last resort the executive officer and the Government have the right of control and can compel them to spend their money, nor commit more errors than many a local officer himself. In fact and in short, they, being of an assimilative nature, will go through the same process many a local board in England has laboriously traversed. There are many other arguments used, which owe their origin, I fear, more to prejudice than reason—arguments which their authors do not like to put into print, but which one hears frequently used in conversation. These I mention to dismiss without further notice ; so that I may come to a short statement of the main points to be urged in favour of the action of the Government, in favour of the view they have strongly pronounced that after these many years the time has come for a further development of the policy of Lord Lawrence and Lord Mayo.

What is the object of our rule in India ? Is it only to provide an opening for our active and intelligent youth who fill the many valuable positions in the public service there ? or is it to give the

advantages of good government and education to the teeming population of that mighty dependency, and gradually to fit them for the duties which devolve on the instructed and intelligent citizens of every land? I think too well of the vast majority of my fellow-countrymen to doubt that they will say the latter is the true object. That, then, is an object both social and political, and of the first importance; and, if it is made real and not nominal, we must begin by selecting opportunities in which the natives may thus commence to serve themselves and their fellows. Such opportunities could not have been more carefully safeguarded than by the moderate and elastic proposals of the Government.

To-day, what with the spread of education, the influence of a free press, the vastly increased means of communication, and the extension of our own European ideas, the people, even of such a country as India, are moved in a way unknown to the ruder populations of less fortunate countries. We have taught them to expect more both from us and for themselves; and it is far wiser to satisfy their legitimate aspirations in a useful and peaceable manner, than to induce them by stern refusal to look for other and more dangerous means of gratifying it.

This view has been largely adopted by the most able Indian administrators and officials, whether Liberal or Conservative. Mr. Rivers Thompson, the present excellent Conservative Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, said in a speech made in the Bengal Legislative Council—

It is a measure which the Viceroy is very anxious to see established throughout the country, and which, speaking personally for myself, I am strongly anxious to support as fully as I can. I think, after a rule of a hundred years in India, it would rather be a disgrace to us than otherwise if we could not say the time has come when we should give to the people of this country a much larger share in the administration of their local affairs.

Sir Charles Aitchison, the energetic Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, says that the 'whole policy expressed in the resolution of the 18th of May is, in his judgment, conceived in a wise and liberal spirit.' But it is needless to quote more. I know that one government was opposed to it; but it has now sensibly accepted the decision of the superior authority and the majority.

Outside India, too, the policy has been largely discussed, and some able letters for and against have appeared in the columns of the *Times*. Mr. Haggard, in his observations published in that newspaper on the 29th of January, really, in my view, hit the nail on the head, when he said:—'In my opinion there is no greater source of disaffection in India than the fact that all the wealthy, the persons of influence who are natives of India, stand outside the circle of administrative power. Admit them to that circle, and have strong

European officers near at hand to watch, encourage, and, if need be criticise, and great power will be added to the British rule.'

That even now the adoption of the policy has produced something of this effect may be seen by the enthusiasm with which Lord Ripon's action has been received by the organs of native opinion; by the gratitude publicly expressed; and by the premature desire enounced in many places for an extension of his term of office. It now, of course, remains for the natives to prove their capacity by deeds not words; but I believe that the liberal spirit of the vast majority of Indian statesmen will rapidly obtain this convincing endorsement; and that the few old-fashioned though able civil servants who do not like to surrender any power which they are conscious they have honourably and usefully wielded, will admit that the policy of the Viceroy has, in this respect at least, done something rather to prolong than to shorten, rather to strengthen than to weaken, British rule in India. It is with this conviction that I have written this paper to vindicate a policy which I think has not been fully understood by the British public.

II.

The subject which I next proceed to consider is Mr. Ilbert's bill. What is the bill, and what does it propose to do? Let us take the answer from his own mouth. It is a bill for 'modifying the existing law and removing the present bar upon the investment of native magistrates in the interior with powers over European British subjects.' It is a bill 'to remove from the code, *at once and completely*, every judicial disqualification which is based merely on race distinctions.'

These are large and generous objects; and naturally the question presents itself, How did the matter arise, and what induced the Government to propose legislation on so important a subject?

The answer is this. In 1882 the Code of Criminal Procedure was passed. It was essentially an Act for the consolidation, not for the amendment, of the existing law. When the bill was near its final stage, the attention of the Government of India was, on the 20th of March 1882, called to the question of the jurisdiction of native magistrates over European British subjects by Mr. Cockerell, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, on behalf of Sir Ashley Eden, the Lieutenant-Governor, in consequence of a note from Mr. Gupta of the Bengal Civil Service. Mr. Gupta hoped that the Government might deal with the matter in that bill; but this was held to be undesirable, and it was understood that it would be considered in time for separate legislation, if legislation were decided on, in the

winter session of 1883. The result was that the bill which has attracted such attention was introduced by Mr. Ilbert.

The points next to be considered are these :—

1. What are the arguments for the bill, and what the necessity? What are the authorities in favour of the bill, and what will be the result of the bill?

2. What are the arguments against the bill, and what are the authorities?

3. What are the conclusions we, as impartial Englishmen, ought to draw; and should we or should we not desire to see the bill become law?

To deal with the first, viz. the arguments for the bill; the necessity for the bill; the authorities in favour of the bill; and the probable results of the bill.

The existing law was established in 1872, after mature deliberation, under the auspices of Mr. Justice Stephen, for reasons which he has himself so admirably explained in the columns of the *Times*.

It was even at that time proposed by the Hon. Mr. (now Sir Barrow) Ellis to abolish the 'invidious distinction' which it was said would be created if any native covenanted civil servants were excluded from the exercise of certain powers, viz. over European British subjects, which exclusion would place them in an inferior position to their English brethren. It was argued by others that the restriction embodied a stigma on the native community generally; and that if natives were competent to try Europeans in the presidency towns, there seemed to be no reason why they should not also be competent in the Mofussil (country districts away from the said towns). The proposal was, however, negatived by seven votes to five.

To-day these same arguments are used; and in addition it is urged that now that native covenanted civilians may shortly be expected to hold the office of district magistrate or sessions judge, it is also, as a matter of administrative convenience, desirable that they should have power to try all classes of persons brought before them; and that the incapacity, if continued, is likely seriously to affect the efficiency of district administration. And it is further said that the bill is the natural result of admitting natives to the civil service; that it only removes race distinction of judges; that it is a small and tentative measure; that it is better the change, which is inevitable, should be made when it could be applied to very few men and its working carefully watched, rather than to wait for a time when one-sixth of the civil service will be composed of natives. Finally it is stated that practically all the local governments are now in favour of the change, and that the bill leaves all existing safeguards untouched.

So much for a summary of the arguments for the bill, the neces-

sity of which has only been urged on the ground of possible future inconvenience in the administration of justice. Even Mr. Gupta does not put the argument of necessity higher than it is due to natives in his position that this jurisdiction should be given; and Sir Ashley Eden puts it that, as a 'question of general policy, it seems right.' Consequently the argument of necessity is obviously a weak one, and can be left out of future consideration.

Next, what are the authorities in favour of the bill? Of past officials the following are quoted:—Lord Napier of Merchistoun, Sir Richard Temple, Lord Napier of Magdala, Sir Barrow Ellis, Sir George Campbell, Sir Ashley Eden; but I understand some of them do not entirely accept the allegation. Of present officials, the Viceroy himself, Sir Stuart Bayley, Sir Charles Aitchison, and, it is said, most of the governments of the different provinces.

Finally, the probable result of the bill is declared by its authors to be very small. If carried, it would at present admit only two persons to this jurisdiction, and it would be three or four years before their number would be increased to five. But the advantage, it is said, would be that, the number being so small, the Anglo-Indian public would have no difficulty in supervising the exercise of the jurisdiction, and the native judges would, so to speak, be gradually broken in to their duties and responsibilities.

Such then, I believe, is the bare and unbiassed summary of what is said in favour of the measure. Now I come to

2. The arguments urged, and the authorities quoted, against the bill.

It is said that there is no administrative necessity, and that no such necessity is likely to arise; that the majority of the local governments and of the Council only proposed to give the jurisdiction to civilians who had been to England, who only number nine in all India; that those native civil servants who have been nominated in India without competition and without going to England are totally unfit to exercise the jurisdiction; that there is no element of stability or finality in the measure; and that it is, in short, proposed to give jurisdiction to a class admittedly inefficient, apt to be partial, and whose judgments would not be accepted as satisfactory.

Further, it is argued that the natives do not care for the concession, except possibly as a stepping-stone to further demands; that the whole English community is against it; that few judges, and no non-official persons, had been consulted before the introduction of the bill; that the measure has already caused, and that if carried the exercise of the jurisdiction would hereafter create, constant bitter racial quarrels and hatred, which have of late years at least been quiescent, if not extinct; and that consequently the bill was most inopportune and unwise. Moreover, it is alleged that it will create a real danger to those planters and others living in the Mofussil far from other

Europeans, who even now are exposed to false criminal charges supported by lying evidence which even an experienced and unprejudiced European has difficulty in sifting; charges made, too, in places where good legal advice is not available; and that consequently it will discourage English settlers and the investment of English capital, and that it will of necessity seriously check and injure the future development of India.

Again, it is said that special tribunals for the trial of Englishmen exist in China, Japan, Turkey, Egypt, &c., and why should they not exist in India, a country above all others full of personal laws and customs? And further, that notwithstanding the assertion of the Government, this bill does not really abolish all racial judicial distinctions, for what are called the safeguards only apply to Europeans, and the exclusive authority of the High Court is, as far as Europeans are concerned, maintained in its entirety.

Once more, military authorities assert, that if such jurisdiction were exercised over one of their men they fear it would be impossible to control their regiments; and Englishwomen allege that they resent the proposal that they should be subjected to the jurisdiction of a native magistrate, not qualified to judge fairly in their cases because he is totally ignorant of the position women occupy in Europe.

Such is the summary of the arguments used against the bill. Now who and what are the authorities for these arguments? It must be said, I think, the whole non-official English population of India, an enormous preponderance also of the officials, and many of the most experienced Governors, as, for example, the present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Mr. Rivers Thompson. The feeling has been warmly expressed by the Chambers of Commerce at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. Vehement speeches have been delivered at public meetings both in the towns and up country, and the agitation has been so strong that the disloyal proposal has even been made that the volunteers should resign *en masse*.

Such, then, is the state of opinion on the question *pro* and *con*. It now remains for me to treat of the third head, and to draw the conclusions from these opposing premises.

3. Is it desirable to see the bill become law, and what are the impressions produced on me as an outsider by these conflicting arguments?

I cannot help saying that at the first blush, before I had carefully examined the case, I was struck with the argument of equality, and I felt that, unless other considerations prevailed, it seemed the natural sequence of the policy by which natives have been admitted to the civil service, and to judicial position, that they should also have jurisdiction in the Mofussil over European British subjects. But, to my regret, the more I examined it the more did I find that

the argument of equality broke down, and that that was the only strong and valid argument in favour of the change; whereas, apart from the question of prejudice, which in this matter cannot be ignored, there are powerful reasons against the proposal.

It must strike any one that there was no popular demand for the change; nay, that no one troubled himself on the subject except Mr. Gupta, and that it was owing to his desire to add to the dignity of his personal position that the question was brought to the notice of the Supreme Government by Sir Ashley Eden. Again, it is obvious that it would have been better if the Government, before introducing the bill, had endeavoured not only to ascertain the views of the provincial administrations, but also those of the judges, the minor officials, and the non-official Anglo-Indian population whose privileges and liberties were to be affected by the change. If they had done this, I think the enormous consensus of opinion they would have found against the bill—a consensus only paralleled, I am told, by the unanimity exhibited at the time of the introduction of the Black Acts—would have prevented their proposing it.

There is no doubt, as I can bear witness, that the alarm which is rightly or wrongly felt is genuine; that the bill has raised a vast bitterness of feeling which had slept for many years; and that, even if it is dropped now, as I think it should be, it will take a considerable time to appease the angry sentiments aroused. Moreover, I am obliged to admit that there is some ground for the distrust which is felt towards native judges, a distrust which is shown in many cases by natives themselves. I am told on credible authority that, where they have the option, the natives themselves in the great majority of cases elect to be tried by the Englishman in preference to their fellow countryman. A General of long experience in, and considerable knowledge of, India assured me that this feeling with regard to the superior fairness, or perhaps the superior judicial power, of the Englishman extends so far that invariably, where a native officer has the opportunity of being tried by court-martial on which Englishmen sit, instead of being tried by other native officers, his peers, he selects what I may call the English tribunal. I heard from others, that it is to Englishmen natives constantly have recourse to settle disputes between them, when their natural litigiousness will allow them to settle anything in a peaceful manner. And there is no doubt that we, as the conquering people, should be doing something almost unexampled in history, if, against the wishes of nearly the whole English population, we were to insist that they should be tried by native judges. In countries not under our rule, we do not submit to such trial; then why, unless on grounds of urgent necessity, should we submit in India?

Again, is it accurate that this bill abolishes, as Mr. Ilbert says, 'at once and completely' every judicial disqualification based merely on race distinctions? The answer is, distinctly, No. Why not?

Because the bill does not now propose that all native magistrates should have the power, nor did Mr. Gupta, but only certain selected ones. Moreover, there is no real equality, as all the existing safeguards are retained. They are—

1. Under the Code European British subjects can only receive from magistrates and sessions-judges half the punishment of imprisonment to which natives are liable.

2. The European has the right of appeal in all cases.

3. He has a right to a mixed jury.

4. All privileges of the Habeas Corpus Act are retained; as well as the exclusive jurisdiction of the High Court, sessions-judges, and first-class magistrates.

Surely, if we are to have equality between the rulers and the ruled, something might be said against these especial privileges. But, on the other hand, also, if we are to have equality, there are many privileges of the natives which cannot be maintained. Mohammedan married women are not required to give evidence in open court, as it is against the practices of their religion. There are many rajahs all over India—ay, I heard there are over a thousand in Calcutta alone—who have the like privileges, to which they hold tenaciously, and who therefore, to the great cost of litigants, have to be examined privately by commission, and so on. If the natives were asked whether they would rather that matters should remain as they are, or that these privileges should be abolished, and that all the persons above mentioned should be put on the same footing as Englishmen, whilst at the same time in return the jurisdiction of a few native magistrates should be extended to European British subjects, such a storm would be raised as would assuredly seriously shake the very foundation of British rule in India.

Again, it is clear that the Supreme Government can hardly say that they have the support of all the provincial governments. For instance, from Madras, Mr. Grant Duff merely writes on the 'logical reason,' which I admit fascinated me also, in which he is supported by the Commander-in-Chief; but the other two experienced members of Council, Mr. Carmichael and Mr. Hudleston, are strongly opposed, and the bulk of judicial, official, and civilian opinion throughout India is avowedly against the change.

Consequently, to sum up, the case stands thus :—The administrative argument in favour of the bill is too weak and too remote to be maintained. The argument of judicial equality breaks down on careful examination. The amount of equality produced would be very small, whereas the opposition to the change is widespread and deeply rooted. It would lead to further demands, which we—as the race ruling by conquest in the first place, and, I unhesitatingly say, good government in the second—could not concede.

Consequently, I think that, notwithstanding Lord Hartington's

reply that he agrees in the conclusion 'that the time has come when it is necessary to make the alterations in the law' which are proposed in Mr. Ilbert's bill, the time has not come, the necessity has not been proved, and the arguments against are of the greatest force. It is clear that the Viceroy and the Supreme Government proposed the alteration with the best intentions, and an earnest desire to do abstract justice; but, when carefully examined, the other considerations far prevail, for it would be serious indeed to create discontent and disaffection amongst Anglo-Indians, to discourage British investment of capital, and to check the increase of trade at a time when, as I shall show, Indian prospects are so favourable.

I hope therefore earnestly, that the Indian Government will, instead of only postponing the bill to next winter, at once announce that it is dropped, and that in the hot weather the excitement and bitterness the proposal has created, may be dried up and forgotten, and India may go on in her present career of mature progress and prosperity.

III.

I mentioned above that Indian prospects, speaking from the point of view of trade, are very favourable. This is so if nothing unexpected and untoward should occur to disturb them. India is essentially an agricultural country, and its grain-producing area, or rather the area on which grain may be produced, is so vast, that anything which gives its trade in corn the slightest impetus, is of incalculable advantage to the country and the people. Now it so happens that, since the period of the last Russo-Turkish war, such an impetus has been given to the growth and the export of wheat. The war in question checked the usual supply of wheat going to the west from the Black Sea provinces of Russia. It coincided with somewhat increased railway and other accommodation being made available in some of the best wheat-growing districts of India; and the consequence was that India was able to introduce herself as a competitor in our markets. From that moment, as the agricultural returns show, the annual growth and the annual export of wheat have been steadily increasing. Major Baring intimates, in his budget for this year, that he is alive to the fact, and that he is doing all in his power to cause a reduction in the cost of the railway carriage of grain from the interior to the ports. Every anna so economised will naturally promote further extension of the wheat-growing area; and, as two important lines are making the reduction in charge, their example will of necessity in the course of time lead to similar reductions on other railroads.

Again, some new lines are opened every year; and, as years go on, more land, now incapable of bringing its produce into the market for want of means of communication, will have the opportunity of entering the field; so this, too, will add to the quantity available for export.

Consequently, I look upon it as an established fact that India is rapidly becoming an important wheat-producing country, and that its export thereof will steadily increase and enter into serious competition with America. The disadvantage it labours under is the greater distance and therefore the greater cost of sea carriage. The advantage it has is the great cheapness of labour, which causes the cost of production to be particularly small. The experience, then, of the past few years amply justifies the assertion that this trade is destined materially to improve the commerce of India, and with it the prosperity of its people.

I have referred to railway extension. Of course the number of miles of railway at work in India and the number annually opened offer a subject of ridicule if compared with American figures. In the United States at the end of 1882 there were about 110,000 miles open, and the rate of increase is at present about 10,000 miles annually; whereas at the same date in India about 10,250 miles were open and the addition is only of something like 500 miles a year, although at present about 2,300 miles are in course of construction.

When the famine commission reported in 1880 it was stated broadly that, in order to alleviate the distress and death caused by these periodical visitations, some 5,000 miles of railway were required in various parts of the country. Of these, speaking roundly, about 2,000 have been constructed or authorised, leaving about 3,000 to be constructed in the future. The question whether these lines will be remunerative or not hardly enters. To put it plainly, I may say they are wanted in order to save life. At the same time this necessity increases the difficulties Indian financiers have to encounter in deciding both on the question of what lines are to be constructed, and how they are to be constructed; that is to say, whether by Government itself, by private persons under a Government guarantee, or by capitalists without Government assistance. The battle of the gauges, in which those two able brothers the Stracheys were the foremost combatants, is constantly recurring. On this point I think I may say their policy has at least led to one cardinal error, which in my opinion must be corrected in the interests of Indian trade generally. Bombay, on the west, is the centre of Indian commerce, and Calcutta on the east. The East Indian Railway gives first-rate accommodation on the broad gauge from Calcutta to Delhi and the grand district beyond. There ought to be, but there is not, similar

unbroken accommodation between Delhi and Bombay. From Bombay to Ahmedabad the broad-gauge line is excellent and excellently managed; but then in this all-important main route comes a break of gauge with all its attendant evils and expenses, and passengers and goods have all to be shifted to the poor little narrow-gauge Rajputana-Malwa line up to Delhi. This must be altered; the sooner the better. The principle, I take it, upon which narrow-gauge lines are or can be constructed is clearly this only, that where neither private persons nor Government can expect a fair profit for many years to come on a broad-gauge line, and where it is not or is not in all probability likely to become a main or through line, it may be wise to have narrow-gauge feeders, notwithstanding their great inconvenience; but it is obviously bad economy and foolish want of foresight to build a narrow-gauge railway which is, or must become, an important line of communication between districts themselves served in other directions by broad-gauge lines, because forsooth at first it will not pay a good dividend. I hope, therefore, that the Rajputana folly will not be repeated. I am able to say from personal inquiry that the principal governments are warmly alive to the enormous importance of extending as rapidly as may be the railway area. One need only look at the Indian railway map to see what vast tracts of country are still without this vital means of communication. Look, for instance, at the enormous territory between Madras on the south and Calcutta on the north. But the action of the local governments is often checked not only by the difficulty of deciding on what plan the line is to be constructed, but also by the interference of the Indian Council, which, not unnaturally, occasionally looks at the financial questions submitted to their approval from more of an English point of view. I have in Parliament frequently urged that Government ought *here* to have nothing to do with railway construction or management; that its duty is simply to enforce general regulations for the safety and convenience of the public; and that it would be evil on a variety of grounds if we were to depart from these principles. The more I have studied the matter the more am I satisfied that these principles are sound; but my visit to India has at least taught me this, that all Indian questions cannot be solved on the same lines which govern our action at home. It may, for instance, ultimately prove a necessity for the Indian Government themselves to build the rest of the famine lines. Nevertheless, be that as it may, even as regards India, I think reasonably rapid railway extension, which all admit is of such vast importance, will be best obtained by means of the legitimate encouragement of private enterprise.

I will not say more at present on this subject—as it is so vast that it would lead me beyond the reasonable limits of an article—except to express a hope that the Government at home may do all in its power

to promote this essential element of Indian prosperity, not only because of the influence railways have on Indian trade, but also because it is the duty of Government to encourage as far as it can the production of fresh outlets of occupation and bread-winning for a population the increase of which we properly no longer allow to be checked either by internecine quarrels, or, as far as we have been able to mitigate their effects, by periodical famines.

There are many other subjects which are, I find, engaging the attention of most of the governments of India. For instance, Mr. Grant Duff in Madras, and Sir Alfred Lyall in the North-West Provinces, have done, even in the short time they have been in power, and are doing, much to improve the forest service, which in India, as now in Europe, is of the first importance, both on climatic and commercial grounds.

Again, I had the opportunity of visiting a few of the prisons, and judging for myself of the care, intelligence, and energy with which the prison service has been organised, and of learning that in India, as in Great Britain, one of the difficulties the authorities have to grapple with is to find suitable remunerative employment for the prisoners without unduly competing with free labour.

Then, notwithstanding the cost of the Egyptian contingent, Major Baring's budgets prove that the Government is doing all it can to reduce the taxation on the necessities of life, *e.g.* salt, and to encourage the new trades which are gradually assuming large proportions. When the disturbance caused by Mr. Ilbert's bill has died out, I believe the importance of the Indian tea trade will continue to increase. The growth of cinchona also is yet capable of large extension, and will lead to profitable results. And the example which is set by the Government in these and many other ways is of value also from the fact that it is closely watched and followed by many of the more intelligent rulers of the native states. Thus, for instance, that most active and capable Indian Cole, if I may venture to call him so, Surgeon-Major Hendley, last year induced the Maharajah of Jeypore to undertake the responsibility and the considerable cost of an exhibition of Indian raw produce and manufactures, which was open to the public free, attracted large numbers of visitors, and was productive of much good. To give an instance or two. It contained the best and most complete collection of what are called famine grains, and in consequence Dr. Hendley was able to make arrangements for the proper chemical analysis of their respective nutritive values, which had not and could not have been previously made, and which of course will be hereafter of great importance.

Another example is that, in consequence of the exhibition, a fine bed of gypsum was discovered on the Maharajah's territory, so that a new industry will be added, *viz.* that of the manufacture of plaster of Paris.

Such facts, I think, go to swell the promise of increasing prosperity for the country. That there are evils to guard against, I do not for a moment desire to ignore. The want of intelligence of some of the rulers of native states, their swollen armies, their ill-organised administration and taxation, may cause difficulties hereafter, but they can be nothing in comparison to those which have in former years been surmounted.

The death of a man of great capacity, acuteness, and energy may—as was the case shortly after I was at Hyderabad, when Sir Salar Jung died so suddenly—create a gap very difficult to fill; but this, again, could only really be the cause of temporary embarrassment.

On the other hand, too, as in England so in India, there may be, owing to the restless activity of the English blood, an inclination to over-legislate which wise rulers will have to check. Perhaps, too, there may be, in the anxiety to produce favourable budgets, in some respects a tendency to unwise economy, as I think is the case in the reduction of the judges' salaries. But all these things are not permanent impediments to progress; their effect can but be temporary. I see no reason to share the opinion entertained by some that the days of British rule in India are numbered. On the contrary, I think, notwithstanding errors into which even the ablest administrators must fall from time to time, there is yet a great future in store for India under our sway. That sway assuredly at the present day, by the advantage of freedom from internal quarrel, by the commencement of a system of general education, by the organisation of one of the best methods of government that can be devised; by the creation of roads, railways, canals, and other means of communication throughout the country; by irrigation, by the erection of fine public buildings, by its endeavours to combat the destroying scourge of famine, and in a thousand other ways, has vindicated its existence. India has abundant proofs of the capacity of Englishmen for the task they have undertaken in so many parts of the globe, in which, notwithstanding our habit of exposing our faults to the world, I assert we are still pre-eminent; and we shall remain so as long as we can find a supply of men who, often at vast personal sacrifice, devote the best of their lives, their unceasing labour, and the whole of their intelligence to the task of governing such a vast and varying population.

In Lord Ripon and many of those in somewhat less responsible but certainly very onerous positions, we have such men; and I say without hesitation that a visit to India has at least impressed me with the fact that if many of those who stay at home and criticise, would endeavour, before they pronounce judgment, to acquire a little more accurate information on the position, the labours and burdens, the doubts and difficulties which the men who do the work

of the country thousands of miles away must and do encounter, they would often be more tender in their denunciations, and be more inclined to forgive any act which they may disapprove or condemn.

Judging by what I have seen in my trip, I, for one, am grateful to the men who maintain on so lofty a pedestal English reputation for high honour and capacity.

JULIAN GOLDSMID

THE MAN OF THE FUTURE.

THE Man of the Future—that mysterious being who will look back across a dim gulf of time upon imperfect humanity of the nineteenth century with just such kindly and half-incredulous scorn as we now condescend to bestow upon our own club-wielding ape-like ancestor—will be a toothless, hairless, slow-limbed animal, incapable of extended locomotion. His feet will have no divisions between the toes. He will be very averse to fighting, and will maintain his position in the foremost files of time to come solely upon the strength of one or two peculiar convolutions in his brain. This may seem to be a poor prophecy; but it differs from most prophecies in being a mere logical deduction from accomplished facts.

Only in very recent times has the extent of our scientific knowledge been sufficient to justify even the genius of a Darwin in attempting to evolve a rational scheme of the past; and it is not surprising therefore that the idea of using that knowledge like a two-edged knife to cut forward into the future, as well as backward into the past, should not have occurred to our men of science as yet. A little inspection of the weapon, however, will show that it is equally handy for either purpose: for dissecting the coiled-up thread of the destiny of species, as for cutting through the tangled web of their origin. From the same plentiful materials of the present it should not be more difficult to write an account of the Descendants than of the Descent of Man. The task, however, in its entirety, demands another Darwin. Meanwhile, others less gifted may venture to sketch in a rough outline of the Man of the Future with his bald scalp and empty gums.

Of course it may be objected at the outset that Darwin's theory of the Origin of Species stands itself still in need of scientific demonstration. To those to whom such a contention commends itself, no reply shorter than three volumes is possible, and to them these few paragraphs are not addressed. I may take it therefore for granted that, although the logical buttresses of some of Darwin's theories are plainly built of materials too flimsy to support the weight placed upon them, and some few are completely undermined and useless, nevertheless no man of thought can honestly deny that his genealogy

of the human race is in the main reconcilable with fact, with science, and with religion in the highest acceptation of that term. Nor after a moment's consideration of the arguments hereafter to be adduced, should any honest thinker find difficulty in going further and admitting with me that Nature, like Janus of old, has two faces, one looking forward as significantly into the Future, as the other backward into the Past. If by minute inspection of the recent foot-prints of changes that are now passing over the world, one philosopher was guided to proclaim whence those changes started, surely another philosopher of equal powers could tell us, at least as clearly, whither they are going? For it must not be imagined that Darwin's self-appointed mission of tracing Nature backward to its source was in any especial way facilitated by the scanty relics of the actual past that geology has unearthed. As a matter of fact the strongest arguments *against* his theories of gradual evolution, such as the sudden appearance of distinct species in particular strata, and many other similar difficulties, have been furnished by geologists. His *Origin of Species* is written entirely in the living characters of the present. Old types are indeed introduced here and there by way of comment and illustration, but if the *Dinotherium* and the *Mastodon* were still slumbering the sleep of the extinct Unknown, in company with the undiscovered ape-like animal, the 'Missing Link' of popular imagination, the descent of man would have been no more difficult to trace. It was from lions and peacocks, toads and insects—various renderings in aberrant modern types of the same old story of evolution and development—that Darwin compiled the volumes that have revolutionised modern philosophy and modes of thought. It could not have been otherwise. The organic remains of geology would have been as useless to guide him through the free realms of thought he traversed, as the name at his own street corner to teach him the geography of Europe. The interval that has elapsed since woolly elephants browsed along the site of the Strand, mysteriously long as it appears to us, would occupy merely the last page of the latest volume of the interminable *History of Man*. It is indeed a fragment of the original, but so mutilated and imperfect a fragment as to be incomparably inferior to the innumerable translations and modifications of the text printed on loose sheets and scattered over the globe wherever an animal or fish is found, wherever a bird or insect flies. By collecting and deciphering these isolated sentences, Darwin has reproduced, in due proportion, but vague outline, the whole of the mighty work; and where the original geological fragment tallied with his translation he said so, and where it did not tally, he said so. But he was in no way indebted for his knowledge of the past to a study of the past. From the present attitude of Nature he inferred whence it had come, and we can guess whither it is going.

It will be remembered that Darwin's theory of the evolution of

different species receives strong confirmation from the parallel changes which each individual of those species undergoes in growth from the embryo to maturity. The human embryo, for instance, has a hairy skin; a brain with convolutions similar to those of an ape; a great toe projecting like a thumb from the side of the foot, a single pulsating vessel instead of a heart, and a tail longer than its legs. These characteristics disappear long before birth; and thus each human individual before coming into the world exemplifies in his own person the development of his species from some lower animal—lower even than the ape—and furnishes solid collateral evidence of the truth of the theory founded by Darwin upon a comparison of the affinities and differences of allied species as they exist at present. But just as each individual, before becoming subject by birth to the influence of surrounding circumstances, reproduces the character which his species wore before those surrounding circumstances had produced any effect, so each individual, after having passed beyond maturity under the influence of surrounding circumstances, foreshadows the character which his species will wear when those circumstances have produced their full effect. If, then, by following Darwin's method of comparing the affinities and differences of existing species, a new theory of the evolution of the future is built up, and it is then found that each individual during his passage from maturity to old age undergoes the same changes that are predicted for the species, there would be good *primâ facie* evidence in favour of the correctness of the theory; and this evidence is not wanting.

There is of course this difference between a retrospective and a prospective theory of evolution: that the latter can only be carried forward for a short way, only so far in fact as the present incompleted stage of the journey reaches. After that we cannot even conjecture in which direction the next new departure may be taken. In looking back upon the lines of descent which different extant species have followed, we see a number of converging lines, and can place our finger upon the point of intersection and say, 'There was the common parent of all these species.' In looking forward, on the other hand, we can only see the divergence of the lines, and have no fixed points in the landscape to guide us as to their ulterior destination. Hence in pointing out the path that evolution of the future *must* follow, we can only speak with assurance of a very little distance, and with doubt of a few steps more. Unforeseen circumstances and oblique influences cannot fail to arise to turn each species aside from the course it is now following. With this explanation I may restate the proposition that the man of the future will be a toothless, hairless animal, incapable of extended locomotion. His feet will have no divisions between the toes. He will be very averse to fighting, and will maintain his position in the foremost files, of time to come solely upon the strength of a few peculiar convolutions in his brain.

Compared with the stately broad-winged possessors of 'vireo,' this picture of the coming race is not flattering, but it is at least more probable. More details might easily be added, but those which have been enumerated are sufficient for the purpose, and are so obviously the inevitable results of changes already partially accomplished, that few words will be necessary to support them.

The different parts of the human frame as it exists now have been evolved or modified by the action of the two great principles that have always regulated the development of species. Every organ and every ornament that man possesses has been acquired by natural or by sexual selection, and when either of these forces is weakened or removed, or when the necessity for such organs or ornaments is no longer sufficient to counterbalance the loss of the power employed in their production, then they commence at once to disappear. This is the case with human teeth. The early ancestors of man were furnished, as the male gorilla is to-day, with magnificent grinding teeth for crushing hard fruits, and huge canines for fighting with other males for the possession of the females. A trace of this remains in the more powerful dentition of savage races, who stand a short distance nearer to our common ape-like ancestor. Civilised human beings, on the other hand, have absolutely no use for canine teeth, which are therefore found to be small in proportion to the civilisation of their possessors; and for the rest of the teeth they are eminently unsuited for the work they have to perform. This is sufficiently plain from their early decay, and the artificial means which have to be employed in order to retain them even to maturity. The so-called 'wisdom teeth' are even now being lost. They are the last to appear, and the first to go, and even while we have them are unemployed. The rest will follow them probably two at a time, and their places will be supplied no doubt by a hardening of the gums, which cannot fail to be incomparably more convenient and suitable to the viands of civilised life.

Long hair, beard, moustache, and whiskers are all sexual ornaments acquired by man to charm and allure the opposite sex, just as the canine teeth were acquired to fight for a similar purpose. But neither is sexual selection so powerful now, nor are these hairy ornaments so important as they used to be. Marriage is no longer settled by the strength or magnificent hairiness of the suitor. Wealth will cover the bald head; intellect is more valued than whiskers, and the length of a rent roll counterbalances the shortness of a beard. A woman too who has but a scanty supply of that ancient 'pride of a woman'—long hair—can eke it out by fraud and art, nor need she go unwedded on that account. Neither men nor women therefore who happen to be ill furnished with hair are now, as formerly, handicapped in the race of life, and unlikely to leave children to inherit their defects. On the other hand, they gain a distinct advantage

at the outset, inasmuch as no vital force is in their case wasted in the production of useless ornaments. There is, moreover, a mysterious law of correlation of growth between the hair and the teeth. Throughout the animal world strong and luxuriant hair is accompanied by regular and durable teeth; and a hairless breed of dogs exists which is equally conspicuous for the absence of its teeth. Hence it might have been expected that civilisation would affect the hair as much as the teeth, and infallibly tend to suppress all hirsute adornments, as not being sufficiently necessary to the welfare of the individual to repay the cost of their production. Experience confirms this view; for as the teeth are small, soon lost, and two of them at least capricious in appearance, so bald heads in the prime of life, smooth cheeks and beardless chins among men, and women conspicuous for the absence of natural locks, are common in civilised countries; while savage tribes, who have more lately left, or still remain in, that state of society in which individual strength and personal ornament are demanded by the principles of natural and sexual selection, have stronger teeth and retain more of their original wealth of hair.

With respect to his locomotive limbs civilised man has lost some faculties and is losing others. The prehensile power of the great toe, inherited from our ape-like ancestor, and still obvious in the human embryo, is retained in part by savage races; but of necessity lost by those human beings who habitually enclose their feet in the boots and shoes of civilised life. Indeed, the separation of the five toes under such circumstances is no longer necessary, and will not permanently survive. Already the percentage of persons who have two or more of their toes united throughout their length is surprisingly large.

In that particular form of endurance, again, which enables a man to travel long distances on foot, the savage is, as was to be expected, immensely superior to his civilised brother. And increased facilities of artificial locomotion, by rendering the use by the latter of his lower limbs more and more unnecessary, will reduce them in time to a comparatively rudimentary condition. Finally, the readiness of our ancestors, and of our savage contemporaries, to fight with one another is no longer profitable, but absolutely pernicious, in the struggle for civilised existence. There is no necessity nowadays for frequent personal combats and struggles of life and death. On the contrary, a man who is violent and pugnacious will, as a general rule, be more often imprisoned or slain in the prime of life than his more pacific neighbours, and will therefore leave fewer children to inherit his fighting spirit. Thus the constant process of elimination of combative men will continue, without any compensating advantage in the struggle for existence arising as heretofore from success as a warrior. The man of the future, therefore, will not only be toothless, baldheaded, and incapable of extended locomotion with his imperfectly developed feet;

but he will also be particularly averse to engaging in personal conflict—a lover of peace at any price.

Now it would, as was remarked above, furnish a strong confirmation to this theory if it were found that each individual of the human species, during his passage from maturity to old age, presented in his own person any of these several changes predicted for the species. That he does so in a remarkable degree cannot be denied. Taking up our position in imagination at that point which is called the prime of life, as representing the highest point of development attained by man in the present, and looking back, we can in his person trace the career of his species through the fiery age of semi-civilised youthful nations, the period of unbridled love and fearless war, and through the uncivilised period of boyhood, with all the restlessness, impudence, and love of discordant noises that distinguish savages, to the mere embryo, with its hairy skin, separate great toe, and long tail like a monkey, and with the single pulsating vessel which serves for a heart to animals far lower than the apes. Turning round and looking forward, on the other hand, we can see the later period of life when man has lost two of his teeth and much of his love of locomotion; and the final period, when he has become a toothless, baldheaded, stiff-limbed animal, incapable of extended locomotion, nervous and timid—an old man in fact. If it should enter into the head of any future novelist to write another circumstantial account of 'The Coming Race,' it is to be hoped that he will make use of the above materials, which, if less picturesque than 'vril' and wings, are, as I have said before, at least more consonant with nature.

E. KAY ROBINSON.

DETECTIVE POLICE.

THERE can hardly be a doubt but that certain recent events, both in England and Ireland, should teach us that we ought in this country to take a new departure as regards the detection of crime. With the most efficient police in Europe, so far as the maintenance of public order is concerned, it is a curious fact that as regards a detective force we are very little if at all better off than our grandfathers were half a century ago, when they had to rely upon Townsend, the famous Bow Street runner, as the one only man in England who could hunt out thieves or murderers, and bring them to justice. It is very true that we have, both in London and the provinces, a considerable number of what are called detective officers; but except that these individuals wear plain clothes instead of uniform, they differ little or nothing from the ordinary constables of the force. Not only to the dangerous classes, but to the Londoner of any experience, our 'plain clothes officers,' as they are called, are as well known as if they were clad in blue tunics and helmets. In fact they don't pretend to be what they certainly are not, a secret body of public servants, whose mission it is to detect crime, to spot down criminals, and, without making themselves known to those they are always fighting against, to put the authorities on the right track as to how and where criminals are to be found, and the crimes they have committed brought to light.

It is only fair to state that a great deal of the crime committed in London meets with the punishment it deserves. But, with a few rare exceptions, the criminals are invariably laid hands on by the ordinary police, in the everyday way of duty. Considering the immense districts of outlying houses the force has to watch over, more particularly in many of the suburbs, and taking into consideration how easy of access all our habitations are, it is marvellous to note how wonderfully well the Metropolitan Police must do its duty. When we remember the almost interminable streets and roads, many of them composed of detached and semi-detached houses, that the police have to watch over in those ever-extending western suburbs of London, and when we recollect how easy of access nearly all these buildings are, it seems little short of a miracle that cases of burglary are not

twenty times more numerous than they are within the Metropolitan Police district.

But beyond this it is impossible to praise the manner in which lives or property are guarded. To those who take any interest in the subject, it is very evident that when once a crime is committed in London, when once the thieves get fairly off with the property they have taken, or if the unknown murderer manages to keep out of the way for a few hours after he has killed his victim, the detection of crime seems to be a problem which our so-called detectives have not the capacity in most cases to solve. And it is the same with great as with smaller affairs. Is there a capital in all Europe where the Hatton Garden robbery and the attempt to blow up the Government Offices in Westminster would have remained mysteries of which it seems impossible to discover the sources? In Paris, St. Petersburg, Vienna, Rome, or Berlin, the thieves who stole the several thousand pounds worth of precious stones in the former instance, or the perpetrators of the outrage in the latter, would in all probability have been in the hands of the police twenty-four hours after either crime was committed.

A great deal of praise has been bestowed upon the Irish police for the manner in which they have worked, and are still working, to bring to justice the murderers who have made the name of Ireland a bye-word in the civilised world. There can be no doubt but that, considering the means they are able to employ, the Dublin detectives have done exceedingly well. But to do the work of detection by means of approvers is not only a great mistake, but one for which in the long run the cause of justice and order has to pay very dearly. In the first place, an approver is in most instances a greater rogue than those upon whom he informs. To let off such a man as Carey is in point of fact a premium upon crime. And yet the executive is bound to do so. It is part and parcel of an informer's bargain with the authorities that he should get off scot free, no matter what may be the crime he has committed; and did the police, or rather the Government, not fulfil their part of the contract, there would be an end to anything of the kind at any future date. But, although bribing rogues and murderers to tell upon each other is perfectly justifiable, it ought not to be resorted to until all other means of detection fail, seeing that it is in every case the road by which they escape unpunished, in order that justice may be meted out to those others who are not more guilty, and are certainly less dishonourable than themselves. Moreover, there is in the system of trusting to informers or approvers no certainty whatever in the detection of crime. The reward offered may or may not induce one of those who are guilty to come forward and denounce his partners in guilt. In Ireland it has succeeded in one instance, but this may be regarded as quite exceptional. In England, as the

police authorities will say, there is hardly an instance known in which any amount in the shape of a reward has induced a thief, murderer, or other criminal to inform against his companions in crime. So much is this the case that the saying of 'Honour amongst thieves' may be regarded as practically true.

The one only efficacious manner of detecting crime is such as is adopted in France, but which not a few Englishmen object to as mean and underhand. It is that of having a body of secret agents; men who, although in the pay of Government, are not known to be what they are; are not known, save in exceptional cases, to each other, and of whom the criminal classes are utterly ignorant as regards their names, personal appearance, and the places they frequent. As an illustration of my meaning, I may be allowed to relate an affair respecting the detection of crime in France with which I happened to be indirectly connected.

Shortly before the breaking out of the Franco-Prussian war I happened to mention at a dinner party in London that I intended starting in a few days to take three or four weeks' holiday from work in Paris. A gentleman who sat next me asked me whether I could undertake to execute a business commission for him in the French capital; adding that, if I would do so, all my expenses would be paid, and a further sum of 100*l.* given me if I succeeded in what I was asked to do. To this I agreed, and called upon him at his office in the City next day by appointment, to learn the nature of the job.

I then learnt that the firm to which this gentleman belonged had been robbed of bonds worth about 10,000*l.* Neither he nor his partner wished to make any fuss about the matter, for they were afraid that their doing so would injure their credit; and, moreover, the thief was known to be none other than the son of the partner. The young fellow had been traced to Dover, evidently on his way to Paris. He had taken with him, as well as the bonds, about 300*l.* in notes and gold, which he ought to have paid into the bank. This money they never expected to see again, but the bonds they had some hope might be recovered. I undertook to do my best for them, and started for Paris sooner than I otherwise would have done, in order to work the case to the best of my ability.

On my arrival in Paris, I went to the *Préfecture de Police* in the Rue de Jérusalem. I had no letter of introduction of any kind, but merely showed my Foreign Office passport, and said I wanted to see one of the *sous-chefs* on a matter of business. I was at once shown into a small office, or sitting-room, where a middle-aged English-looking gentleman, who might have passed for the manager of a London bank, was seated at a small desk. He was, as Frenchmen always are, very civil and polite; and, till I commenced my story, did he ask me a single question as to what had brought me there. When he had heard all I had to say, he reflected for a moment, and then repeating

to himself 'A case of stolen bonds, M. So-and-so is the man for that,' touched a handbell, and told the messenger to call a person whom he named. In due time the latter arrived, when the *sous-chef* bowed to me saying: 'This gentleman will do all you require,' and left myself and my new friend to find our way out of the room.

The *agent secret*, or detective officer, to whom I was thus introduced, went with me into another room, and heard a detailed account of all I could tell him about the business, making notes as he did so. I happened to mention that I did not wish the affair to get into the papers, upon which he burst out laughing, and said, '*Non, non, Monsieur*, we do not manage these affairs in Paris as you do in London. *Là-bas* (over yonder), publicity, and *les rapporteurs des journaux* make the detection of crime almost impossible. For my part, I do not wonder that so little crime is found out in London. I am only surprised that any at all should be discovered. But *vous verrez, Monsieur*, that we manage matters of the kind in quite a different manner in Paris.' He then asked me when and where he could see me. I told him that I breakfasted, French fashion, at a little *café* at the corner of the *Passage du Havre*, every day at noon. He then bade me adieu, saying that in three or four days he would meet me at the place indicated, but that I must not be surprised if his appearance differed somewhat from what it was at present.

When we parted, I confess I had but very little hope that I should succeed in the business that had been confided to my care. The very few clues I had been able to give the detective were of the most unsatisfactory kind. The name of the young man who had stolen the bonds would of course have been changed ere he reached Paris, and the personal description I could give of him would be of little service in a town where young Englishmen of his type might be found by the dozen, if not by the hundred. The numbers and description of the bonds were certainly forthcoming, but they, too, could be of little use in a city like Paris, where almost every office contained scores of such documents. I wrote a short and by no means a hopeful letter to my friends in London by that night's post, and determined to wait patiently until I saw the man again.

It was on the fourth morning, as I was ordering my *déjeuner* at the *café* where I had made the appointment, that the detective came to see me; but so completely was he changed in appearance, that, notwithstanding his having warned me that I would not know him when we met, I thought at first the individual who accosted me must have made a mistake; and it was only when he showed me his card, and whispered something about the *Préfecture de Police*, that I grasped the fact that this was indeed the gentleman with whom I had had the interview in the *Rue de Jérusalem*. Instead of a clean-shaved upper lip and chin, he now wore a very neat pair of moustaches, with imperial to match. His hair was close cut,

which, together with the fact that his mutton-chop whiskers had disappeared, makes me believe that when I saw him before he must have been wearing a wig and false whiskers. At the *Préfecture* he was dressed in badly-made and somewhat shabby clothes, and looked like a third or fourth-rate clerk of a small office. But when he came to meet me at the *café*, he was smart, well set-up, and had the general appearance of a French military man in plain clothes, who was trying to look younger than he really was, or what Frenchmen would call a *ci-devant jeune homme*. In a word, a more thorough and complete change it would be impossible for any man to work in his own appearance.

I invited him to join me at breakfast, which he did, and a very hearty meal he made. But it was not until we were taking our coffee, and smoking our after-breakfast cigarettes, that he told me why he had changed his dress and general bearing so completely.

‘I must tell you, Monsieur,’ he explained, ‘that if we, the secret agents of the police, are once recognised, our occupation is gone; we are of no more use to the *Préfecture*; and although we may not be actually turned adrift, we are given some very inferior appointment, and very likely never rise again to the salary we have held. This is why we take care never to appear the same in and out of the office. At the *Préfecture* we may be seen by any one; and should those we have met there be able to point us out in public, we are as good as lost, so far as our usefulness is concerned.’

On my remarking that such treatment could hardly be called fair, he said he did not take my view of the case. The secret police, or detectives, were highly paid, and were extremely well rewarded after they had discovered and brought to justice any very difficult case. They knew what they had to do when they entered the service, and they were told from the first what was the penalty of failure.

He then proceeded to inform me about the case in which I was interested. In the course of four days and a half—between the forenoon of Monday, when we had parted at the *Préfecture*, and noon on Friday, when he met me at the *café*, he had succeeded far beyond my expectations. Indeed, of the 10,000*l.* worth of shares and bonds stolen from the firm, he had recovered, and actually had with him in his pocket, about 9,700*l.* These, it appeared, had been pledged by the young man who had taken them in three different places; but the holders of them, being all more or less tainted with previous dishonest transactions, had surrendered them rather than go through the ordeal of being questioned by a *Juge de Paix*. No doubt they had lost money on the transaction, but, as my informer remarked, not more than they deserved. There were not, he told me, more than about a dozen places in Paris where valuable deeds would be taken from persons unknown to those who took them. The looking after mercantile and financial freebooters of this kind was my friend’s

explained. When I asked him whether he had threatened those who held the bonds with the terrors of the law, he laughed, and said 'No.' He was merely the dog who had spotted down where the birds were; and regular *agents de police* had gone in, as sportsmen do, and killed the game. He told me that no one belonging to the secret police was ever, by any chance, called upon to arrest any one, or had ever anything to do with *mandats* of arrest, or any legal or criminal document whatever of any kind. My letter that evening to my friends in London was a good deal more cheery than the one I had written four days before. What surprised me more, perhaps than anything else, was to find at the termination of the whole affair that the expenses, including a small present to the detective, were amply covered by 200 francs, or 8*l.* sterling.

I have given this anecdote at some length, to show how very different the French system of detection is from what goes by the same name in England. The conclusion to be deduced from what I have seen, both in the above and in other instances, is that in France the art—for it certainly merits being so called—of criminal detection *has kept pace with the system of crime itself*, whereas in England such has not been the case. So long ago as 1873, I happened to meet in Paris an Englishman whom I had once known under very different circumstances. Twenty years previously he had been an officer in the army, much liked in his regiment, very popular wherever he went, and with considerable means of his own. It was the old story. Cards, dice, the betting ring, and reckless habits had brought him so low in the world that he had not a shilling he could call his own, and he had been obliged, whilst still a young man, to sell his commission. I had lost sight of him for nearly a quarter of a century, until he suddenly accosted me in the streets of Paris. After some weeks' renewal of our acquaintance, he happened to fall very ill, and sent for me to come and see him. Believing himself to be dying, he told me that he had been for some years employed as a carrier of stolen goods between London and Paris. For this he received a handsome salary, with a commission upon all that he delivered safely over to those appointed to receive the same in the French capital. He always travelled first-class, never with luggage enough to excite suspicion, and never embarking from or landing at the same seaport more than twice or three times in the course of the year. Plate, jewels, valuable bonds, and other items of portable property were what he carried in his portmanteau. He furnished me with several details as to how the organisation of theft was carried on in London, and hardly could any schemes be better managed. Horrified as I was with the depths to which my former friend had fallen, I could not forbear asking him a few questions about the police in both countries. His answers were that if in England a thief once gets clear 'off' with his booty, he may look upon himself as almost safe;

but that in France it was ten to one but what he would, no matter what prosecutions he might take, be eventually laid hands on. Much in the same manner that a merchant might complain of an undue advantage being taken by the Custom House officers, so did this Englishman declare that the French police were not fair and above-board in their dealings; that they had spies in every thieves' haunt, and in every place where men who live by dishonest means do most congregate. So changed had he become from what he formerly was, that he seemed really to believe he was an injured man because thieves could not deal as they liked with the property of others. But of England he told a very different story. According to him, our police do not believe in the old saying that 'Prevention is better than cure.' They do not seem to believe that robbery is possible until the crime is actually committed; and they act much in the same manner as the commander of an army would do if he sent spies into the enemy's camp dressed in the uniform of the regiments to which they belonged.

This same individual, who recovered from his illness in Paris, although he has more lately died, came a year or so afterwards to see me in London, and took me to a meeting of what, for want of a better name, I may call 'master thieves.' On this occasion I found all he had told me to be perfectly true. Those who live upon others in the metropolis do not seem to have the least fear of the police, provided that they, or those who work for them, once get off with what they have taken. They say that if a man ever gets what they call 'into trouble,' he has a bad time of it for the rest of his life. He is photographed, his likeness is kept at Scotland Yard, and so sure as the slightest thing is suspected of him, he is what they call 'persecuted' to the bitter end. But at the detection of crime as it exists in England, the dangerous classes simply laugh. They have a joke amongst themselves that what are called 'plain clothes officers' are kept up in order that the feelings of thieves and others may not be hurt, as they would be if arrested by policemen in uniform.

More than a year ago, there appeared in the *Saturday Review* an article on 'The French Detective Police,' in which the writer briefly, but effectively, states the difference between the French and the English methods of detecting crime. He says:—

For the detection of such crimes as the great robberies which are so common in England, perpetrated by organised gangs of thieves and receivers, the French system is wonderfully effective; but it often fails in unpremeditated criminal offences committed by persons of previously unsuspected character. Even here, however, the special training of the French detective comes in. He does not, like his English colleagues, blunder about the place, conducting a sort of rehearsal of magisterial examination, frightening honest servants, and putting real offenders on their guard, but goes quietly about his business, making his deductions often from the slightest and most trivial premises.¹

¹ *Saturday Review*, February 11, 1882.

This certainly gives in a few words a very fair account of the modes by which those employed in the detection of crime go about their work in France and in our own country. But it hardly goes far enough. I have, on more than one occasion, spoken to persons connected with the French police regarding their English *confrères*, and have invariably found them to be of one and the same opinion. They speak of the metropolitan force, and of the way order is kept in the streets of London, in the highest possible terms; adding, by way of a 'rider,' that the English, being a people who love order, are easy to manage as compared with the French.

To our detectives, or officers in plain clothes, they award all possible praise for honourable conduct, and for doing the duty they are called upon to perform. But as regards the actual detection of crime, they say we are more than a century behind them; and as France improves every year in the art, so England falls further and further behind the rest of Europe. They say very truly, that crime, like everything else, is becoming more and more scientific and clever in the way it works; and that those who have to find out where it exists, and where its authors are to be found, must improve their manner of working in the same ratio. London, so say the French detectives, has now to bear much more than its own share of crime; as, on account of the open and undisguised way in which criminals are looked after, an immense number of rogues from other countries resort here, and, having to do something in order to live, turn their talents to account in the manner that might be expected of them. The individual of whom I have made mention, as having fallen from the position of an officer in the army to that of an exporter of stolen goods, told me that there are in certain parts of what he called 'Foreign London,' a population of thieves and vagabonds from all parts of Europe, but chiefly from France, which would astonish by its numbers any one who would take the trouble to inquire into the subject; that this population is increasing every year in the very centre of the metropolis, and has a hand in almost every robbery of any magnitude that takes place.

There is no doubt that since Mr. Howard Vincent was appointed Chief of the Criminal Investigation Department in Scotland Yard, a great improvement has taken place in all the details of that department. The scandal of the days when Benson and his fellow swindlers used to make a rich harvest out of their work is now a thing of the past. But the question whether the reformers have taken the right direction still remains. There is no denying the fact that offences of the greatest magnitude are committed in London, and that the perpetrators in most instances remain undiscovered. Of the Phoenix Park murders it is not needful to say anything, as some

of those who had a hand in that fearful offence have been induced to become informers. But it is a very bad state of affairs when the authorities have no means of detection to depend on save this. In nineteen cases out of twenty there will be no result whatever; and, as I said before, when the system does work well, it entails the saving from the gallows those who, in all probability, merit extreme punishment more than, or at any rate quite as much as, their fellow murderers.

The prejudice which all Englishmen entertain against a secret, or really detective, police, is so strong that it is to be feared it will take time before it can be overcome. Even Mr. Howard Vincent, in an admirably compiled volume on the duties of the police, which he published about two years ago,² shows he is not free from the hallucination that to discover crime and criminals, open measures, patent to all the world, should be adopted. When speaking of the duties of a detective, he says:—

The idea that a detective, to be useful in a district, must be unknown, is erroneous in the great mass of cases, as he is then unable to distinguish between honest men, who would help a known officer, and others.

But in the next sentence he shows that he does not approve of the peculiarities which are so apparent in most, if not all, the class of policemen called ‘plain-clothes officers,’ who are dignified with the title of detectives, for he goes on to say:—

It is nevertheless highly undesirable for detectives to proclaim their official character to strangers by walking in step with each other and in a drilled style, or by wearing very striking clothes, or police regulation boots, or by openly recognising constables in uniform, or by saluting superior officers.³

Whatever Mr. Howard Vincent may have intended to convey to his readers in general, and to the police force in particular, respecting the duties of a detective, there is surely a contradiction in these extracts from his very valuable *Manual of Criminal Law*. Either a detective ought or ought not to be known as such. If the former, why object to his showing very plainly who and what he is? If the latter, surely he is doing right in maintaining his *incognito*. But the fact is, that like many others who have considered the subject, the Director of Criminal Investigations, who is evidently a practical man, approves in the abstract of a secret police, and thinks that the time has not yet come when such a measure could be openly and avowedly advocated without arousing the prejudices of that somewhat unreasoning personage who is called the British Public.

And yet the establishment of a real detective force—the enter-

² *A Police Code and Manual of Criminal Law*, by C. E. Howard Vincent, Director of Criminal Investigations. London: Cassell, Petter, & Galpin, 1881.

³ *Ibid.* p. 105.

tainment of a body of intelligent, well-educated, practical men, not known to any one save their immediate chief as belonging in any way to the police—is what must be done, unless we are contented to allow the dangerous classes, as they are called, to become masters of the situation. Crime is gradually, and by no means slowly, gaining the upper hand amongst us. Society of all grades in general, and the police in particular, is now like an army in the field without any spies in the enemy's camp. The criminal classes march with the age; the cause of order has not done so. Our executive police can be trusted to any extent. Their faithfulness to the cause of order is above praise and beyond doubt. But of what use are these qualities when they don't know where to find the enemy who is everlastingly at war with them? As matters now are, we cannot be said to have any detective force. Those who go by that name are, as I said before, as well known to the dangerous classes as if they wore the regulation uniform. The person of whom I have made mention as having cast in his lot with thieves told me that the people with whom he associated have no more fear of mistaking a London detective for anything but what he really is, than they had of believing that an ordinary policeman belonged to one of their gangs. They, one and all, know the detectives perfectly well by sight, and in many instances are acquainted with their different names.

It is far otherwise in Paris. There, *les agents secrets* are not only personally unknown to the general public but, save in exceptional cases, even to each other. It is known where they may be found at a moment's notice when wanted; but, as a rule, they do not frequent the *Préfecture* more than can be helped. They have nothing whatever to do with serving summonses or executing warrants. There are amongst them men who have lived in almost every class of life, and each of them has what may be called a special line of business of his own. In the course of their duty some of them mix with the receivers of stolen goods; others with thieves; many with what are called in Paris commercial rascals, and not a few with those whose 'industry' it is to melt silver and other property of a like valuable nature. Forgers, sharpers of all kinds, housebreakers, and horse-stealers—a very numerous and most industrious class in Paris—have each and all their special agents of the police, who watch them and know where to lay hands upon them when they are 'wanted.' A French detective who cannot assume and 'act up to' any character, and who cannot disguise himself in any manner so effectually as not to be recognised even by those who know him best, is not considered fit to hold his appointment. Their ability in this way is marvellous. One of them some years ago made me a bet that he would, in the course of the next few days, address me four times, for at least ten minutes each time, and that I should not know him on any occasion until he discovered himself. As a matter of course I was

on my guard, and mistrusted every one who came near me. But the man won his bet. It is needless to enter into particulars. Let it suffice to say that in the course of the next four days he presented himself in the character of a bootmaker's assistant, a *fiacre* driver, a venerable old gentleman with a great interest in the *Bourse*, and, finally, as a waiter in the hotel in which I was stopping. Assuredly, the man deserved to win his bet, for in no single case had I the faintest suspicion of his identity.

During the Empire, between the years 1855 and 1868, there lived in Paris an Englishman who moved in good society, was a member of more than one first-class club, and who, until after his death, was not known to belong to the secret police of Paris. Apparently, he was a middle-aged gentleman with good private means, living alone and dining every day at Bignon's or at the *Café Anglais*. Yet this individual was the means of bringing more scoundrels of a certain class to justice than perhaps any other detective in the French capital. As I said before, all the *agents secrets* of the Paris force have their special line of business—their special beat, so to speak, where they hunt up the particular game they are told to look after. This Englishman had in his day been a great gambler; and even long after he had given up *rouge et noir* and baccarat, loved a little *écarté* with not very low points, and could hardly exist without his rubber of whist every evening. His *spécialité* with the police was to spot down men who cheated, or were proprietors of gambling hells. On one occasion, which must be remembered by many members of the French Jockey Club, he was the means of having arrested a person who had been introduced into that club, and who played certain tricks with money and with cheques that threw discredit on all the members until the affair was cleared up. And yet this gentleman lived more than a dozen years in Paris without any one suspecting his employment, and even after his death the truth only came out by accident.

Of men employed in the same manner as was this Englishman—each man having his own beat in the hunting-ground of crime—there are at least three or four dozen in Paris. As a matter of course, their lives would not be worth a week's purchase if the dangerous classes could identify them. It is only by keeping their names and appearances strictly secret that they carry on their work, which they certainly do in as efficient a manner as any body of public servants in the world.

There is no doubt but that the establishment of a Detective Police, such as I have endeavoured to describe, would meet with opposition in England. And yet it is the one only means by which we can hope to diminish crime, and discover where its perpetrators are to be found. Englishmen have such a rooted dislike to anything private or secret, that it would be difficult to induce them to see how

much good would follow the establishment of a really efficient detective system in this country. Again, with many people, the thought of future safety weighs little in comparison with the pleasure they derive from reading in the daily papers the daily progress made by the police in their endeavours to recover lost property, and of the 'clues' which so seldom come to anything. And yet there is a form of the detective system, of which those who have any object in making certain inquiries seldom scruple to avail themselves. I need hardly say I allude to the 'Private Inquiry' Offices which exist in considerable numbers in London, as well as in most of the large provincial towns. Those who are not acquainted with certain phases of London life, would hardly believe the immense amount of business done by the offices throughout the year, and for every class of society. It is very seldom they fail in the work they take in hand, and the chief reason of their success is, no doubt, the secrecy with which they conduct their work. Did they care to do so, or were they careless of the interests of those who employ them, there is scarcely one of these inquiry offices which could not make the fortune of half-a-dozen 'society' papers by the personal and sensational paragraphs they could supply. But, if we can imagine such a thing possible, let us suppose one of these offices acting after the fashion of our London so-called Detective Police, and, so to speak, advertising their agents, or those who work for them, by any peculiar style of dress, by any remarkable manner of walking. Were any of them insane enough to do such a thing, they might shut up their offices in a week, for most assuredly their business would be gone. But, on the other hand, if we had a Detective Police, the many and great obstacles which now attend any attempt to discover criminals and crime would disappear and become matters of the past, and London would no longer be the happy hunting-ground of the greatest scoundrels in Europe.

So far I have only alluded to the detection of offences connected with taking the property of others. There is more than one kind of crime, however, which is greatly on the increase amongst us, and which ought to be very much more inquired into than it is at present. Authentic statistics of the number of deaths from unknown causes, of the bodies which are returned as 'found drowned,' of the mysterious 'sudden-deaths' of which no one seems to know anything certain, would form a curious and instructive volume, which would astonish and startle not a few people who, because they do not notice, or perhaps never hear, what is going on beyond the circle in which they live, believe that all is well and must continue so.

Again, what country, except perhaps the United States, is there that can compare with England in the matter of financial crimes—joint-stock company swindles which ruin many and bring grist to the

mills of men for whom no punishment is too severe? How often, or rather how very seldom, do we see men who have ruined others by the score in affairs of this kind brought to justice? Of this kind there are crimes committed almost every day, which ought to meet with punishments even more severe than are awarded to members of the 'long firm' or 'welshers.' And to these we may add what are called political offences. Those who preach their doctrines by means of dynamite, and who try to frighten public men by threats of murder, have now found a place amongst us. Not long ago miscreants of this stamp were unknown even in Ireland, but, once having found a footing in that country, seemed to have lost no time in coming to England. Who would have believed ten years ago, that in the year of grace 1883, Cabinet Ministers would have to be followed by plain-clothes officers, in order that they might be protected from possible murder?

In a word, and to repeat the opinion stated at the beginning of this paper, we must take a new departure in all that appertains to the detection of crime. As yet, we cannot be said to have any means which can be depended upon to unravel even the most everyday cases of offence against either property or life. Neither crime nor criminals are the same as they were a quarter of a century ago. Both have kept pace with the age, and have brought to their assistance knowledge, science, and practical experience of men and things. Our present detectives, such as they are, seem to have their time taken up with finding out public-houses where liquor is sold 'after hours,' or in spotting down grooms out of place who compare their betting books in the open street. But offences which endanger the lives of hundreds, or which cause great and dire misfortune to those who are robbed, go unpunished, because the perpetrators are undiscovered. This must be entirely changed if we wish or hope that persons and property are to be sacred amongst us.

The opposition to establishing such a force as I have advocated will, whenever the Government takes the matter seriously in hand, no doubt be very great. But this will not last long. Englishmen have this good quality, more perhaps than any other people except their transatlantic cousins, that they are always open to conviction; and once they see that their opposition to any measure is ill-judged, they are as zealous to help as they were before to hinder. There are men now alive who remember when the proposed establishment of a regular police force in London was looked upon with the greatest abhorrence, as being a step towards ruling England by means of *gendarmes*, after the manner of the countries where despotism prevailed. In some of the files of newspapers printed fifty odd years ago, there are still to be seen denunciations of what was looked on by many people as the beginning of the end of our national liberty. The old-fashioned watchmen, or 'Charlies,' as they were called, were

declared to be all that could possibly be required for the protection of life and property. Where is the man who would now promulgate such opinions? It will be very much the same when the authorities determine to establish a Detective Police Force that is worthy of the name, and can work as similar *employés* work in other countries. If the Government that happens to be in office when this change takes place is Conservative, it will be denounced by the Liberals; and in the event of its being Liberal, it will be roundly abused by the Conservatives. But after a time all this will cease, and men will wonder how the country in general, and London, as well as our other large towns, in particular, were content to remain so many years without any effectual means of detecting crime, or of discovering by whom offences against life and property had been committed; and where those likely to do so could be found. We must establish a body of men who will not only be able to bring murderers, rogues, and all enemies of order to justice; but who will also, in some considerable measure at any rate, have the knowledge how to bring into operation, so far as crime of all kinds is concerned, that prevention which is acknowledged to be better than cure.

M. LAING MEASON.

ISAIAH OF JERUSALEM.

II.

WHOEVER has once acquainted himself with the history of the times during which Isaiah lived must be struck with the close connexion in which his first thirty-nine chapters mostly stand with that history. They are called forth by it and turn upon it. The prophet announces judgments and blessings to come, he delineates an ideal future; but the positive history with which he deals is the history passing before his eyes; the names, actors, and events are those of that history. He does not profess to exhibit the positive history of future centuries.

In the twenty-seven chapters which conclude the Book of Isaiah, and in certain chapters occurring amongst the first thirty-nine, this course of proceeding is changed. The names, actors, and events, are no longer contemporary with the prophet, like Ahaz, Hezekiah, the Assyrian invasion; or else ideal creations like Immanuel. No, they are actual names and events of a time more than one hundred and fifty years after Isaiah's death,—Cyrus, the Medes and Persians, the fall of Babylon. Instead of insight profound indeed and most admirable, but still natural, we have supernatural prediction. And this supernatural prediction was long thought to add much force and interest to Isaiah's deliverances. How grand, says Bossuet, what a convincing miracle, that the prophet should name Cyrus a century and a half before Cyrus appeared!

Convincing, one may ask, of what? Of its being a *miracle*; of its being, that is, something altogether out of one's experience and contrary to it, something, therefore, baffling and bewildering. How are we furthered, what is really done for us, by Isaiah's naming Cyrus, by his prophesying the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, by his saying, 'Go up, O Elam! besiege, O Media!' some hundred and sixty years, at least, before the Medes and Persians under Cyrus took Babylon? Just as much as would be done for us by Milton's having prophesied the disestablishment of the Irish Church by Mr. Gladstone, by his having cried, 'Go up, O Miall! besiege, O Henry Richard!' some two hundred years before Mr. Gladstone and those his powerful and famous allies executed their achievement. Just as much and just as little. It would be made out that Milton had done something quite out of all common experience, and contrary to it; we

should be astonished and puzzled, but not at all furthered. What furthers us is Milton's greatness and sublimity, exhibited under conditions which are accessible to our experience. So with Isaiah, what furthers us is Isaiah's insight and sublimity; and so far as these are shown under natural conditions we shall enjoy them most, for as shown under preternatural conditions they can but astonish us.

People say: As a fact, supernatural predictions are not made, names of future actors in human affairs, details of future events, are not foreknown. And the conviction of this has led a great and ever-growing majority of serious critics to conclude that in our present Book of Isaiah the deliverances of two distinct prophets have got joined together;—the deliverances of one prophet whose centre was Jerusalem, and who had before his eyes the events of the year 700 B.C. and of the half century preceding it, and of another prophet whose centre was Babylon, and who had before his eyes the events of a time one hundred and sixty years later. These critics have been led in the same way to attribute prophecies in the Book of Daniel, which were supposed to come from a Daniel living at the time of the Babylonian Captivity, to a much later prophet. And with these critics I agree; and with that reading of experience which has led them to their conclusion. But what I now wish to insist on is something different. I do not now urge that supernatural predictions are not, in fact, made, and that therefore we must separate the latter part of our Book of Isaiah from the earlier. What I urge is rather this: by separating the two prophets now joined together in our Book of Isaiah, and by letting each prophet deal with his own proper time, we enable ourselves to feel the Book not less deeply and fully, but more; we increase our enjoyment of it.

But Isaiah, some one will say, arrange the Book how you will, *does* predict.—Not supernaturally. He predicts the discomfiture of Sennacherib as a contemporary of the first Napoleon might have predicted his failure in Russia, or as Milton actually predicted disaster to the Church of England. But he does not predict the taking of Babylon any more than contemporaries of the first Napoleon predicted the taking of Sebastopol. He does not mention Cyrus, any more than Milton mentions Mr. Carvell Williams. Isaiah had indeed a sweep of vision, a depth of insight, far beyond Milton's, and which cannot be too much revered; but they are not supernatural. If, when the Young Pretender was marching into England and alarm was at its height, some man like Butler (who in that same year 1745 did in fact preach one of his wisest sermons) had said to the English Government, 'The danger from the Jacobites is nothing, it will pass away;' but had then pointed to Ireland lying throttled in the gripe of the penal laws, and added, 'There is your danger! there you are accumulating trouble for yourselves in the future,' he would have shown wonderful insight, indeed; insight which neither Butler nor

any man then living did actually show. But one cannot say that such a proof of insight, had it been given, would have been preternatural. Well, the prophesying of Isaiah shows an insight of that rare stamp, but has nothing preternatural. Let us take his famous prophecy of Immanuel as an illustration.

The reader will bear in mind my previous sketch of the situation of events when Isaiah had his meeting with Ahaz, the young king of Judah. The confederate kings of Syria and Ephraim, Rezin of Syria and Pekah son of Remaliah, have invaded Judah, and there is panic at Jerusalem. In the height of the panic, Isaiah goes to meet Ahaz with this message from the Eternal :—¹

Take heed and, be quiet; fear not, neither be fainthearted for the two tails of these smoking firebrands, for the fierce anger of Rezin with Syria, and of the son of Remaliah.

Because Syria, Ephraim, and the son of Remaliah have taken evil counsel against thee, saying :—

‘Let us go up against Judah, and vex it, and let us make a breach therein for us, and set a king in the midst of it, even the son of Tabeal—’²

Thus saith the Lord God: It shall not stand, neither shall it come to pass.

The threatened danger from Syria and Israel, then, is nothing; and the prophet bids Ahaz ask, if he likes, a sign that so it will prove to be. Ahaz, embarrassed with his formidable comforter, and having his own schemes in his head, replies that he will not presume to ask for a sign. Then Isaiah answers him :—

Hear ye now, O house of David! Is it a small thing for you to weary men, but will ye weary my God also?

Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign: Behold, the virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel.

Milk-curd and honey shall he eat, when he shall know to refuse the evil and choose the good.

For before the child shall know to refuse the evil and choose the good, the land shall be forsaken whose two kings make thee afraid.

Before a child who is to be born a year hence, a child whose future mother is at this moment unmarried, shall have attained, says the prophet, to the age of reflexion and will, ‘shall know to refuse the evil and choose the good,’ the dominions of the two dreaded enemies of Ahaz, the kings of Syria and Israel, shall be conquered and desolate. The prophet is speaking in the year 735 B.C. And in fact, whatever Ahaz might do or forbear to do, the conquest by Assyria, within the next twelve or fifteen years, of the kingdoms of Syria and Israel interposed between the northern conqueror and Judah, was a certainty.

Well, then, before Immanuel could reach adult age, the lands of Syria and Israel should be forsaken. But twelve or fifteen years

¹ Isaiah, vii.

² Probably a Syrian grandee, a favourite of the confederate kings, whom they proposed to place on the throne of Judah.

hence, when the child presently to be born shall have reached adult age, what then? 'Milk-curd and honey shall he eat, when he shall know to refuse the evil and choose the good.' The real pith of the prophecy is here. It was visible enough that Syria and Israel, which touched frontiers with the aggressive military monarchy of the Assyrians, would be attacked and crushed by it. It was not so visible that Judah which lay beyond, and which imagined itself in danger from Syria and Israel but safe from Assyria, was really in danger from Assyria, not from Syria and Israel. It was not so visible, yet a man of Isaiah's insight might foresee it and prophesy it; and so Isaiah did, as follows:—

The Eternal shall bring upon thee, and upon thy people, and upon thy father's house, days that have not come, from the day that Ephraim departed from Judah:³ even the king of Assyria.

And it shall come to pass in that day, that a man shall nourish a young cow, and two sheep;—

And it shall come to pass, for the abundance of milk that they shall give he shall eat curds; for milk-curd and honey shall every one eat that is left in the land.

And on all hills that are digged with the mattock, thou shalt not come thither for fear of briers and thorns.

That is to say, the land, over-run by enemies, shall return to a wild state, agriculture shall be at an end, the inhabitants shall have to live on the produce of their herds and on wild honey. In Immanuel's later life, however, the prophet afterwards adds, he shall reign in felicity with *the remnant* over a kingdom restored and glorious.

Such is really the prophecy to Ahaz. Literally and exactly it was not fulfilled. Of Immanuel we shall have occasion to speak later; but it is clear that, within fifteen years from the prophecy to Ahaz, the time for Judah's ruin had not yet arrived, that it did not arrive till more than a century afterwards, and that, when it did arrive, the agent of ruin was Babylon, not Assyria. It is also clear, on the other hand, that with the ruin of Israel, in 721, that of Judah really began. Judah was directly in the path of the northern conqueror, whether that conqueror called itself Babylon or Assyria, and Judah had all the faults which conduct nations to their downfall. Isaiah put the date too near of what he foresaw, as prophets are apt to do; but he showed a profound and just insight into the inevitable future course of events, and his prophecy was substantially true although not true exactly and preternaturally.

Such, then, is the characteristic of the prophet whom we call Isaiah of Jerusalem. It is his characteristic to deal with the history passing before his eyes, and to show his insight by seizing that history's tendency and sure issue. His regards are on Jerusalem in the latter half of the eighth century before Christ; as the regards of the

³ Since the separation of Israel from Judah in Rehoboam's time.

prophet who follows him, in the last twenty-seven chapters of our Book of Isaiah, are on Babylon about a hundred and sixty years later. The younger prophet has several differences distinguishing him from the older. The younger prophet has more copiousness, pathos, and unction than his predecessor; he has less fire, energy, and concentration. He is much more general, and he engages in outpourings for which the stress of matter and of exposition allows his predecessor hardly any room. These are in themselves reasons for separating the two prophets and for reading each by himself. But a reason far more decisive is supplied by the incomparably greater effectiveness which each will be found to acquire when read in connexion with his own time. So incomparably greater does the effectiveness of the elder prophet, in especial, become when he is so read, that the reader who imagined himself to know Isaiah previously will be astonished and charmed; he will feel that he now really knows him for the first time, so new will be his sense of this great prophet's beauty and power.

In the last twenty-seven chapters of the Book of Isaiah we are in another world from the world of the first part. The centre, as I have already said, is Babylon, not Jerusalem; the posture of events, the state of the world, is quite different. Above all, the prophet's ideal helper, saviour, and restorer, is different. With the original Isaiah he is a prince of the house of David, a Rod out of the stem of Jesse, a Branch of the Eternal beautiful and glorious, smiting the earth with the rod of his mouth and with the breath of his lips slaying the wicked. With the prophet of the last twenty-seven chapters he is the Servant whom man despiseth, whom the people abhorreth, the servant of tyrants, who strives not, nor cries, nor causes his voice to be heard in the street. The ideal has been transformed.

Now, to my mind it seems a more impressive thing, as it is certainly a more natural thing, that the later ideal should have developed itself, with the change of time and circumstances, out of the former, and should have come from a later prophet, than that both ideals should have proceeded from one and the same prophet. However, it may be contended, pursuant to the old fashion of explaining these things, that Isaiah in a preternatural way foresaw the state of the world a hundred and fifty years after his own death, and himself transformed his Messianic ideal accordingly. Religious people, for the most part, are agreed to say that they are edified by a belief of this sort; for my part, I am simply bewildered by it. But still, on this supposition, the later matter is at least kept separate from the earlier, the two are not jumbled up together. At the end of the thirty-ninth chapter there is a pause, and then (though without one of those prefaces which the original Isaiah was accustomed in a transition of this kind to employ) the Babylonian Isaiah begins. The march of the work, as regards order, is at least artistically natural, if we admit this supposition. But who can suppose that a writer of

Isaiah's genius, whether he had supernatural prevision or not, would ever have so perverted the march of his work, have so spoiled it artistically, as to thrust in suddenly, without any connexion at all, the thirteenth chapter and the chief part of the chapter following, about Babylon and the death of Belshazzar, in the midst of chapters relating entirely to Assyria and to a history nearly two hundred years before Belshazzar's; and then again abruptly to return, towards the end of the fourteenth chapter, to Assyria and the history of the eighth century before Christ? The supernatural itself is less bewildering than a supposition like this, and to read Isaiah in so perverse an arrangement greatly impairs one's enjoyment of him.

But how, then, did the two or more prophets get joined together? To understand this, we must keep in mind that the Book of Isaiah did not assume its present shape until the time of Ezra, two hundred and fifty years after the date of the original Isaiah, and nearly a hundred years after the fall of Babylon. Ezra edited the sacred books; and even critics like Delitzsch, who claim unity of authorship for the whole Book of Isaiah, admit that there were interpolations in the books edited by Ezra. Now, in our Book of Isaiah itself there is one interpolation so remarkable, that Delitzsch singles it out and enlarges upon it. At the beginning of the thirty-sixth chapter it is said that 'in the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah Sennacherib king of Assyria came up against all the defenced cities of Judah.' But we know that Sennacherib's invasion took place in the year 701 B.C., and that this year was not the fourteenth year of Hezekiah but the twenty-third or twenty-fourth. In the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth chapters comes the account of Hezekiah's sickness and of Merodach Baladan's embassy to him to congratulate him on his getting well. Now, the fourteenth year of Hezekiah is quite right as the year of Hezekiah's sickness, for his reign was twenty-nine years long, and he reigned fifteen years after his sickness. It is also quite admissible as the year of the embassy of Merodach Baladan, who at that time was in revolt against Sargon and in special need of Hezekiah's friendship. Therefore, while certainly the narrative in the thirty-sixth chapter, as this narrative stood originally, cannot have begun with assigning for its events the date of the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, the narrative in the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth chapters may perfectly well have begun in that manner, for this narrative relates events earlier by ten or twelve years than the events of the other. But Hezekiah's sickness and Merodach Baladan's embassy were required by the arranger in Ezra's time to stand last, in order to form the transition to the Babylonian prophecies of the last part of the Book. The narratives, therefore, were transposed, and the date was transferred to the beginning of that narrative which now stood first, although for that narrative it is clearly inadmissible. Delitzsch himself receives this explanation of the erroneous date as necessary, and it is evidence of an *arrangement*

of contents, at the first authoritative editing of the Book of Isaiah, actually taking place;—an arrangement more or less plausible, but erroneous.

Plausible it was, at a time when no man doubted but that a prophet was, above all, one who utters supernatural predictions, and when the rules of due sequence and ordinance for a work of genius might indeed move the maker of it himself, but were certainly not likely to trouble his arrangers. Isaiah had left his sublime deliverances to fructify in the minds of his disciples. One disciple, separated by three or four generations from the master, but living constantly with his prophecies and nourished upon his spirit, produced at the crisis of Babylon's fall a prophecy of Israel's restoration as immortal as Isaiah's own. This disciple named not himself. Whether he intended his work to become joined with Isaiah's, and to pass among men with the authority of that great name, we cannot know. But his contemporaries joined the disciple's work to the master's, and by Ezra's time the conjunction was established.

It was a conjunction which that age might readily make. The younger prophet, as I have before said, is without some of the qualities of the elder; he is more given to generalities and outpouring. Above all, by his time it had become evident, that the Prince of the house of David, the royal and victorious Immanuel, whose birth Isaiah announced to be imminent, whose childhood should witness the chastisement of Ephraim, whose youth the visitation of Judah, but who in his manhood should reign in righteousness over a restored and far-spreading kingdom of the chosen people,—that this Immanuel's date was put too soon, and that the characters assigned to him required, I will not say some change, but some addition. Isaiah himself, however, had given the sign and uttered the word on which, for this addition, the insight of his successor seized. 'The meek,' Isaiah in his picture of the ideal future had said, 'shall increase their joy in the Eternal, and the poor among men shall rejoice in the Holy One of Israel.'⁴ The word was here given. Possessing himself of it, the disciple of Immanuel's prophet fixed the new ideal of the *Servant*, despised and rejected of men, but anointed and sent 'to preach good tidings unto the meek.'⁵ This stricken *Servant's* work is the condition of the victorious Immanuel's reign, and must precede it. The Jewish nation could not receive the transformed ideal. Jesus, Christianity, the destruction of Judaism, were necessary to its triumph; but the unknown prophet of the Babylonian Captivity had announced it. *Manueli possidebunt terram.*

The Jewish nation, I say, could not receive the new ideal. Yet it could not but be profoundly stirred and transported by this ideal's unknown promulgator, although without truly comprehending him.

⁴ Isaiah, xxix., 19.

⁵ Isaiah, lxi., 1.

It could not but feel the spirit and power of Isaiah in his disciple; there was the same irresistible eloquence, the same elate emotion, the same puissance of faith and joy. Isaiah was his inspirer among the prophets, his parent source, his only equal; the conjunction of the disciple with the master easily followed.

Besides this great prophecy of Israel's restoration after the fall of Babylon, other shorter prophecies of a similar date were in circulation. Whether they proceed from the same author as the great prophecy which fills the last twenty-seven chapters of the Book of Isaiah cannot be determined with certainty. What is certain is, that even those which do not manifestly give their own date yet lend themselves to the circumstances of the younger prophet's time better than to those of his predecessor's time; that they do not suit, but mar, the plan of composition which appears to govern the original Isaiah's Book; and that they have, besides, those characters of generality and of outpouring which mark, as has been already said, the disciple rather than the original Isaiah. We shall find that their effect is felt best if we read them as subsidiary to the great prophecy which ends the Book, and as, like that prophecy, the work of a prophet formed upon Isaiah but living amid other events and a century and a half later, a prophet whose centre was Babylon, and who may most fitly be called *Isaiah of Babylon*, as the original Isaiah, whose centre was Jerusalem, may be called *Isaiah of Jerusalem*. The shorter and isolated prophecies had, like the great prophecy of Israel's restoration which now ends our Book of Isaiah, the Isaian eloquence, the Isaian spirit and power. They, too, associated themselves in men's minds and affections with the original Isaiah's work, and the arrangers in Ezra's time finally incorporated them with it. But as they placed the great Babylonian prophecy at the end, where Merodach Baladan's embassy afforded a natural transition to it, so they placed the isolated prophecies in the connexion which they thought most natural for them. One division of the original Isaiah's prophecies consisted of *burdens*, or oracular sentences of doom, pronounced against different nations. Among these burdens was placed the isolated prophecy having for its title *The Burden of Babylon* and celebrating the death of Belshazzar.⁶ Another division of prophecies consisted of *woes* pronounced upon a number of nations, and here were inserted those other single prophecies of the Babylonian epoch for which insertion was desired, and which seemed to find here their own rubric and their most suitable place.

Some change of arrangement, then, is forced upon us by regard to possibility, to probability, to the genius and art of the author with whom we have to deal. We have to detach from Isaiah of Jerusalem the great prophecy of restoration which fills the last

⁶ Isaiah, xiii.-xiv., 23. Chapter xxi., 1-12, is of like date, and its present place is due to the same cause.

twenty-seven chapters. We have to disengage from him, and to read in connexion with the restoration prophecy, several shorter single prophecies which are intermingled with Isaiah's prophecies in the first thirty-nine chapters. To these shorter prophecies we may give names from their subject-matter. Taken in the order in which they now stand in our Bibles these prophecies are as follows:—*The King of Babylon* (xiii.–xiv., 23); *The First Vision of Babylon's Fall* (xvi., 1–10); *Early Days of Return* (xxiv.–xxv.); *Edom and Israel* (xxxiv., xxxv.). Read where they now stand, these prophecies interrupt the natural and impressive march of Isaiah's work, throw the attentive reader out, confuse and obstruct our understanding and our enjoyment. Removing them from the place where they now stand, and reading them in another connexion, we are enabled to enjoy much more these prophecies themselves, and to enjoy much more, also, the original Isaiah thus disengaged from them.

Re-arrangement to this extent may be called necessary. One's first impulse naturally is to receive a book as it comes to us, and from all unsettlement of it one is averse. But we have to get over this natural conservatism in the present case, because so much more embarrassment to our understanding is created, so much more check given to our full enjoyment of Isaiah, by rejecting all re-arrangement than by accepting it. Mr. Cheyne, who was formerly inclined to follow Ewald in all his temerities, but who in his recent edition of Isaiah shows a moderation which, like his learning, deserves cordial acknowledgment—Mr. Cheyne seems now disposed to leave *The King of Babylon* and *The First Vision* in the connexion where in our Bibles they stand. He still sees that prophets do not supernaturally mention names and circumstances of events produced long after their time. He knows that if Isaiah of Jerusalem wrote *The King of Babylon* and *The First Vision*, then the subject of these prophecies cannot be Belshazzar and the taking of Babylon by Cyrus. He is disposed to think, however, that the prophecies may possibly relate to the rising, in Sargon's time, of Merodach Baladan against Assyria, and that they may be left, therefore, to stand with the contemporary prophecies of Isaiah. But a greater shock is given to our sense of probability and possibility, our enjoyment is more spoiled, by having to dissociate the exhortation to Elam and Media from the Medo-Persian troops of Cyrus and to think it fortuitous, by having to dissociate the splendid 'proverb against the king of Babylon' from the epoch-making death of Belshazzar and to connect it with some unknown incident of an obscure struggle, than by taking the two prophecies away from Isaiah and attributing them to a younger prophet. So, too, with *Edom and Israel* and with *Early Days of Return*. Some disturbance and shock is given to our feelings by meddling with the traditional arrangement, and by removing these prophecies from the place where they stand now. But nevertheless

much more is gained than lost by doing it. They suit the history of the sixth century before Christ so much better than that of the eighth, they are so much less effective where they stand now than in connexion with Babylon's fall and the conquests of Cyrus, their very generality, which makes it not impossible to assign them to the eighth century, is so alien to the method of the original Isaiah, that the balance of effect, the balance of satisfaction, the balance of enjoyment, is decisively in favour of removing them.

But tradition ought to go for something, and we should respect it where we can. If, in order to enjoy fully a great work, it is necessary, on the one hand, to have our sense of order and possibility satisfied, so also is it necessary for our enjoyment, on the other hand, that we should read our text with some sense of security. We are so constituted by nature that our enjoyment of a text greatly depends upon our having such a sense of security. This law of our nature Ewald totally disregards. No one can read Ewald's Isaiah with a sense of security. Ewald was a man of genius, he deeply felt Isaiah's grandeur himself, and he admirably helps us to feel it deeply too. But he was violent and arbitrary. He alters the text, striking things out when they do not suit him, and inserting things of his own where he thinks they will be an improvement. Above all, he re-arranges the Book of Isaiah from one end to the other, and literally turns it, as the saying is, inside out. He is supremely confident in his own perception and judgment. He will tell you how many different prophets we hear speaking in the *Burden of Moab*, how many they are, and of what date each of them is, and exactly where each of them leaves off and the other begins. Like other critics of his school, like the professors of the so-called higher criticism generally, after producing reasonings which do really prove that a thing *might* have been so and so, he then jumps straight to the conclusion that they prove that so and so it *must* have been. Often and often one feels Ewald to be brilliant, ingenious, impassioned, profound, but not in the least convincing; and one reads his Isaiah with a disturbed and uneasy sense of its being a fantastic Isaiah, one reads it without security. This is, as I have already said, a great drawback upon one's pleasure. It is a drawback to which the solid English reader is especially sensible,—and the English reader, I think, is right. But whether he is right or not, the drawback is strongly felt. Lowth's rashness in emendation has prevented his great services in the promotion of a better understanding of Isaiah from being widely useful. Lowth was a bishop of the Church of England, a Hebraist, and a man of fine taste and accomplishments. He had the qualifications and the authority requisite for propagating in England a truer understanding of Isaiah, but one cannot say that he has done it. He failed to do it because of the liberties he allowed himself to take with his author. Lovers of their Bible, such as the English, desire, in reading their Isaiah, to read him with a sense of security.

All meddling with the letter itself of the text is in my opinion undesirable. The case is one where the feeling that liberty is taken with the text does more damage than any amendment of the text can do good. There has been suggested a brilliant emendation for a passage in the twenty-third chapter: to read, at the thirteenth verse, 'Behold the land of the *Canaanites*,' instead of 'Behold the land of the *Chaldeans*.' I would resist the temptation of making it. A tolerable sense can be got out of the reading *Chaldeans*, and when once we begin to change the text for the sake of bettering, as we think, the sense, where are we to stop? Again, in an important passage of the seventh chapter the text, as it stands, has something embarrassing. 'For the head of Syria is Damascus, and the head of Damascus is Rezin; and within threescore and five years shall Ephraim be broken, that it be not a people; and the head of Ephraim is Samaria, and the head of Samaria is Remaliah's son. If ye will not believe, surely ye shall not be established.'⁷ Ewald urges that the words, 'And within threescore and five years shall Ephraim be broken, that it be not a people,' are superfluous, and that afterwards one expects the words, 'But the head of Judah is Jerusalem, and the head of Jerusalem is Jehovah;' and he boldly omits the former sentence and inserts the latter. Many editors who do not follow the example of his boldness so far as to insert the new words of Ewald's own invention, yet go so far with him as to strike out the words which he condemns as superfluous. But it is better, I think, to get out of the existing text what meaning can be got out of it, than to create the sense of insecurity which comes when the reader perceives the text to be treated with licence.

The same respect for existing facts, the same dread of the fantastic, which should govern us in dealing with the actual text of the prophecies of Isaiah, should govern us, also, in dealing with their re-arrangement. Some re-arrangement there must be; this, I think, has been proved and must be admitted. The balance of enjoyment in reading these prophecies, even the balance of security in reading them, is in favour of it. The existing fact goes, after all, for something. The Book of Isaiah comes to us in an arrangement which it has had ever since Ezra's time. Probably the Book must before Ezra's time have already had its present arrangement in great part, since that is the most natural reason which we can suppose for Ezra's adopting it. Portions engaged with the names and events of a history long posterior to that history with which Isaiah was engaged, we are compelled to think an appendage to the original Book, or insertions in it. But what remains, when these portions are removed, is the original Book of Isaiah. At all events, it is safest for us now to treat it as such. We do well, when we pass to the body of prophecies concerned with the history with which Isaiah was engaged, to take the text as it stands, the arrangement as it stands, the history as it stands. Some

⁷ Isaiah, vii., 8, 9.

critics suppose an invasion of Judæa by Sargon of which history tells us nothing; others transfer the opening chapter to the middle of the Book, because the history with which the second and following chapters deal seems anterior to the history implied in the first chapter. Sargon *may* have invaded Judæa; the first chapter *may* have originally stood in the middle of the Book. But it is not necessary to our adequate understanding of the Book to admit either conjecture, while to adapt the Book to such conjectures is fatal to all secure enjoyment of it. We make it something fantastic, and it loses power over us.

Until we come to the thirty-sixth chapter, at any rate, there is no difficulty in receiving the arrangement of the original Isaiah's prophecies mainly as it now stands. It is evident that they were uttered at different times; but we shall read them most naturally and with most satisfaction if we conceive them to have been collected in their present arrangement by Isaiah himself, in his old age, and at the moment when his influence was highest, shortly after the discomfiture of Sennacherib. The Book falls into several groups or divisions,—divisions quite independent, of course, of the actual distribution into chapters, which comes to us not from Jewish antiquity at all but from the Catholic Middle Age. The first chapter, however, is one of the real divisions into which the Book falls. It is a *Prelude*, an introductory piece opening the way and striking the tone for all which follows, and establishing the point of view from which Isaiah, about the year 700 B.C., wished the series of his prophecies to be read and the history of the preceding half century to be regarded. Then comes a division to which we may give for title one of the headings here employed by our Bibles, *Calamities coming upon Judah*. This prophecy (occupying chapters ii.-v. in our Bibles) belongs to the time of Jotham, and of Isaiah's early career, when Jewish society was to outward view still prosperous. What follows next, the *Vision*, is exactly the sixth chapter in our version, as the *Prelude* is exactly the first. The *Vision* dates from a yet earlier time than the prophecy in Jotham's reign, and marks the outset of Isaiah's career, his call to deal with the state of things declared in the prophecy preceding. After the *Vision* comes a group of prophecies to which we may most fitly give the great name of *Immanuel*. Occupying chapters vii.-xii. in our Bibles, they date from the reign of Ahaz and from the invasion of Judah by the kings of Syria and Israel; they set forth Isaiah's view of this crisis, and of the future to follow it. After *Immanuel* comes a division of prophecies best designated by Isaiah's own term, the *Burdens*; a series of oracular sentences of doom upon the nations engaged in making the history which the prophet had before his eyes. Here, as has been already said, the *Burden of Babylon* was in Ezra's time inserted. The original *Burdens* of our Isaiah begin with the twenty-fourth verse of the fourteenth chapter, and with a sentence

of doom upon Assyria. They extend through the nine chapters which in our Bibles follow, but an insertion has to be disengaged from them, the *Burden of the Desert of the Sea*, or first vision of the fall of Babylon, in chapter 21.⁸ Between the *Burdens* and the succeeding division of prophecies, the *Woes*, comes an insertion⁹ conceived in the spirit of these divisions, but with far greater generality, and pointing, so far as amidst this generality we can at all make out clearly the times and events indicated, to a later era, the era of Cyrus. The *Woes* (this title again, like that of the *Burdens*, is supplied by a dominating phrase of Isaiah's own using), the *Woes*, of which the purport is sufficiently explained by the name, extend from the beginning of our twenty-eighth chapter to the end of our thirty-third. They are followed by another insertion,¹⁰ of like character with the insertion which introduces them, and which should, like that, be separated from them. This insertion occupies two chapters, the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth.

For the division which follows, the natural title is *Sennacherib*, since that personage is the main subject of it. This division contains one of Isaiah's noblest prophecies, which, together with the history accompanying it, is repeated in the Book of Kings with but slight variation. I have already noticed the demonstrable error of date which occurs at the outset. Undoubtedly Isaiah never assigned Sennacherib's invasion of Judah to the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah. We have seen how this error was probably caused, and that it shows later arrangers to have been busy with this part of the book. Shall we, with Ewald and others, retain of this division only Isaiah's famous prophecy in answer to the threatenings of Sennacherib, and put aside the rest altogether? We know indeed from the Book of Chronicles that Isaiah wrote history, and the historical style of the division in question is worthy of him. On the other hand, it is difficult to conceive so great a master of effect concluding such a whole, as that which he had formed out of the combined series of prophecies hitherto enumerated, with a mixed division such as *Sennacherib*. It is difficult; and moreover, in order to admit it, we must further suppose that Isaiah finally arranged his Book of prophecies, not about 700 B.C., when he was seventy years old, but after the death of Sennacherib in 680 B.C., when Isaiah was ninety. For the murder of Sennacherib by his sons is mentioned in the thirty-seventh chapter. To suppose all this is to suppose things by no means likely; and their improbability, joined to the error in date at the outset, may well make us regard with suspicion Isaiah's authorship of this division as a whole. Still it is not absolutely impossible that this part too should be his, that at ninety years of age he should have arranged his prophecies with this *Sennacherib* to conclude them, and that the error of date at the

⁸ Verse 1-10.

⁹ Named by me, in a preceding page, *Early Days of Return*.

¹⁰ Named by me *Edom and Israel*.

beginning, together with a transposition of the matters recorded should afterwards have crept in. There *Sennacherib* now stands in the Book of Isaiah, and it is not absolutely impossible that Isaiah should have himself put it there; at any rate we have no more fitting place to which we may move it, it belongs to his time, it deals with the men and events of his age, and not with those of the age of Babylon's fall. It is best to accept it provisionally where it stands, and to let it conclude the Book of the original Isaiah. With the fortieth chapter we pass to another age and world from his, and to prophecies which will not be attributed to him by any one who has been enabled to understand rightly the original Isaiah and his line of prophecy.

Thus, then, I have attempted to answer as clearly and fairly as I could my own question: How may we best enjoy Isaiah?—To sum up the results reached. First, we must respect, not in profession only, but in deed and in truth, the wording and rhythm of the old version. Such change as the change of, 'Therefore saith the Lord, the Lord of hosts, the mighty One of Israel,'¹¹ into, 'Therefore this is the utterance of the Lord, Jehovah of Hosts, the Hero of Israel,' is not to be thought of. In passages of this kind, indeed, the old version needs no change at all. Often it needs change, but no great change. 'Before the child shall know to refuse the evil and choose the good, the land that thou abhorrest shall be forsaken of both her kings.'¹² This is intelligible, but it departs too far from the original. It deserves, however, no such total subversion as that which Mr. Cheyne inflicts: 'Before the boy shall know how to reject the evil and choose the good, deserted shall the land become, at the two kings whereof thou art horribly afraid.' Sometimes the old version is not even intelligible. 'Go, ye swift messengers, to a nation scattered and peeled, to a people terrible from their beginning hitherto; a nation meted out and trodden down, whose land the rivers have spoiled!'¹³ Or again, in a more celebrated passage: 'Nevertheless the dimness shall not be such as was in her vexation, when at the first he lightly afflicted the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali, and afterward did more grievously afflict her by the way of the sea, beyond Jordan, in Galilee of the nations.'¹⁴ Passages like these miss at present the right sense of the original entirely, and they must be reconstructed so far as to enable them to give it. But even this reconstruction may be effected without loss of the present fine rhythm and fine diction of these passages, and must be so effected, if Isaiah is to be enjoyed.

Secondly, we must know the historical situation which Isaiah had before him to deal with, and we must keep it present to our minds. By so doing we shall much increase our enjoyment of this greatest of

¹¹ Isaiah, i., 24.

¹² Isaiah, xviii., 2.

¹³ Isaiah, vii., 16.

¹⁴ Isaiah, ix., 1.

the prophets. And our sense of the situation, and of Isaiah's own powerful and characteristic line of prophecy, will be greatly enhanced if, thirdly, we separate from the Book of Isaiah one large work now appended to it and several short works now mixed up with it; and if we then, disregarding the division into chapters, read what remains as one combined whole, made up of seven successive pieces as follows: *Prelude, Calamities for Judah, Vision, Immanuel, The Burdens, The Woes, Sennacherib.*

Something I promised to say of the final scope of Isaiah's ideas and Isaiah's prophecy, and as to their real significance and greatness. And here I am come to the end of my space without having been yet able to treat this momentous matter! But whoever will read, as a whole, the Book of Isaiah which I have just been proposing for his adoption, will certainly be in a position to judge for himself the scope of Isaiah's prophecy. Yet something I would willingly say on this subject; it is so great and so fascinating. Perhaps at a future time I may return to it.

Even now, however, let me, before quitting these prophecies, indicate the cause of their extraordinary and tragic impressiveness. It lies in the sense of inexorable fatality which attends and pervades them. Their whole scope, their whole significance, does not lie in this fatality; very far from it. But their extraordinary impressiveness is due to this fatality. Fatality is deeply tragic, and what is deeply tragic is overwhelmingly impressive. On no mimic scene, with no legendary or past personages, was this fatality exhibited by Isaiah; he had to exhibit it pervading the actual history of his country, and the personages involved in it were his contemporaries and himself. Nothing could save Judah but the conversion of the Jewish people; and this conversion was impossible. Nothing could free Isaiah from the mission to preach this conversion, to preach the certainty of ruin without it; and nothing that he could say could make him believed. No eloquence, no energy, no iteration, could make him believed; and he knew it. This it is which makes him the most tragic of prophets or poets.

At the outset of his career, in his vision of institution in the year that king Uzziah died, Isaiah heard the voice of the Lord saying:—

Go, and tell this people: Hear ye indeed, but understand not; and see ye indeed, but perceive not.

Make the heart of this people gross, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert, and be healed.

Isaiah asks, 'Lord, how long?' and the answer is:—

Until the cities be wasted without inhabitant, and the houses without man, and the land be utterly desolate;

And the Eternal have removed men far away, and there be a great forsaking in the midst of the land.¹⁸

¹⁸ Isaiah, vi., 8-12.

Forty years later, when Isaiah had run a great career, when Sennacherib's invasion was imminent, and even with Sennacherib's discomfiture in prospect, our prophet's language is just the same. 'Blind ye your eyes,' he cries out to his own nation, to its leaders and its common people, to its learned and its unlearned alike—

Blind ye your eyes, grow blind! They are drunken, but not with wine; they stagger, but not with strong drink.

For the Eternal hath poured out upon you the spirit of deep sleep, and hath closed your eyes, the prophets; and your rulers, the seers, hath he covered.

And the vision of all this is become unto you as the words of a book that is sealed, which men deliver to one that is learned, saying, Read this, I pray thee; and he saith, I cannot, for it is sealed.

And the book is delivered to him that is not learned, saying, Read this, I pray thee; and he saith, I am not learned.

For thus hath the Lord said: Forasmuch as this people draw near me with their mouth and with their lips do honour me, but have removed their heart far from me, and their fear toward me is taught by the precept of men;

Therefore, behold, I will proceed to do a marvellous work among this people, even a marvellous work and a wonder; for the wisdom of their wise men shall perish, and the understanding of their prudent men shall disappear.¹⁶

True, Isaiah had, to console him, the prospect of the Branch and the Remnant, of the reign of Immanuel and the saints. He put his Immanuel too soon, indeed, by seven centuries. He put his reign of Immanuel and the saints too soon by far more than seven centuries, for it is not come about even yet. Men, as has been truly said, 'are for anticipating things;' even great prophets 'are for anticipating things.' To the perversities of the day we must oppose not a change to appear to-morrow, but, as Goethe says, *grosse weltgeschichtliche Massen*, the movement and upshot of history on a vast scale. Isaiah foresaw Immanuel and the reign of saints, he had faith in them, he established the ideal of them for ever; the movement and upshot of history has in part brought his immortal prophecy true already, and will reveal its accomplishment more and more. We do well to hold fast the animating belief that in nothing will the prophecy of this sublime seer finally fail, in nothing can it come short. To Isaiah himself, too, the belief in its certain accomplishment was animating. Yet how tragic, however glowing may be one's faith in the future, to have to speak to one's own generation and yet to know that one speaks in vain! to see the politics and society of one's contemporaries, to see them and to be taking part in them, and all the while to know that they are inevitably doomed to perish! Of this tragedy the life of Isaiah was full. It fills his prophecy likewise, and unspeakably impressive and affecting it makes it. 'Woe is me, because I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips; for mine eyes have seen the King, the Lord of hosts.'

¹⁶ Isaiah, xxix., 9-14.

SHALL WE RETAIN THE MARINES?

AMIDST the vast changes in war and warfare that have taken place during the last quarter of a century, the question has often arisen whether the Royal Marines shall be retained as a part of the armed force of England. Are they an antiquated and useless force? Must they disappear with Brown Bess, smooth-bores, and three-deckers? This threat of disestablishment, ever impending, can have but a bad effect, not only on the Royal Marines themselves, but also on the Royal Navy, of which they are at present an important branch. It is surely time now that some decision should be arrived at: first, whether they should continue to exist; next, if they are to exist, whether their services are now employed to the best advantage.

The general reader in the present day appears to take a great interest in the affairs of the Army and Navy. Men of all political opinions agree on one question undoubtedly: that we should be perfectly prepared to defend ourselves; and that the best defence is to be prepared for offence. Now, the Royal Marines perform no unimportant part in our defences; their existence and training is no mere departmental question, but a national and imperial policy; in which at the present moment the efficiency of the Navy, our first defence, is involved. The Marines are now the first reserve of the Navy, and, with the Coastguard, form the only reserve to be depended on to embark by telegraph at a first sudden outbreak of war. The Royal Naval Reserve would be invaluable afterwards, during the continuance of war; but half of that force would be certainly absent at its first outbreak, and the available half at home would be probably half-trained. Now, the Marines are admirably trained; the First Lord of the Admiralty, in one of his speeches of last year, stated that their training left nothing to be desired: they are, therefore, an important item of our present armed force; and, even at their present reduced numbers, form a considerable portion of the fighting men of the Navy. The pure blue-jackets of the Navy amount to about 19,000; they are admirable in every respect, and no doubt are more than worth the vast expense of their education, instruction, and training; but this small and costly force, without a substantial reserve, would melt away like snow in summer before the fierce blaze of a great naval war. There are about 17,000 men in the Naval Reserve. The Coastguard men number

from 5,000 to 4,000 on shore and at hand; all well-trained. The Royal Marines are now reduced to 12,000, of which 2,600 are artillerymen—perfectly trained gunners by sea and land—and 9,400 infantry, who are trained in naval gunnery.

Of this Marine Force about one-half is usually serving afloat. There remains, therefore, the half of it—subtracting men and officers required for instruction and administration, as a reserve for the Navy,—roughly 1,000 artillerymen and 4,000 infantry.

Among all the changes in war and warlike weapons of the last few years, there has been no greater revolution and upturn of all preconceived notions than in war-ships and their armament. The revolution still continues; and, possibly, greater changes are yet to come. That which can alone be stable amidst all this instability is the perfect training and discipline of the men who compose the crews of these ships. The ships are now mere fighting-machines, in which most of the heavy labour is performed by machinery, not by manual labour. Fleets will be manœuvred in action under steam, not under sail.

Nevertheless all these changes cannot do away with the value of the blue-jacket—the thorough sailor, at home at his guns on deck, and at home aloft; but fewer of these valuable men are now required, and the stoker and the gunner must take the place of many sailors.

All the changes would appear to add to the value of the Marine—the disciplined soldier, ready to land, trained to naval guns, and accustomed to ships. It is singular that at such a time the question as to the necessity of his existence should have arisen. The sailor, perhaps jealous for his estimation in public opinion, and for his power,—a needless jealousy,—has lately taken on himself the duties of the marine soldier, in addition to his other duties. Yet he has now more duties to learn than he ever had in former years. He must be a thorough sailor, although steam and machinery have relieved him from some of his work aloft; his gunnery instruction is much more complicated; and he should understand the management of marine torpedoes. In fact, the naval officer should be a perfect navigator, a good artilleryman, torpedoist, and electrician, a steam engineer, a military engineer, with a knowledge of international law, and of a modern language or two. Besides all this, he often now aspires to be an infantry and artillery leader on land. Can the average officer compass all this? Is it for the advantage of the State that he should attempt it?

Modern arms and modern warfare demand the perfection of training from officers and men of all branches of the service, and each and all in their special branches.

We have had no great naval war for many years; nothing approaching to a struggle for the sea has occurred in the memory of this generation. Do we sufficiently comprehend the gravity of such

a struggle? Is it an impossible contingency? Poor countries are spending vast sums on their navy; and one foreign navy almost rivals our own in heavy ships, if not in lighter vessels.

In such a contest we should have not only our own coasts and harbours to defend, but the seas must be swept clear of the enemy; otherwise that girdle of colonies which we have laid round the world would be harried and devastated, our fleets of merchantmen destroyed and plundered, our food-supplies stopped. It would be criminal not to provide for such a possibility as this; for which a sufficiency of trained and disciplined men is to the full as important as ships and guns. And though few sailors might be required for such a struggle, as compared with those employed in former great naval wars; yet these sailors should be admirably disciplined, as they undoubtedly are, and should, moreover, have a strong backing, in a numerous reserve of disciplined men trained to naval guns and accustomed to ships. If the Royal Marines are not considered suitable to the requirements of the modern Navy, no time should be lost in organising a reserve force to take their place.

However, the Marines do fulfil the required conditions of training and discipline; and besides their loyalty and steadfastness, traditional through the two centuries of their existence, they have other claims for continuing to hold the post they have held so long. They are a reinforcement to the Navy which does not interfere with the supply of sailors; for, strange to say, they are principally recruited from the midland counties. By an admirable system of training, which has been the outcome of many years' experience and care, the lad from the midland counties, who has probably never seen a ship, is trained to naval gunnery before his embarkation. The Marine Artillery claim to put their young soldiers on board ship perfectly capable of taking their place by the side of the trained seamen-gunners of the Navy, their equals in artillery skill. This result of training and discipline has been the work of officers of marines—artillery, and infantry. No other officers have had head or hand in it; indeed, many of the officers of marine artillery fifty years ago had no mean part in laying the foundation of the gunnery instruction of the Navy.

Will the State be wise to throw away the services of so efficient a force as this? Should prejudice or selfishness interfere with its efficiency? No service can be contented, or doing its best for the country, whose existence is constantly threatened. The destruction of the Marine Artillery, the most highly trained branch of the force, was decided on three years ago; it was saved from its fate almost by accident.

But if it be decided to retain the Marines as the loyal auxiliaries and reserve of the Navy, no pains should be spared to make them as efficient as possible; the just claims of so valuable a force should receive every consideration.

It is universally allowed that they have just cause of complaint as to their employment and administration. In spite of the glorious traditions of the Marine service from Bunker's Hill to Tel-el-Kehir, from Rodney's action to the bombardment of Alexandria, it is difficult to obtain officers; and those who accept commissions are for the most part young men who have failed for the Line and Artillery. No service can long continue, or should be allowed to continue to exist, under such circumstances.

The causes of the unpopularity of the service with officers, on whom so much of the training and discipline of the men now depends,—and more will yet depend,—are not far to seek.

First, the hopelessness of advancement for officers of rank in the Marine service. No general officer of Marines, however competent he may be, ever occupies a command, at home or abroad. The Admiralty tell him, 'We have no military commands to give you.' The Horse Guards say, 'You do not belong to us.'

The few officers of Marines who have been fortunate enough to command in important actions with the enemy, have shown conspicuous ability; but on no occasion have they been re-employed on active service. They are apparently carefully excluded from further command in wars. Is this exclusion just to the State, or fair to the individual?

During the last twenty-five years some hundreds of Committees of officers have been occupied in the consideration of various subjects, naval and military. Marine officers are never members of these committees; although their varied experience in their service on shore and afloat, with fleets and armies, should make them specially useful on such occasions.

No officers of Marines are employed in the Intelligence or Ordnance Departments of Navy or Army.

A very large number of Marine officers, artillery and infantry, have passed through the Staff College; many with honours, all with credit. Some of these officers of Marines, who have passed the Staff College, have been employed as instructors and professors at Sandhurst and Greenwich; but not one of them has ever been employed on the staff of the army or navy, in peace or war. Their costly education may be said therefore to have been almost wasted.

These are the chief grievances of the Royal Marines. They cannot be considered to be trivial, or of little consequence. Now for the remedy.

The Marines are frequently employed as an auxiliary to the army, as well as the navy,—witness their services in Spain, Syria, China, India, Africa, and Egypt,—but an auxiliary only in time of bitter need and war. Let the Marines be a standing and constant auxiliary to the army, as well as the navy—in peace as in war—and augment them so as to enable them to furnish portions of the Eastern,

Western, Mediterranean, and perhaps eventually, Australian garrisons. It would certainly be an advantage to the Line and Royal Artillery to be relieved of a portion of the burden of foreign service, which weighs heavily upon them, and, with the ever-recurring interruption of our small wars, renders the formation of a reserve for the army slow and difficult.

If the Marines were raised in number, so as to enable them to take a portion of routine Colonial service—say at Malta or Gibraltar, Hong Kong or Bombay, and Halifax—this pressure would be considerably relieved; and the navy would have a reserve force, and a landing force, to draw upon at all its outposts. Such a force at hand might have actually prevented some of our late minor wars.

We shall also at some future time,—it is to be hoped, when not too late,—fortify our coaling depôts in the Atlantic, Pacific, Indian and China waters. Who are to form the garrisons of these posts?

Moreover, the Marines, at their present diminished numbers, are a very inadequate reserve for the navy. If the late Egyptian campaign had been a great war, the chief naval reserve would have been drained at the outset. After the Marine contingents had sailed for Egypt, there remained in England less than one hundred trained Marine Artillerymen, and six hundred trained Marine Infantry. Is this a satisfactory condition for the first reserve of the navy? However admirable its training may be, its present strength in numbers is quite inadequate.

Whether this proposal would involve a diminution on the rolls of some Line regiments is a question for the Government to decide. Is it desirable to make this sacrifice to retain the services of the Royal Marines? It has been said they are the very type of soldier for a maritime nation. If this re-adjustment be for the advantage of the State, no selfish interests should be allowed to interfere with its adoption. Officers of Marines, if employed by the War Office, as well as by the Admiralty, and cordially admitted as part of the regular forces, would soon win their way to superior commands. If we look back a very few years, we find a time when Generals of Engineers and Artillery, were rarely employed; they certainly have now won their way to a full share of the prizes of the service.

It may be objected that this increase of Marines will interfere with their efficiency; there will be no opportunity of embarking them in proportionate numbers to give them experience afloat; and there will be a falling off in their proficiency in naval gun-drill, one of the special qualifications, not only of the Marine Artilleryman, but of the Infantry Marine. The reply to this objection is, that it would be easy to embark Marines occasionally for instruction in duties afloat; and if means be provided for instruction in gun-drill wherever Marines may be quartered abroad, as now provided wherever they are quartered in England, their officers may be safely trusted

not to allow them to fall off in their artillery and gunnery qualifications.

There are one or two other important points to decide; for instance, the position and responsibility of officers and men while serving afloat should be more clearly defined: and clear and stringent regulations should be laid down for the guidance and discipline of landing parties from ships, whether Marine or Naval Brigade. But the above proposal appears, to one who has given much thought to the case, to be the only remedy for a great difficulty.

Finally, to sum up the case; the Royal Navy must have a reserve of disciplined men, who need not be sailors, but must be accustomed to sea and naval discipline. The Royal Marines appear to fulfil these conditions, and are an elastic reserve which could be fed from the Midland counties, not from the sea-coast, and its new levies trained to naval gun-drill by a staff of instructors, during the hottest war.

The Administration and the Navy must decide whether this force is all that the modern navy requires: the Marines will accept the decision as loyally as they would any other order. If they are to go, 'morituri te salutant.' But if the Royal Marines are to be retained as a valuable arm of the Royal Navy, surely the fact of their belonging to the Navy should not be injurious to them, as it now is. Their past services, and their unswerving loyalty demand fair treatment at the hands of the Navy and the State.

The State has nearly unbounded rights over the life and limb, the hand and brain of officers and men. It has a right to demand their best and most loyal service, and almost unlimited personal sacrifice; but it is going beyond its rights in demanding the sacrifices now exacted from officers of the Royal Marines.

G. A. SCHOMBERG.

AN UNSOLVED HISTORICAL RIDDLE.

(CONCLUDED.)

Doña Aña, widow of Ruy Gomez, Prince of Eboli, was the only child of Don Diego Hurtado, chief of the great house of Mendoza. There were many Mendozas in the Spanish peerage. Don Diego's was the eldest branch. On his father's death a part, but not all, of the inheritance descended to the daughter. She was Princess of Eboli as her husband's widow. Her eldest son, a youth of twenty or thereabouts, was Duke of Pastraña and Prince of Melito. She had five younger children. One of them, a daughter, was married to Alonso the Good, Duke of Medina Sidonia, known to history as the admiral of the Armada. Family disputes seem to have arisen about Don Diego's succession. Some suit was pending between her and other members of the family. The princess was detaining money, jewels, and other possessions, to which her relatives laid claim; and the quarrel was further complicated by the political leanings of the young Prince of Melito, who had deserted the old party of his father, Ruy Gomez, and had gone over to the Duke of Alva.

The princess herself was now thirty-eight years old. She had lost one eye and was otherwise not beautiful; but she was energetic, imperious, with considerable talents, and able, if she pleased, to be fascinating. That she had been Philip's mistress was an Italian scandal; nothing had then been heard of it in Spain; but Perez gave mysterious hints that the king would have been more intimate with her if she had encouraged him. Any way she had lost Philip's favour. Visitors at the Eboli palace were frowned upon at the Escorial; the world said that the king was irritated at her rejection of his advances,¹ and that 'wishes unsatisfied were more exasperating than a thousand offences.'

This was perhaps but court gossip; but, whether fact or legend, it is certain on the other hand that the relations between the princess and Antonio Perez were intimate and even affectionate. He had been her husband's adopted son. The princess professed to believe that

¹ 'Por vivir el Rey ofendido de la antigua y continua duracion de la entereza de la Princesa de Eboli haciendola menosprecio.'—*Relacion de Antonio Perez*.

Ruy Gomez was his real father, and to her Perez's devotion was uncontested and unbounded. He describes in an enigmatic letter the position in which he stood towards her. M. Mignet says that there can be no doubt of his meaning, and rushes to a preconceived conclusion. The letter is intentionally obscure; the press is uncorrected; and the text in parts is hopeless. But he alludes to the suggestion that he was the princess's lover only to fling it from him with disgust. His love was for his own wife, whose attachment to him is the finest feature in the whole of this distracted story. The Princess of Eboli he worshipped as a being beyond his sphere. He spoke of her as 'a jewel enamelled in the rarest graces of nature and fortune.' To her husband he owed all that he had become, and he repaid his debt by helping his widow in her difficulties. He made her large advances of money, he collected her rents from Italy; she in turn made him handsome presents; but that either with the king or with Perez the princess had any personal intrigue is a romantic imagination like the legend of Don Carlos and his stepmother.³

It was but natural, under the circumstances, that the Mendoza family should bear no love to Perez, because in the feuds which had arisen he was taking the princess's side. The Prince of Melito had threatened to run him through the body. The Marquess de Fabara and the Conde de Cifuentes called one day on the princess, and were kept waiting because she was closeted with the secretary. Both of them thought that such a fellow was not fit to live. Escovedo, it came out, had taken the opposite side to Perez. He, too, had been brought up by Ruy Gomez, and claimed a right to interfere in defence of his old master's honour. He disapproved of the acquaintance; he said that it must and should be put an end to; and he spoke to the princess with so rude a tongue, that she called him a foul-mouthed villain.

A quarrel of this kind explains the ease with which Perez consented to kill Escovedo. We know no actual good of Perez, and there would have been nothing surprising if, out of revenge, he really had misled the king into thinking Escovedo more guilty than he was. But the attempt to prove it broke down; Philip had been influenced by Don John's and Escovedo's own despatches, which had been deciphered by another hand; and never to the last felt certain that his secretary had in this matter deceived him. Some personal resentment there was, and the princess was in some way the occasion of it, but in fact Philip's conduct requires no secret passion to make it intelligible.

³ There is no evidence for it except what is supposed to lie in the letter of Antonio Perez 'à un Grand Personage,' which formed part of his public defence. What that letter means it is impossible to say, or even what it was intended to suggest. Perez says that the king disapproved of the intimacy between himself and the princess, and that there was a mystery connected with this. But a mystery is not necessarily a love affair, nor does it follow that there was a mystery because such a person as Perez wished to make himself interesting by hinting at one.

He did not doubt, at least at first, that he had done right, but he was unwilling to admit the truth. He had to maintain his respectability, and, therefore, would not try to prevent the Escovedos and their friends from prosecuting their complaints, and he was not ill-pleased that their suspicions should run wide of himself, and fasten in a quarter where he knew that there was nothing to be discovered. It was just the course which small, commonplace cunning would naturally pursue. The Marquis de los Velez could not understand it; he did not like the look of things, and applied for the governorship of Peru; Perez offered to retire from the public service and satisfy his enemies thus: but the king refused to accept Perez's resignation; he said that he could not spare him; he reiterated, on the word of a gentleman, 'that he would never forsake him, and that Perez knew his word could be depended on.'

More and more loudly Vasquez and the Escovedos demanded a trial. The king could not directly refuse. Perez himself advised acquiescence; the actual assassins, he said, were beyond reach of discovery; there was no evidence; he was ready to face the prosecution; the name of the princess need not be mentioned. Philip, however, had a conscience above perjury; he was not ashamed to admit what he had done, if it was known only to discreet persons who could be safely trusted. The case was to be heard before the High Court of Castile. The king sent for Don Antonio de Pazos, who was then president, told him everything, and asked his advice. The president thought that the prosecution must be silenced; he informed young Escovedo that if he insisted on justice he should have it, but he was accusing persons of high rank in the State; his charge, if he failed to make it good, would recoil on himself; he assured him on the word of a priest that Perez and the princess were as innocent as himself. With Vasquez the president was more peremptory. Vasquez, he said, was no relation of Escovedo's; his interference, especially as he was a priest, was gratuitous and unbecoming; on the facts he was mistaken altogether. The Escovedos yielded and promised to go no further; Vasquez was obstinate, and persisted. Public curiosity had been excited; it was felt instinctively that the king was in the secret, and there was a widespread desire to know what that secret was. Vasquez hated Perez and the princess also, and made himself the representative of the popular anxiety.

Philip had been contented that opinion should run in a false direction; and he had hoped to prevent too close an inquiry by his confidence with the president. He had failed, and he seemed to wish to silence Vasquez, and, if possible, to reconcile him with the princess whom he had calumniated. But now the difficulty was on her side. She, the greatest lady in Spain after the queen, had been insulted and slandered; it was not for her to leave a cloud upon her name by stooping to take the hand of her accuser. The Cardinal Archbishop

of Toledo was sent to reason with her, but the archbishop was too much of her own opinion to make an impression on her indignation. She had already a long catalogue of grievances, and this last insult was too much. She wrote Philip a letter which he showed to Perez, and Perez preserved it.

Señor,—Your Majesty has commanded the Cardinal of Toledo to speak with me in the matter of Antonio Perez. Mattheo Vasquez and his friends have said openly that all who enter my house lose your favour. They have stated also that Antonio Perez killed Escovedo on my account; that he was under so many obligations to my family, that he would do whatever I asked him. They have published abroad these speeches; and I require your Majesty, as a king and a gentleman, to take such notice of this conduct as the world shall hear of. If your Majesty declines, if the honour of my house is to be sacrificed, as our property has been sacrificed, if this is to be the reward of the long and faithful services of my ancestors, be it so. I have discharged my conscience; self-respect forbids me to say more.

I write to your Majesty in resentment at the offences which I have received, and I write in confidence, supposing myself to be addressing a gentleman.

The president presses me about a letter, which I wrote to your Majesty, touching bribes taken by — (word omitted). I am charged with having said something of the Duke of —. My character suffers from these tokens of your Majesty's goodwill. Though justice is on my side, my suit is before a tainted tribunal; I shall lose it and be put out of possession. When I ask the president why he acts thus towards me, he says that your Majesty will have it so. Melchior de Herrera (?) allows that I am right; but he swears me to this and that, and pretends that it is your pleasure. You have sent him a memorial from Don Inigo.³ Why am I to be twice memorialised? It is important to me to withdraw the security under which I and my children are bound for Don Inigo. He has broken his obligations, and may leave Valladolid. Antonio de Padilla confesses that it is so; but your Majesty forbids him to interfere. If this is true, I may as well abandon my suit, and my children too. This is the natural conclusion from the position which you assume towards me. When I reflect what my husband's merits were, such treatment would make me lose my senses did I not need them all to guard myself from this Moorish cur (Mattheo Vasquez) whom your Majesty keeps in your service. I demand that neither I nor any of mine may be placed in that man's power.

I have given this letter, though it strays far beyond our immediate subject, because it shows how imperfectly the circumstances are known to us which surround the story; and how idle it is for us to indulge imagination beyond what is written. Long avenues of questions lie open before us, which must remain for ever unanswered, yet in the answer to which alone can lie a complete explanation of the relations between the Princess of Eboli and the King of Spain.

Submit to be reconciled with the 'Moorish cur' it was plain she would not. He had circulated slanders against her in the court, and she insisted that he should withdraw them.⁴ Perez was obstinate,

³ Inigo de Mendosa, Marquis of Almenara.

⁴ This article had been written, and was partly in type, before I had seen the interesting work, lately published, on the Princess of Eboli, by Don Gaspar Moro. Although the documents discovered by Don Gaspar have added largely to our knowledge of the secret history of the Princess, I have found it unnecessary to withdraw or alter any opinion which I had formed. I have had the pleasure of finding my own conjectures for the most part confirmed and converted into certainties.

too, for his honour was touched. The Archbishop of Toledo and the king's special preacher, Fray Hernando de Castillo, stood by them, and the quarrel had gone into a new form. Philip's position was a ridiculous one. If Vasquez persisted in prosecuting Perez before a judge who was acquainted with the truth, it was scarcely possible that the truth would be unrevealed. Secretary Vasquez is a dark figure. The letter of the princess shows that Philip was secretly employing this man in various matters in which she supposed herself to be wronged, and there were reasons for his conduct at which, with our imperfect knowledge, it is idle to guess. Consulting no one but his confessor, he gave orders for the arrest both of Perez and of the princess also, and on the 29th of July 1579 they were ordered into separate confinement. The lady's relations, it is likely, required no explanations, but for form's sake Philip offered them. The same night he wrote to the Duke of Infantado and to Medina Sidonia. A dispute had arisen, he said, between his two secretaries, Antonio Perez

by evidence not open to dispute. Don Gaspar has disproved conclusively the imagined *liaison* between the Princess and Philip the Second. He continues to believe that improper relations existed between her and Antonio Perez; but as he alleges nothing fresh in proof of it beyond what was already known, I look on this as no more than part of the old legend which has continued to adhere to Don Gaspar with no more authority for it than tradition. The passionate love which existed between Perez and his own wife is inconsistent with a belief, at least on her part, that any such relation had been formed. . . . Be this as it may, however, Don Gaspar has proved that the jealousy of which Perez speaks, as having governed Philip's conduct, was no jealousy of the preference of Perez to himself by the Princess, but a jealousy of the influence of a woman with whom he was on the worst possible terms over his own secretary. . . . Don Gaspar has found and printed more than a hundred letters of Mattheo Vasquez, whose connection with the Escovedo prosecution was so close, and had hitherto been so unintelligible. The Crown was in some way interested in the great law suits which the Princess was carrying on. In all that related to her Mattheo Vasquez was as deep in Philip's confidence as Antonio Perez in the wider world of politics. His relations with each of them were carefully concealed from the other. Perez had no suspicion that Mattheo Vasquez was employed by his master against the Princess. Mattheo Vasquez guessed as little that his master had ordered Perez to assassinate Escovedo: and thus Philip himself, by his passion for secrecy, and for what he regarded as skilful management, had entangled his two secretaries in a furious antagonism. Perez had no knowledge how far Philip had engaged himself in the Eboli litigation. To him Mattheo Vasquez appeared to have thrown himself gratuitously into the quarrel. The King was irritated at Perez for unconsciously thwarting him by taking up the Princess's cause. Mattheo who, evidently from his letter, hated the Princess, had almost succeeded in dragging into light his master's complicity with Escovedo's murder, by his innocent belief that Perez and the Princess were the guilty parties, and that the cause of the murder was resentment at the part which Escovedo had taken in attempting to separate the Princess from Perez. Not a hint, not a suggestion of any love-scandal appears in the whole of the correspondence. Some great question was at issue, the very nature of which cannot now be accurately made out, on which the court was divided, and which was enveloped in a network of intrigues—the King sitting in the middle of it, playing the part of Providence with the best intention with extremely limited ability, and with the most unfortunate results—for he affected especially to imitate Providence in the secrecy of its methods; and secrecy is only safe to a judgment which cannot err.

and Mattheo Vasquez, with which the princess was concerned. She had complained to him unreasonably, and his confessor had vainly endeavoured to persuade her to be reconciled to Vasquez. She had been committed, therefore, to the fortress of Pinto, and he had thought it right to give them immediate information. The resentment of the Duke of Infantado was not likely to be deep; Medina Sidonia replied coolly that so wise a sovereign had doubtless good reason for his actions. He was himself laid up with gout, and the pain was in his mind as well as in his body. He trusted that his Majesty would be gracious to the princess, and that the grace would be even more marked than the punishment.

The Cardinal of Toledo called the next morning on Juana de Coello, Perez's wife. He told her from the king that she was not to be alarmed. Her husband's life was in no danger, nor his honour either. The imprisonment was a mere matter of precaution to prevent other mischiefs.

The princess now drops out of the scene. Philip informed her that if she would undertake to hold no more communication with Perez, she would be received to favour, and might return to the court. She replied that if Perez ever wrote to her or sent her a message, the king should know of it. But this was not satisfactory. After a brief confinement she was allowed to retire to her castle at Pastrana, and there without further disturbance she remained to the end of her life.

Meanwhile, if Philip's object had been to stop the prosecution for Escovedo's murder, and to divert suspicion from himself, both purposes had been attained. Mattheo Vasquez must have been satisfied, for his name was never mentioned again. Popular opinion had accused Perez of having committed the murder at the princess's instigation. Their simultaneous arrest led to a general belief that the suspicion was not unfounded. If the king had made a second confidant of Vasquez, and had concerted the details of the comedy with him, the result, at least for a time, did credit to his ingenuity. Perez's fault, whatever it had been, was not to appear unpardonable. He was left four months in charge of the alcalde of the court. He was treated with kindness, and even distinction, and was permitted to have his children with him. In the November following he became unwell, and was permitted further to return to his own house, though still as a prisoner. Next he was required to sign a bond of *pleytahomenage*, by which he and Mattheo Vasquez engaged as king's vassals not to injure each other. The guard was then removed. He recovered his freedom and resumed his duties as secretary to the Council of State, though no longer as confidential secretary to the king. The whole matter seemed to have been thus wound up, and public interest was soon directed on worthier objects. The death of Don Sebastian in Africa had left vacant the Portuguese throne.

Philip took possession of the succession as the nearest heir. The Duke of Alva, with a few skilful movements disposed of the pretender. Philip went to Lisbon to be installed as sovereign, and in the glory of this grand achievement Escovedo's assassination might have gone the way of other scandals.

But, as Perez said, 'it was a thing which had no beginning and could have no end.' A cloud still hung over him, and his slightest movements were watched. The Princess of Eboli sent him presents from Pastraña. It was immediately reported to Philip. He had many friends, the Cardinal of Toledo, and 'grandees' of highest rank. They came often to see him, but he was forbidden to return their visits. Philip evidently chose that a sinister suspicion should still remain attached to him. Antonio de Pazos, the President of Castille, knew the whole story, for the king had told him. Juana de Coello complained to him of her husband's treatment, and insisted that his reputation ought to be cleared. The president was of the same opinion, and wrote to the king. 'If Antonio Perez has committed a crime,' he said, 'give him a formal trial and hang him. If he is innocent, let him go on his good behaviour, and if he offends again, punish him.'

The king answered: 'If the matter were of a kind which would allow a judicial process, it should have been ordered from the first day. You must tell the woman to be quiet; no change is possible at present.'

'Time,' Philip used to say, 'cures all evils.' 'Time and I never fail.' And so he went on trusting to time when time could not help him.

Perez had friends, but he had enemies also. Mattheo Vasquez had withdrawn, but others had taken his place, and Philip's ambiguities encouraged them. Among these were the powerful Mendozas. Perez had managed the princess's money affairs. He had jewels in his charge and other things also which they conceived to belong to them. His habits were luxurious, and remained so in spite of his semi-disgrace. His palace, his plate, his furniture, his equipments, and entertainments were the most splendid in Madrid. He gambled also; perhaps he won, perhaps he lost; in either case it was a reproach. How, men asked, could Antonio Perez support such a vast expenditure? and the answer suggested was, of course, corruption or malversation. He had six thousand ducats a year from his offices; but the Archbishop of Seville, a friendly witness, said that he must be spending fifteen or twenty thousand. The king was advised to order an inquiry into the accounts of all the public offices, and of Perez's, of course, among them. A 'lion's mouth,' like that at Venice, was opened for secret information, and was not long in want of sustenance. Accusations poured in as venomous as hatred could distil. Rodrigo

Vasquez de Arce,⁵ who became President of the High Court, conducted the investigation of them, and the result was not favourable to Perez. Undoubtedly he had received sums of money from all parts of the empire to expedite business, just as Bacon did in England, and as high officials everywhere were then in the habit of doing. They looked on such things as recognised perquisites so long as nothing was said about them; but gratuities were formally prohibited, and, when exposed, were incapable of defence.

On the Report being presented, Philip allowed Perez to be prosecuted for corrupt practices, and it was then that, at a venture, he was accused further of having altered ciphered despatches.

No one knew better than Philip that, under the arrangements of his cabinet, the alteration of despatches without his own knowledge was impossible. Perez wrote to Philip to remonstrate. 'He could not answer such a charge,' he said, 'without producing his papers,' and among them the king's own notes upon Escovedo's death. The confessor was sent to see these papers, and, having read them, could only recommend his master to let the charge fall. As to corrupt practices, he advised Perez to make no defence, and assured him that he should not be condemned in the value of a pair of gloves. The sentence went beyond the pair of gloves. Perez was suspended from his office for ten years. He was to suffer two years' imprisonment, and was to pay besides thirty thousand ducats, half to the Crown, and half to the family of the Princess of Eboli, as property belonging to them which he had unlawfully appropriated.

This judgment was delivered on the 23rd of January, 1585. It was not published; nor it is certain how much of it was enforced. But there were reasons why, at that moment, the sentence of imprisonment was convenient. The Escovedo business was bursting up again. Enriquez, the page, who had assisted at the murder, had let fall incautious speeches. The president, Rodrigo Vasquez, took the subject into the scope of his inquiries. He sent for Enriquez and examined him. On his evidence Diego Martinez was arrested also. If these two could be induced to tell the truth, the proofs against Perez would be complete. He might produce his papers, but in a close court the judges might refuse to receive or look at them to save the king's credit; and Perez would certainly be executed. The king was just then going down to Arragon for the opening of the Cortes. In Arragon trials were public, with equal justice between king and subject. Perez, himself an Arragonese, if left free might follow the king thither, and put himself under the protection of the laws. There certainly, if not in Madrid, his exculpation would be heard. It was therefore determined that he should be at once arrested, and a guard was sent to his house to take him.

⁵ It does not appear whether he was a relation of Mattheo Vasquez.

Perez from first to last had an honest friend at the court, Cardinal Quiroga, Archbishop of Toledo. The Archbishop saw, or feared, that Perez was about to be sacrificed, and his sense of equity, though he was Grand Inquisitor, was outraged. He recommended Perez to take sanctuary. He would then be a prisoner of the Church, and his case would be heard in the Holy Office. The Inquisition had already denounced Philip's method of removing doubtful subjects. It would stand by Perez now and prevent a scandalous crime.

Perez took the cardinal's advice and fled to the nearest church. But the Crown officials were determined to have him, and the sanctuary was not respected. The church door was burst in; he was torn out of his hiding place, and carried off again to a State prison. His property was sequestrated, his papers were seized, and the Nuncio, when he protested, was threatened with dismissal. Henry the Eighth himself could not have been more peremptory in his contempt of sacred privileges than the ministers of the Most Catholic king. The documents were at once examined. The secret correspondence was found absent. Juana de Coello was supposed to have it; and to extort it from her, she and her children were carried off also, and confined in the same castle with her husband. It was true that she had some part of the private papers, and threats of torture could not wring them from her till she had ascertained that those of most special consequence were not among them. She found some one who would take a note to her husband. Being without ink she wrote it with her blood. The answer came back that she might deliver the papers without fear, the Escovedo notes being secured elsewhere. She mentioned where the boxes would be found. The king's confessor himself came to her to receive the keys. He, too, had some sense remaining of right and wrong, and he told her that if Perez was troubled any further, he would himself go 'como un loco,' like a madman, into the Plaza, and proclaim the truth to all the world.

The boxes being surrendered, Juana de Coello and the children were sent home, there being no longer occasion for keeping them. As the confessor was going off, she could not help telling him that there were still a few papers reserved. The king, when he came to look, must have discovered that this was fatally true. All else was in its place, even to the most secret ciphered correspondence; but the fifty or sixty especial letters, which he knew himself to have written, about Escovedo, and knew also that Perez had preserved—these were not to be discovered. That, if he had got possession of these letters, Philip would have allowed Perez to be tried and executed, is not certain; but it may have been well for him that he was not exposed to the temptation. As matters stood, the judges might refuse to admit the letters, and pass sentence on the evidence. But Juana de Coello could

carry the damning records into Arragon, or across the frontier, and publish them; and all Europe would cry out 'Shame!' Nor was the Church idle. The Church authorities, with the Pope behind them, demanded that Perez should be restored to sanctuary. Worried, impatient, cursing the day that he had ever blundered into so detestable a quagmire, the king again paused. Once more the prison doors were opened; once more Perez was brought back to Madrid, and lodged in a handsome house with his family. Evidently the unfortunate king was at his wits' end, without having discovered what course to choose. Perez went to church for mass. The great people came as before to show him countenance. He himself addressed many letters to the king, which were carefully read, if not answered. The Archbishop of Toledo, in particular, was confident that all would be well. The attitude of the Church alone would suffice to protect him. The President Rodrigo would have gone on gladly with the trial, but obstacles were continually arising. Some one asked him what was to be done. 'How can I tell you?' he replied. 'One day the king says go on, the next he says hold back. There is a mystery which I cannot make out.'

Fourteen months thus drifted away. At the end of them the king could hold out no longer. There was still but a single witness, for Diego Martinez had continued staunch. He could not be depended on, perhaps if he was tortured, but torture could not be used without the king's permission. Philip wrote to Perez telling him generally that he might rely on his protection, but without saying what steps he was prepared to take. Perez was brought to trial at last before President Rodrigo. Perez stood upon his innocence, denied that he had murdered Escovedo, and denied all knowledge of the matter. Enriquez gave his evidence with correctness; but Diego Martinez, who was confronted with him, said he was a liar, and his story a fabrication. Conviction on such terms was not to be had. Perez's papers were handed to President Rodrigo to be examined. He searched them through, but found nothing to the purpose. Perez, after all, would probably have been acquitted, but for the intervention of a 'Deus ex machinâ,' Philip himself, who interposed in a manner the most unlooked for. This is the most extraordinary feature in the whole extraordinary story. Philip, it might have been thought, would have welcomed Perez's acquittal as the happiest escape from his embarrassments; but it seems that his conscience was really disturbed at the success of deliberate perjury. Just as it became clear that the prosecution had failed, and that Perez, whether guilty or not, could not be pronounced guilty without a violation of the laws, Philip's confessor, as if from himself, but of course with his master's sanction, wrote to him to say that although he had killed Escovedo, he had a complete defence for it. When the truth was known, his character would be cleared. He advised

him, therefore, to make a complete confession, and at once say that he had acted by the king's order.

This was written on the 3rd of September, the year after the defeat of the Armada. Through all that famous enterprise, from its first conception to the final catastrophe, this mean business had simmered on, and was at last at boiling point.

Well as Perez knew his master, he was not prepared for this last move. What could it mean? The king had promised to stand by him. But if he confessed, his guilt would be clear. He might say what he pleased, but the judges might hang him notwithstanding. There was Diego Martinez, too, to be thought of. He would be hanged, at any rate. So long as the proof was deficient, confession would be insanity. The king, besides, had positively ordered that his name should not be introduced.

In this tone he replied to Diego de Chaves; but the confessor stood to his opinion. Evidently he had consulted Philip again.

'The plain course for you,' he answered, 'is to say directly that you had the king's orders for Escovedo's death. You need not enter on the reasons. You ought not to make a false oath in a court of justice; and if you have done so already you ought not to persevere in it. Where there has been no fault there can be no punishment, and confession will only show the innocence of yourself and your accomplice. When the truth is out, the wound will heal, and his Majesty will have given the Escovedo family the justice which they demand. If they persist after this, they can be silenced or banished. Only, once more, the causes which led the king to act as he did are not to be mentioned.'

M. Mignet considers that these letters were written to tempt Perez to a confession, in order that he might be destroyed. The judges would ask for proof, and, having lost his papers, he would be unable to produce it. The answer is simple. Both Philip and the confessor were aware that the compromising letters were still in possession of either Perez or his wife. Perez, who was not troubled about perjury, thought it safer to risk an uncertainty than to act as the confessor advised. To confess was to place his life in the judges' hands. He could feel no certainty that the king's orders would be held a sufficient authority. Philip's conduct had been strange from the beginning, and kings' consciences are not like the consciences of private individuals. They may profess to wish one thing, while their duty as sovereigns requires another. There was another alternative; the Escovedos, who were now the only prosecutors, might agree to a compromise. Perez proposed it to the confessor; the confessor permitted Perez to try, if the king was not to be a party to the transaction; overtures were made, and were successful. The Escovedo family consented to withdraw their suit on receiving twenty thousand ducats.

This seemed like the end; and if there had been nothing more in Escovedo's death than an ordinary murder, the compensation would have been held sufficient, and the end would have really come. But behind the private wrong there was a great question at issue, whether the sovereign had or had not a right to make away with his subjects when he believed them criminal, because for reasons of State it was inexpedient to bring them to trial. Though Castile had no longer constitutional rights like Arragon, a high-minded people (as the Castilians were) had a regard for their own security. The doctrine had been condemned by the Holy Office, and the judges can have liked it as little.

The opportunity of bringing the matter to a point was not to be lost. The President Rodrigo wrote to Philip that his reputation was at stake. The prosecution had been dropped, but the world was convinced, notwithstanding, that the murder had been committed by his order. It concerned his honour that Perez should explain why that order had been given. He begged the king to send him an instruction in the following terms: 'Tell Antonio Perez, in my name, that, as he knows the causes for which I commanded him to kill Escovedo, I desire him to declare what those causes were.'

M. Mignet adheres to his opinion that Perez was to be betrayed; that, being without his papers, he must fail to prove what he was required to reveal, and could then be executed as a slanderer and an assassin. It might be difficult for him to recall satisfactorily a condition of things which was now buried under the incidents of twelve eventful years. But there is no occasion to suspect Philip of such deliberate treachery. The stages through which his mind had passed can easily be traced. He never doubted the righteousness of Escovedo's execution; but he had been afraid to irritate his brother, and had therefore wished his own part in it to be concealed. Therefore, when Perez was first suspected, he had not come forward to protect him; and therefore also he had connived at the direction of the suspicion on the Princess of Eboli. A long time had passed away, Don John was gone, the aspect of Europe had changed. He had no longer the same reluctance to admit that he had ordered the murder; but he had bidden Perez be silent about the causes, because, though sufficient for his own conscience, it would be hard, when circumstances were so much altered, to make them intelligible to others. The Spaniards of 1590, smarting under the destruction of the Armada, might well have thought if Don John and the Duke of Guise had tried the 'enterprise' together, when the Queen of Scots was alive, so many of their homes would not then have been desolate.

But public opinion was excited. The compromise of the prosecution seemed to imply that there was something disgraceful behind. A secret half revealed is generally more dangerous than the truth;

and thus, when called on by the judges to direct Perez to make a full confession, he felt that it was better to consent.

This explanation seems sufficient, without looking for sinister motives. The order was written, and Perez was required to obey.

It might have been thought that he would have seen in such an order the easiest escape from his troubles. To speak was to be acquitted (at least morally) of a worse crime than of having been a too faithful servant. But it is likely that he did feel it would be difficult for him to make out a satisfactory case. He could produce the king's instructions, and could describe the motives in general terms. But State reasons for irregular actions are always looked askance at, and loyal subjects are inclined to excuse their sovereigns at the expense of their advisers. Perez might naturally fear that he would be accused of having misled the king, perhaps through malice. This view was taken of the case by the Archbishop of Toledo. 'Señor,' he said to the confessor when he heard of this fresh command, 'either I am mad or this whole affair is mad. If the king bade Perez kill Escovedo, why does he ask for the causes? The king knew them at the time. Perez was not Escovedo's judge. He placed before the king certain despatches. The king directed a course to be taken upon them, and Perez obeyed. Now after twelve years, without his papers, with so many persons gone who could have given evidence, he is asked for explanations. Give him back his papers, bring back five hundred persons now dead out of their graves; and even then he will not be able to do it.'

The archbishop protested, the Nuncio protested. Juana de Coello and Perez's children wept and clamoured; but President Rodrigo, with the king's orders in his hand, persisted that Perez should speak. Three times successively, in the course of a month, he was brought into court, and he remained stubborn. He says that he would not confess, because the king had personally ordered him to be silent, and that a written form could not supersede an immediate direction, without a private intimation that it was to be obeyed. This is evidently an insufficient explanation. He must have felt that if he detailed the causes for the murder he admitted the fact; and that if he admitted the fact he might be sacrificed.

But the king was determined that the whole truth should be told at last, and that, as he could not tell it himself, it should be told by Perez. After a month's resistance, the question was applied in earnest. Perez was tortured. He broke down under the pain, and told all. It was then that Doña Juana appealed to God against Diego de Chaves in the Dominican chapel. It was then that Doña Gregoria dared President Rodrigo in his hall. What the king or the judges had intended to do next, is mere conjecture. Diego Martinez, when his master had spoken, confessed also. He was not punished, and Perez perhaps would not have been punished either. The judges might have been

contented with the exposure. But Perez did not care to tempt fortune or Philip's humours further. His wife was allowed to visit him in prison. He escaped disguised in her clothes. Horses were waiting, he rode for his life to Arragon, and the next day was safe beyond the frontier.

So ends the first part of the tragi-comedy. The next opened on another stage and with wider issues.

The *Fueros* or 'Liberties' of Arragon were the only surviving remnant of the free institutions of the Peninsula. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the two Castiles, Valencia, Granada, and Arragon had their separate administrations and their separate legislatures. The great cities had their municipal corporations, while Portugal till within ten years had been an independent kingdom. One by one they had been absorbed. Arragon remained still free, but with a freedom which had been found inconvenient at Madrid, and was unvalued by the most powerful of the Arragonese nobles themselves. The tendency of the age was towards centralisation, and the tenure of the *Fueros* had been growing yearly more precarious. Isabella had been impatient for a revolt which would give her an excuse for extinguishing them. The Duke of Alva more lately, on some provocation, said that with three or four thousand of his old soldiers he would make the king's authority supreme. Such as it was, however, the Constitution still subsisted, being supported chiefly by the populace of the towns, who, as long as noise and clamour were sufficient, were the enthusiastic champions of their national privileges. A council for the administration of the province sat at Madrid, but its powers were limited to advice. The Cortes met annually at Saragossa to vote the taxes, but the king could neither prorogue nor dissolve them without their own consent. A Committee of the Cortes carried on the government, and in the intervals of the sessions remained in office. The Arragonese had their own laws, their own judges, their own police, their own prisons; and no 'alien' armed force was permitted within their boundaries. The Grand Justiciary, the highest executive officer, was nominated by the king, but could not be deprived by him. A Royal Commissioner resided in Saragossa, to observe and to report, to act in cases to which the Crown was a party, perhaps irregularly to distribute favours and influence opinion. But this was the limit of his interference. The Commissioner in the year 1590 was Inigo de Mendoza, Marquis of Almenara, the cousin and the chief antagonist of the Princess of Eboli.

Such was Arragon when Antonio Perez sought an asylum in the land of his fathers. He professed to have been tortured till his limbs were disabled, but he was able to ride without resting till he had crossed the frontier and had reached Calatayud. He made no effort, perhaps he was too weak, to go further, and he took refuge in a Dominican convent. Within ten hours of his arrival an express

came in from Madrid to a private gentleman, Don Manuel Zapata, with orders to take him, dead or alive, and send him back to his master. Perez says that when his flight was known at the Court, there was general satisfaction. 'Uncle Martin,' the palace jester, said to Philip the next morning, 'Sir, all the world rejoices at the escape of Antonio Perez; he cannot be very wicked; you should rejoice too.' Philip did not rejoice at all. He had put himself in the power of one of his subjects, and he did not choose to remain any longer in so degrading a position. When he had been himself willing to submit his conduct to a judicial inquiry, Perez, who had less to fear if he had been acting uprightly, had shown so much unwillingness that he possibly may have now doubted whether Escovedo's conduct had not been properly represented to him. Perez had fled, carrying the compromising documents along with him; he was probably on his way to France, to delight Philip's enemies with the sight of them, and with the tale of his own wrongs.

Anticipating pursuit, Perez had sent a friend, Gil de Mesa, to the Grand Justiciary, to signify his arrival, and to put himself under the protection of the law. Meanwhile, the town mob at Calatayud rose in his defence, and when Don Manuel arrived at the monastery he found the priests and students in arms to protect their sanctuary. Fifty soldiers arrived immediately after from Saragossa. The orders of the Justiciary were to bring Perez at once to the national prison of the Manifestacion, where he was to be detained till the king could be communicated with. The reply was an order to the Marquis of Almenara to prosecute him immediately in the Court of Arragon on three charges.

1. For having caused the death of Escovedo, falsely pretending the king's authority.

2. For having betrayed secrets of State and tampered with ciphered despatches.

3. For having fled from justice when his conduct was being judicially inquired into.

If Perez had been wholly innocent, he would have felt that he had at last an opportunity of setting himself clear in the face of the world. The court would be open, the trial public, and his defence could neither be garbled nor suppressed. His reluctance was as vehement as ever, and was not concealed by his affectation of a desire to spare his master. From Calatayud, and from Saragossa afterwards, he wrote letter upon letter both to Philip and to Diego de Chaves, protesting his loyalty, entreating to be left in quiet with his wife and children; indicating that he had the means of defending himself, but hoping that he might not be forced to use them. These letters being left unanswered, he took into his confidence a distinguished Aragonese ecclesiastic, the Prior of Gotor. He showed him the mysterious

papers which he had brought with him, with Philip's notes upon them. 'His Majesty,' he said, in his instructions to the Prior, 'must know that I possess these documents. They contain confidential secrets affecting others besides Escovedo; let his Majesty judge whether it is desirable that evidences should be produced in court which touch the reputation of distinguished persons, which will create a scandal throughout Europe, and will reflect on the prudence and piety of his Majesty himself. Though the confessor has taken most of my papers from me, Providence has been pleased that I should retain these, and these will suffice for my defence. If brought to trial I shall certainly be acquitted, but I prefer to save the king's reputation; my cause is now notorious, and it will not be wise to challenge the world's opinion. I have been shorn like a lamb for eleven years, and I have held my peace. My blood has been shed. I have been tortured in a dungeon, and I have remained faithful. In eight or ten days I must give in my answer. Some people tell me that I ought rather to lose my head than speak; but if I am driven to it the truth must be told.'

The Prior went. Philip saw him more than once, and heard what he had to say. There could be no doubt that Perez had the compromising letters, for the Prior had seen them. Yet Philip's courage did not fail him. After Perez's flight the Court of Castile had given judgment against him. He was to be dragged through the streets and hanged. His head was to be cut off and exposed, and all his property was to be confiscated. The answer to the mission of the Prior of Gotor was the publication of his sentence.

Perez thus driven to bay took up the challenge. He drew a memorial containing his own account of the causes of Escovedo's murder. He attached to it such notes as sufficed to prove the king's complicity, reserving others in case of future necessity; and this was publicly presented as his reply to the Marquis of Almenara. The king had probably expected that the judges of Arragon would not lightly accept so grave a charge against their sovereign; that they would respect the sentence of the better informed Court of Castile, and would understand that there was something behind which was left unexplained. But Arragon was excited, and chose to show its independence. After the admission of the memorial Don Inigo sent word to the king, that if no further evidence were produced, Perez would certainly be acquitted. The king believed that he had other resources at his disposition by which complete defeat could be avoided, and at the last moment directed that the case before the Grand Justiciary should be abandoned. 'If,' said Philip, 'it was possible to reply with the same publicity which Perez has given to his defence, his guilt would be proved, and he would be condemned. Throughout this whole affair I have considered only the public good. The long imprisonment of Perez, the entire course which the cause

has taken, has had no other object. Abusing my clemency, and afraid of the issue, he so defends himself that to answer him I must publish secrets which ought not to be revealed, and involve persons whose reputation is of more consequence than the punishment of a single offender. Therefore, I shall go no further with the prosecution in the Court of Arragon. I declare Perez to have sinned worse than ever vassal sinned before against his sovereign—both in time, form, and circumstance; and I desire this my declaration to be entered with my notice of withdrawal. Truth, which I have always maintained, must suffer no injury. And I reserve such rights as appertain, or may appertain to me, of bringing the offender to account for his crimes in any other manner.'

The 'other manner' was through the Court of Enquesta. In the Constitution of Arragon, a special reservation excluded from protection the king's servants and officials—over these the law of the province had no more authority than the king was pleased to allow—and the king under this clause claimed to have Perez surrendered to himself. The local lawyers, however, interpreted 'servants' to mean only servants in Arragon and engaged in the affairs in Arragon, not persons belonging to other countries or other provinces. Arragonese, who accepted Crown employment, undertook it with their eyes open and at their own risk, and might be supposed to have consented to their exemption; such a case as that of Perez had not been contemplated. But the king had one more resource. Though acquitted, the prisoner was still detained, as if the authorities were unsatisfied of his real innocence. Perez had grown impatient, and, in his loose, vain way, had babbled to his companions in the Manifestacion, and his language had been so extravagant that it had been noted down and forwarded to the court. He had threatened to fly to France or Holland, when he would make the king repent of his treatment of him. He compared himself to Marius, who had been driven into exile and had returned to the consulship. He said that he would raise a revolt in Castile; he would bring in Henry the Fourth; he would make Arragon into a Free Republic like Venice. He spoke of Philip as another Pharaoh. He had ventured into more dangerous ground, and had called in question the mysteries of the faith. Some of these rash expressions have been preserved, with the solemn reflections on them of the king's confessor. The impatient wretch had said, that if God the Father allowed the king to behave so disloyally to him he would take God the Father by the nose. The confessor observes, 'This proposition is blasphemous, scandalous, offensive to pious ears, and savouring of the heresy of the Vadiani, who affirmed that God was corporeal and had human members. Nor was it an excuse to say that Christ, being made man, had a nose, since the words were spoken of the First Person.'

Again, Perez had said, 'God is asleep in this affair of mine.'

If He works no miracle for me, it will go near to destroy the faith.'

'This proposition,' the confessor noted, 'is scandalous. He has been accused of the greatest enormities; he has been tried by course of law and condemned to death, and he speaks as if he was without fault.'

Worse still. Perez had gone on, 'God sleeps! God sleeps! God is an idle tale; there cannot be a God!'

The confessor observes, 'This proposition is heretical, as if God had no care for human things when the Bible and the Church affirm that He has; to say that there cannot be a God is heresy, for though it be said in doubt, yet doubt is not allowed in matters of faith, we must believe without doubt.'

Lastly, Perez had said, 'If things pass thus, I cannot believe in God.'

The confessor: 'This is blasphemous, scandalous, and offensive, and savours of heresy also.'

The confessor's ears had no doubt been outraged. Many a poor sinner had gone to the stake for less audacious utterances. For nine months after the failure with the Enquesta, Perez remained in the Manifestacion, pouring out these wild outcries. At the end of them an order came from the Holy Office at Madrid to the three Inquisitors at Saragossa to take possession of his person and remove him to their own prison in the old Moorish palace of the Aljaferia.

The Inquisitor-General of Spain was his old friend the Archbishop of Toledo. In Madrid the Inquisition had been well disposed towards him, and once he had thrown himself on its protection. Had he submitted voluntarily, he would probably have been safe from serious injury, and an impartial decision would have been arrived at. The Inquisition, be it remembered, was no slave of the Crown, and, though a cruel guardian of orthodoxy, would not have looked too narrowly at the fretful words of a man whom the Archbishop believed to have been ill used. The judges of Arragon were by this time satisfied that Perez was not entirely the martyr which he pretended to be, and that the king had something to say for himself. Philip, who appears to Protestant Europe a monster of injustice, was in Spain respected and esteemed. The Grand Justiciary did not wish to quarrel with the Crown in a case so doubtful, still less to quarrel with the Holy Office, and was preparing quietly to comply. But Perez would not have it so, and preferred to trust to popular jealousy. A mob is always ready to listen when it is told that Liberty is in danger. A story was circulated in Saragossa that the Marquis of Almenara had bribed the prisoners in the Manifestacion to send in a false account of Perez's language, that the Inquisition was claiming a right which did not belong to it, that the Fueros were being betrayed, that the Arragonese were to be made slaves of the Castilians.

Symptoms showed themselves of an intended rising, and the Justiciary and Don Inigo, after a night's conference, agreed that Perez should be removed at once and without notice to the Inquisition prison. At noon on the 24th of May, 1591, he was quietly placed in a carriage at the Manifestacion Gate. A knot of young men tried to stop the horses, and clamoured for the Constitution; but they were told that it was *casa de fey*, an affair of religion, and that they must mind their own business. The carriage reached the Aljaferia without interruption, and Perez was in the Inquisitor's hands. But, on the instant Saragossa was in arms. The alarm bell boomed out. The market-place swarmed with a furious multitude shouting 'Fueros, Fueros! Libertad, Libertad!' Their plans had been already laid. Half the mob went to attack the Aljaferia, the others to the house of Philip's representative, the Marquis of Almenara. He, too, it is likely, had remembered that Perez was the friend of the Princess of Eboli, and had thrown himself into the quarrel with some degree of personal animosity. He was now to expiate his eagerness. He was urged to fly. The Mendozas, he answered, never fled. The palace door was dashed in. The Justiciary, who had hurried to protect him, was thrown down and trampled on. Don Inigo was seized, dragged out, and borne away among cries of 'Muera, muera! Kill him, kill him!' Stripped naked, his clothes torn off, his arms almost forced out of their sockets, struck and pelted with stones, he was at last rescued by a party of police, who carried him into the city prison. There, a fortnight after, he died of his injuries, so ending his lawsuit with the widow of Ruy Gomez.

The Inquisitors at the Aljaferia had a near escape of the same fate. The walls were strong and the gates massive. But the fierce people brought faggots in cartloads, and raised a pile which would have reduced the palace and all in it to dust and ashes. The Inquisitors, they said, had burnt others; they should now burn themselves unless Perez was instantly released. The Inquisitors would have held out, but the Archbishop of Saragossa, Almenara's brother, insisted that they must yield. Perez, four hours only after they had got him, was given back to his friends, and borne away in triumph.

But the mob had risen for the rights of Arragon, and not, after all, for a prisoner of whose innocence even they were unconvinced. Perez imagined himself a national hero. He had expected that the Cortes would take up his case, that he would be allowed to present himself at the bar, and detail the story of his wrongs in Philip's own presence. The leaders of the people had formed a cooler estimate of his merits. They contented themselves with taking him back to the Manifestacion. The officials of the province went up to Madrid, to deliberate with the court what was next to be done. For Perez personally there was no enthusiasm. If the Inquisition would acknowledge the Fueros, he could be surrendered without diffi-

culty. The Inquisition made the necessary concessions, and Perez's own supporters now advised him to submit unreservedly. But this he did not dare to do; he tried to escape from the Manifestacion and failed. He appealed again to the mob. Broad sheets were printed and circulated declaring that the officials were betraying the Fueros, and though the chiefs of the first insurrection had withdrawn, the multitude could still be wrought upon. Unfortunately for Arragon the Grand Justiciary, Don Juan de Lanuza, a wise and prudent man, suddenly died. Had he lived a few weeks longer he might have saved his country, but it was not so to be. The nomination of his successor belonged to the king, but the office had by custom become hereditary in the Lanuza family; his son, a generous hot-headed youth, claimed to act without waiting for the king's sanction, and, fatally for himself, was ruled or influenced by his uncle, Don Martin, who was Perez's most intimate ally. The officials had returned from the court. The Council of Saragossa had decided that Perez should be restored to the Holy Office. The removal was to be effected on the following morning, the 24th of September; but when the morning came the mob were out again. The Manifestacion was broken open, the council room was set on fire, and Perez was set at liberty. It was understood, however, that he was not to remain any longer at Saragossa to be a future occasion of quarrel. He was escorted a league out of the city on the road to the Pyrenees, and he was made to know that if he returned he would not be protected. He did return; he pretended that the roads were unsafe, but he came back in secret, and in the closest disguise, and lay concealed in Don Martin's house till it could be seen how the king would act.

Constitutional governments which cannot govern are near their end. When the intelligent and the educated part of the population are superseded by the mob, they cannot continue zealous for forms of freedom which to them are slavery. The mob has usurped the power; if it can defend its actions successfully, it makes good the authority which it has seized; if it fails, the blame is with itself. The Arragon executive had protected Perez on his arrival in the province, they had given him the means of making an open defence, and, so far as their own council could decide in his cause, they had pronounced him acquitted. But there were charges against him which could not be openly pleaded, and his innocence was not so clear that it would be right as yet to risk a civil war in a case so ambiguous. The judges considered that enough had been done. The mob and the young justiciary thought otherwise, and with them the responsibility rested.

Philip was in no hurry. Ten thousand men were collected quietly on the frontier under Don Alonzo de Vargas. The sentiments of the principal persons were sounded, and it was ascertained that from those who could offer serious resistance there was none to be anticipated. Liberty had lost its attractions when it meant the protection of

criminals by the town rabble. That the mob had shaken themselves clear of Perez made little difference to Philip, for they had taken him by force out of prison. The middle-class citizens, who still prized their constitution, believed, on the other hand, or at least some of them believed, that the king had no longer an excuse for interfering with them. Philip so far respected their alarm that before he ordered the advance of the troops he sent out a proclamation that the Constitution would not be disturbed; and possibly, if there had been no opposition, he would have found his course less clear. But the more eager spirits could not be restrained; the nobles held aloof; the young justiciary, however, was ardent and enthusiastic—he was compromised besides, for he had taken office without waiting for the king's permission. The invasion was an open breach of the *Fueros*. He called the citizens of Saragossa to arms, and sent appeals for help to Barcelona and the other towns.

There was no response—a sufficient proof either that the province was indifferent, or that the cause was regarded as a bad one. Lanuza led out a tattered multitude of shopkeepers and workmen to meet the Castilians; but, though brave enough in a city insurrection, they had no stomach for fighting with a disciplined force. They turned and scattered without a blow, and Alonzo de Vargas entered Saragossa, the 12th of November, 1591.

The modern doctrine, that political offences are virtues in disguise, was not yet the creed even of the most advanced philosophers. The Saragossa rabble had resisted the lawful authorities of the province. They had stormed a prison; they had murdered the king's representative; fatallest of all, they had taken arms for liberty, and had wanted courage to fight for it. The justiciary was executed, and fifteen or twenty other persons. The attack on the *Aljaferia* was an act of sacrilege, and the wrongs of the Inquisition were avenged more severely. A hundred and twenty-three of the most prominent of the mob were arrested. Of these seventy-nine were burnt in the market place. The ceremony began at eight in the morning. It closed at night, when there was no light but from the blazing faggots; the last figure that was consumed was the effigy of Antonio Perez, the original cause of the catastrophe. The punishment being concluded, the Constitution was abolished. The armed resistance was held to have dispensed with Philip's promises, and the *Fueros* of Arragon were at an end.

Perez himself escaped on the night on which the Castilians entered, and made his way through the Pyrenees to Pau. He published a narrative of his sufferings—that is, his own version of them, with the further incriminating documents which the Protestant world at once received with greedy acclamations. Much of it was true; much might have worn another complexion, if the other side had been told. But Philip never condescended to reply. Perez was

taken up by Henry the Fourth, pensioned, trusted, and employed so long as the war with Spain continued. He was sent into England. He was received by Elizabeth; entertained by Essex, and admitted into acquaintance by Francis Bacon—not with the approval of Bacon's mother, who disliked him from the first. He was plausible; he was polished; he was acute. He had been so long intimately acquainted with Spanish secrets, that his information was always useful and often of the highest value. But he was untrue at the heart. Even his own *Relacion* is in many points inconsistent with itself, and betrays the inward hollowness; while his estimate of his own merits went beyond what his most foolish friends could believe or acknowledge. Gradually he was seen through both in Paris and London. When peace came he was thrown aside, and sank into neglect and poverty. He attempted often, but always fruitlessly, to obtain his pardon from Philip the Third, and eventually died miserably in a Paris lodging, a worn-out old man of seventy-two, on the 3rd of November, 1611.

So ends the story of a man who, if his personal merits alone were concerned, might have been left forgotten among the unnumbered millions who have played their chequered parts on the stage of the world. Circumstances, and the great religious revolution of the sixteenth century, converted Philip in the eyes of half Europe into a malignant demon. The darkest interpretations were thrown upon every unexplained action which he committed; and Antonio Perez became the hero of a romance fitter for a third-rate theatre than the pages of accredited history. The imaginative features of it have now disappeared, but there remains an instructive picture of Philip's real character. He said that he had been guided throughout by no motive save concern for the public welfare, and there is no reason to suppose that he was saying anything except what he believed to be true; yet he so acted as to invite suspicion in every step which he took.

Escovedo, as his conduct was represented, deserved to be punished, perhaps to be punished severely. To prosecute him publicly would have been doubtless inconvenient; and Philip, without giving him an opportunity of defending himself, undertook the part of a secret providence, and allowed him to be struck in the dark without explaining his reasons. Providence does not permit vain mortals, even though they be Catholic kings, to usurp a jurisdiction which is reserved for itself. It punished Philip by throwing him into the power of an unscrupulous intriguer, who had, perhaps, in some measure really misled him on the extent of Escovedo's faults.

He tried to extricate himself, but he was entangled in the net which his own hands had woven; and, when Perez refused to assist him, and preferred to keep him struggling at his mercy, he was driven to measures which could be represented to the world as a base

persecution of the instrument of his own crimes. Thus out of an unwise ambition to exercise the attributes of omniscience, the poor king laid himself open to groundless accusations, and the worst motives which could be supposed to have actuated him were those which found easiest credit.

But the legend of the loves of Philip the Second and the Princess of Eboli was not of Spanish growth. The *Relacion* of Perez was read in the Peninsula, but it did not shake the confidence with which Philip was regarded by his subjects. The Fueros of Arragon perished, but they perished only because Constitutional Liberties which degenerate into anarchy are already ripe for an end.

J. A. FROUDE.

THE PAST AND FUTURE OF
CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY.

THE two great Universities of Oxford and Cambridge have a past so interwoven with the national history, a present so influential, and a future so full of promise, that it can be matter neither of surprise nor complaint that the recent efforts to give them freer scope and wider development should have been discussed in a spirit of unsparing criticism. It would have been disappointing if this had been otherwise; for no administrative statutes can really bring about effective reforms in the absence of a keen and active interest in the minds of those who have to work them. The one danger which might have defeated the hopes entertained by some of us of a great University revival, would have been the acceptance of the new statutes with indolent acquiescence in their letter and quiet indifference to their spirit. This fear, if there were ever any grounds for it, may be cheerfully dismissed in the face of the eager controversies raised within both Universities, and of such comments as those of Mr. Bryce in a recent number of the *Fortnightly Review*, and of many other writers who have handled the subject in the Press. It is a rather striking fact—due possibly to the cultivation of a more impulsive temper on the Isis than on the shores of the placid Cam—that the most energetic remonstrances, though impartially aimed at both Commissions, have come from Oxford men, who, however familiar they may be with their own University, have certainly overlooked much that is contained in the scheme for the reorganisation of Cambridge. Certainly they have not yet shown any rational ground for applying to Cambridge, at any rate, their rather gloomy forecasts of the future of the Universities. When the Act of 1877 was passed, there were many important differences in the constitution of the two Universities which called for different treatment, and there are probably few men entitled to speak with confidence on the sufficiency of both sets of statutes. For myself I feel wholly unqualified to discuss the policy of the Oxford Commission, and shall strive to limit what I have to say as closely as possible to the case of my own University.

The powers conferred by the Universities Act upon the two Commissions which it constituted were large beyond any former

precedent. In terms they were wide enough to cover any reasonable change in educational machinery and endowment, and any reasonable transfer of income from the colleges to the University. Enthusiasts like Mr. Bryce have drawn the inference that these powers should have been used to make something like a *tabula rasa* of each University as it has existed for several centuries, to create—or it is said to restore—a mighty school, where some twenty or thirty thousand boys from sixteen to nineteen years of age might obtain a cheap education, and for this purpose to treat the whole income of the colleges—amounting at Cambridge to more than 350,000*l.* and at Oxford to a still larger sum—as a fund held exclusively for University as distinguished from College objects. A revolution so imposing as this seems to have been regarded by both Commissions as wholly beyond any sober interpretation of the authority conferred upon them, even if its desirability had been free from question. In truth the powers conferred, large as they undoubtedly were, were practically limited by the general scope of the Act of Parliament itself, and not less by the necessity of paying due regard to the past history of the Universities and their colleges. The function of the Commissioners was to develop active existing institutions; not to destroy them and, whether under pretence of revival or otherwise, to create new organisations more to the taste of theoretical reformers. Whether the growth of the Universities had or had not always been in the best direction, it was, so to speak, from the first the genuine continuous growth of a living organism; and nothing could well be imagined more fatal than to knock the life out of it at a blow, and then with the dead fragments (of which little except material wealth would have remained) to build up a new framework and try to give it a new vitality. Such at least were the views which prevailed, and the Cambridge statutes indicate plainly enough the determination to make the future organisation of the University the legitimate outcome of its past history.

A brief sketch of that history will suffice to show where the Commissioners found the suggestion of the reforms which they strove to introduce, and where zealous administrators within the University will doubtless look for guidance in the task which falls upon them of translating into efficient work the enactments contained in the clauses of their statutes.

It is only in the very earliest of its records that the University shows any trace of an organisation such as reformers of Mr. Bryce's school seem anxious to establish. From the reign of Henry the Third, or perhaps from an earlier date, the University of Cambridge had consisted of nothing more than a group of associated Professors to whose lecture-rooms students occasionally crowded, it is supposed, in thousands. Those who attended the teaching of the Professors provided for their own lodging and subsistence as best they could, and it was not long before their wants were met by the establishment of hostels or board-

ing-houses for their special accommodation. The first advance—if one may be permitted to call it an advance—upon this rudimentary condition was made in the reign of Edward the First, when the second stage of University development commenced. The originator was Hugo de Balsham, then Bishop of Ely. With the pious design of providing religious discipline for a select body of University students the Bishop, under the sanction of royal letters patent, endowed a small number of scholars who were to live with the brethren of the Hospital of St. John. The scheme was not a success, as the religious brethren and the University students soon fell out. The good bishop, being a sensible as well as a munificent man, straightway obtained authority to separate the dissentients and establish his scholars in a house of their own. This was Peterhouse, the first college founded in Cambridge. The example was gradually followed by other benefactors, and by the time of Elizabeth the University had approximated to its modern form. Hostels had been entirely superseded or absorbed, and the colleges which supplanted them had become an essential element of the University, with the function not merely of providing for the temporal and spiritual wants of their own Fellows and Scholars, but of taking a more or less active part in the education of University students, who were allowed the privilege of residence within their walls without being members of their corporations. The Master, Fellows, and Scholars of a college were intended to be, and for some centuries were, a body of monastic students enjoying the advantages and assisting in the work of the University, bound by conditions—though not like actual monks by vows—of celibacy, and to some extent of poverty, and required as a rule in due time to take Holy Orders. They were allowed rooms and commons and received stipends, never large, even on the scale of value which money then possessed, and now appearing ludicrously small. They were students rather than teachers, though by slow degrees the practice of receiving and instructing outside students grew, until after another century or so it became the rule for every undergraduate who matriculated in the University to enter at one or other of the colleges, for the sake of the instruction and discipline there to be obtained. When this second stage of development had been completed, the University came to be regarded as an associated part of a common institution with the colleges, rather than an independent and self-sustaining body. The granting of degrees remained its exclusive right, and examinations with that view were conducted by its officers. Professors still delivered lectures to such students as desired to attend, but they found rivals in college tutors, and later on in private tutors, and the University officials were, with few exceptions, members of the College Foundations, and felt the college tie incomparably closer than that which bound them to the University.

The third stage of progress developed itself insensibly, and almost

as it were by accident. As time went on, the college revenues grew apace with the general increase of wealth, and after providing the modest allowances contemplated by founders and benefactors for the needs of frugal students, there remained a vast surplus of income without any specific appropriation. The upshot of this pleasant state of things was natural and perhaps inevitable. The Fellows, not seeing what else to do with the annual balances, divided them amongst themselves. The practice, which began no doubt with the distribution of insignificant sums, soon became a custom, and the custom grew into what was deemed a right on the part of the Masters and Fellows to their annual dividends. In course of time the right was recognised by college statutes, and finally sanctioned by parliamentary enactments, until in modern times the title of a College Fellow has become as well established and rests possibly on as good a foundation as the title of any landholder to the rental of his estate. With all this the University had no direct concern, but its status was largely affected by the increasing wealth and importance of the College Foundations, and the more so because the income of the University always remained small, never much exceeding 20,000*l.* apart from fees, while the aggregate revenues of the colleges swelled to hundreds of thousands. The power of rewarding University success rested with the colleges, and was freely used; a fellowship was the goal to which every promising student aspired, and the University examinations were looked upon chiefly as stepping-stones to college advancement. As a necessary consequence the college became the dominating power, and the University proper a mere adjunct of the collegiate system, by which it had been practically supplanted.

Thus in the course of many centuries the great seat of learning on the Cam had passed through three distinctive phases. In the first, the University stood alone; in the second, the colleges and the University were associated on something like equal terms; the third phase was that of college predominance over a subordinate University. Until within the last thirty or forty years there was little indication either of further evolution or of any tendency to revert to an earlier condition. And yet the purely material and accidental cause which had done so much to efface the influence of the University was no natural or necessary element in its history. If the colleges had happened to remain poor while the University grew in wealth, the changes would certainly have been in the opposite direction, and there was nothing in the nature of things to prevent the University recovering some of its old authority and usefulness, if only the ways and means could be found for the purpose. Opinion was at one time much divided in Cambridge on the question whether it was desirable or feasible to restore to the University a portion of the vitality which it had lost literally for lack of sustenance; and the controversy was brought to a definite point in 1850 under the Chancel-

lorship of the late Prince Consort, by the issuing of a Royal Commission 'to inquire into the state, discipline, studies, and revenues of our University of Cambridge, and of all and singular the colleges in our said University.'

This Commission marks the commencement of the fourth stage of University development, in the midst of which we find ourselves at present. The then Commissioners—five of the most prominent men in Cambridge—all concurred in a Report published in 1852, the authorship of which was no doubt rightly ascribed to George Peacock, Dean of Ely, and one of the Professors of the University, with the aid of the Secretary, Mr. Bateson, who afterwards became Master of St. John's and a member of the Commission of 1877. So strongly indeed had Dr. Peacock's vigorous initiative impressed itself upon the Report, that it was often familiarly referred to as the Report of Peacock's Commission. It was a very powerful document. It contained a masterly analysis of the forces at work within the University, and, for its date, a remarkably bold and thorough scheme of reform. In all subsequent controversies on University affairs approval or disapproval of Dr. Peacock's Report has been the essential party test. Those who approved were classed as University reformers, those who disapproved as University conservatives. This at least was the broad line of division, though in such local, no less than in national politics, minor subdivisions of opinion may be traced by those who are interested in the investigation.

To comprehend the many vexed questions which since that time have occupied the minds of Fellows and Professors in Cambridge, and ranged them in order of battle in the Senate House, nothing is so serviceable as a study of this Report; and no apology, I hope, is needed for introducing here a slight outline of its able narrative and its vigorous recommendations. This is what it says:—

The University had an income of about 20,000*l.* from fees and rather more than 20,000*l.* from property, the greater part of which was appropriated for the endowments of professors and for other special trusts; while the colleges enjoyed revenues considerably exceeding 300,000*l.* a year.

The educational staff of the University consisted of over thirty professors, with incomes largely varying in amount, some quite insignificant, and the average being not much more than 400*l.* a year.

The colleges had each its educational staff, besides a large number of unemployed fellows, the non-resident fellows averaging then as now fully half of the whole number. The aggregate number of college tutors and lecturers, which has since risen to about 150, even then passed 100.

The University Professors delivered courses of lectures, of which a certain proportion were extremely interesting, and a much smaller proportion were well attended, though not always by undergraduate

students. Notwithstanding some brilliant exceptions the fact remained that the teaching provided by the University exercised a very minute influence on the training of her students.

The instruction supplied by college tutors and lecturers covered a much larger area, but it was almost exclusively confined to divinity, classics, and mathematics, and was given under conditions which made it very inadequate even within its own range to the wants of the best class of students.

Outside altogether of the entire official hierarchy was the system of private tuition, and to this almost all the most advanced students owed at least nine-tenths of the education which they received. To such an extent had private tuition then superseded the public teaching of the University and the college, that no one aiming at high honours trusted to the guidance of University or college instructors after his first long vacation.

The University and the colleges between them lodged, boarded, and controlled the undergraduates, levied fees upon them, and gave them their degrees; but every student who desired work and distinction found and paid for his own education in such manner as he pleased.

The interests of research were no better cared for than those of education. The only way in which a university can foster research is by offering at least the means of subsistence to those among her students who are best fitted for a life of study, and this the University wholly failed to do. Men with a natural bent and capacity for University life were forced to leave because their University offered them no suitable career. A fellowship clogged with the conditions of celibacy and holy orders, with or without a college lectureship, and cheered by a remote possibility of succeeding to an ill-paid professorship, was all that Cambridge had to offer to her most brilliant students, and the result was that the best even of those who, in spite of discouragement, were faithful to science, sought in other places of learning the means of pursuing it, which their own University was unable to bestow.

The cause of the collapse of the University system was not far to seek. Want of funds lay at the root of it. There were many subjects for which no munificent founder had provided a professor, and the University was too poor to supply the deficiency. For the like reason the material needs of the professors, in the shape of laboratories, museums, and apparatus, were inadequately met. Even the library was starved on an annual pittance from the University chest, wholly unequal to its wants. Then the thirty professors were not enough, without the aid of other teachers, to give anything which could be called education on the scale which was required. All that a professor was expected to do, and, in general, all that it was possible for him to do, was to deliver his course of public lectures; sometimes to empty benches, at others to a mixed assem-

blage of students of every grade of mental calibre and trained proficiency. Class instruction was impossible, and, with few exceptions, the professor had no more personal knowledge of his students, and no more notion of the progress they were making, than a lecturer at the Royal Institution has of his promiscuous audience. This, of course, was not education; for, however valuable public addresses may be as stimulants to inquiry and guides to study, they form only one side of education, and need to be reinforced by personal instruction given by competent teachers entrusted with the training of groups of students, not too numerous for personal acquaintance, and sufficiently uniform in attainments to work together without impeding each other's progress.

The remedy proposed by Dr. Peacock's Report was shortly this: Endow a body of public lecturers to work in subordination to the professors, and give the needed teaching to suitably assorted classes of students; and, with a view to the orderly and effective working of the whole, let the details of the machinery be placed under the control of a General Board of Studies, on which both the Professoriat and the Senate shall be duly represented. For the means, let these be supplied by a contribution from each college to the University of one-fifth of its fellowship dividends.

The defects of college instruction were due to other causes. There was no lack of funds to pay a sufficient staff, but the methods pursued precluded, as a rule, any effective classification of students. The strong and the weak, the proficient and the ignorant, were taught in the same class-room, and it was impossible for the teaching to be adapted to all. As a matter of fact, the best students suffered most, and consequently deserted the college lecture for the rooms of the private tutor. This classification difficulty might have been to some extent got over in the largest of the colleges by better arrangements; but in most colleges it was impracticable to find students enough of nearly equal attainments to occupy the time of a tutor or lecturer. Even in Trinity and St. John's it was only in a few subjects that the formation of such classes was feasible. It was, in general, only possible to do this successfully by taking the whole undergraduate body of the University as the area of selection; and this, again, implied the necessity of creating an adequate University staff, and an efficient controlling authority. Some mitigation of the evil was expected from a fruitful suggestion of grouping together the smaller colleges for educational purposes—a scheme out of which the useful system of inter-collegiate lectures has since been evolved. The Report contained many subsidiary recommendations which it would occupy too much space to recapitulate, but among them were proposals that special Boards of Studies, subordinate to the General Board, should be constituted in the various departments of study, that serious gaps in the Professoriat should be filled up, and that the

stipends of the poorer professorships should be raised at least to subsistence-point.

Although the functions of the Commission of 1850 were purely consultative, without a shred of executive power, the appearance of this Report marked a new epoch in University politics.

Its recommendations on the subject of college contributions were not favourably received. The members of some colleges were willing to submit to a certain measure of taxation; but the great majority of them, swayed by that potent form of *esprit de corps* which is known in Cambridge as college feeling, resented the proposal to apply any portion of their means to University purposes.

Failing this resource, the scheme of the Commission became impracticable in its entirety for want of funds; and at first the unpopularity of the financial project prevented justice being done to its main provisions. But the University soon recovered from this prejudice, and its subsequent history is little more than a series of attempts to give effect to all the important recommendations of the Report, so far as that could be done without calling upon the colleges to furnish pecuniary aid. Dr. Peacock's whole scheme of reform was, in fact, gradually accepted in one particular after another, with the sole exception of the financial proposals, which were essential to give it any real vitality. Even in this respect an effort, unhappily abortive, was made to overcome the reluctance of the colleges. Some sanguine people had imagined that a third, at any rate, of the governing body of each college would be willing to contribute to some extent to the wants of the University. With this idea an Executive Commission was appointed by Act of Parliament in 1856, with powers of making new statutes for the University and the several colleges, subject to a veto in each governing body by a majority of two-thirds. Two of the members of Dr. Peacock's Commission were included in this Commission also, and statutes were framed providing, among other things, for a limited (and, it may be added, an inadequate) taxation of the colleges for University purposes. Even this modest project was vetoed in all the colleges except Trinity, Peterhouse, Christ's, and Sidney Sussex, and they only accepted it on the hopeless condition that every other college should do the like. The result was that the taxation clause became a dead letter, and the University remained as poor as ever.

University reformers, supported as they generally have been by a majority of the Senate, were not discouraged by this refusal from doing all that could be done without pecuniary support. In the interval between the statutes passed by the Commission of 1856 and those which have recently come into operation, an amount of progress was made, not unimportant in itself, but especially significant, as showing the readiness of the University to move as far and as fast

as the colleges would allow in the direction pointed out by Dr. Peacock. By carefully husbanding the narrow resources of the University, it was found practicable in the course of about five-and-twenty years to raise the incomes of many of the poorer professorships to 500*l.* a year; and partly from the University chest, but mainly by the liberality of benefactors, several new chairs were created in subjects which had previously been left untaught. The special Boards of Studies recommended by the Report were constituted with very serviceable results; and, after considerable delay, a Studies Syndicate was appointed in 1875 with all except the executive powers proposed to be given to the General Board of Studies. During the same period the colleges had begun to act upon the suggestion that they should combine together for educational purposes. Nearly half of the college lecturers had thrown open their class-rooms, in some instances to the students of a group of adjacent colleges, in others to the whole University. This system of inter-collegiate lectureships, as they were termed, did great service in bringing to the front many teachers, who proved themselves worthy to rank with the most distinguished professors. Students flocked to hear them in large numbers, so large, indeed, that in general the instruction given was almost of necessity in the form of professorial lectures. The system was less successful in supplying the desideratum of sound catechetical work, and for want of any supervising control failed altogether to introduce any effective classification of students. The attendance on these lectures—other than those, already referred to, of a distinctly professorial character—was far too small to give worthy occupation to first-class teachers, and the stipends were, in many cases, too niggardly to attract men of the right stamp. Half the number, better selected, better paid, and working with other University instructors under a common organisation, would probably have achieved double the result.

To complete the scheme of the Report, three steps still remained to be taken: 1. The appointment and endowment of a large body of public lecturers or, to use the synonym which has since been preferred, of University readers. 2. The association with the University staff of the most distinguished men among the inter-collegiate lecturers, and their recognition as University lecturers. 3. The constitution of a General Board, with executive powers for the organisation of University education by the hands of the three proposed grades of teachers—professors, readers, and University lecturers.

The Studies Syndicate of 1875 addressed itself at once to these important questions, and, in 1876, issued a Report recommending the appointment of University Readers and the recognition of University lecturers.

When the Report came before the Senate the consideration of the Readership project was withdrawn, from the impossibility at that

time of providing the necessary funds (probably not less than 10,000*l.* a year) for the suitable endowment of the new offices. The proposal to incorporate in the University staff the most distinguished inter-collegiate lecturers, on the condition of working under the control of the Boards of Studies, was carried. Even this ultimately failed of effect, because the offered boon of University recognition was too unpractical to tempt the best of the lecturers to give up the almost absolute independence to which they had become accustomed. If the position of a University lecturer had been made a step in the ladder of promotion, first to a readership and ultimately to a professorship, the result would doubtless have been different. This, at least, was the view of the Studies Syndicate, who, in a subsequent report, expressed their conviction (since amply confirmed by experience) that it would be difficult to secure the efficient working of the inter-collegiate system, unless it were stimulated and supplemented by the institution of University Readerships, when it could be harmonised into one connected scheme with the other departments of University teaching.

The Senate soon gave evidence that it shared the same opinion, for no long time elapsed after the passing of the Universities Act of 1877 before graces were passed recommending the attention of the Commissioners to the proposals for the appointment of Readers, and suggesting a statute for the constitution of a General Board.

It was impossible for the University, without the power of drawing upon college funds, to do more in the way of reform than it actually did. And yet the result of all its efforts was small enough. The nucleus of a great reform was supplied by the system of inter-collegiate lectures. There was prospect of good to come from the Boards of Studies, but no satisfactory arrangement of University work was possible without the contemplated staff of Readers; and, what was perhaps the gravest defect of all, the difficulty of retaining the right men for the work of the University was increasing year by year. That the want of any satisfactory career has been constantly driving away the very men whom it was all-important to keep is a simple fact of which the memory of every one familiar with the University will supply abundant examples. Here are two or three pictures which will be recognised at once.

A brilliant student, while yet an undergraduate, gave the most unmistakable proof that he was destined to be a leader in science. Cambridge had nothing but a fellowship to offer him, and before long his services were secured by a Scottish University. He is now one of the foremost men—it would scarcely be wrong to say the foremost man—in Europe in more than one of the most progressive sciences. But the benefit of his labour and the glory of his name are lost to Cambridge.

Another man, formed by nature for science and devoted to it,

was forced to leave a University in which no career could be found, and waste on a profession powers which were meant for higher purposes. But the love of science was too strong to be stifled, and, in spite of the demands of the law, he pursued his investigations until he had completed a work perfect in method and mathematical skill, and of such value to all maritime countries that, "without it, it would be well-nigh impossible to navigate the great iron castles which have superseded the ships of a generation ago. His appropriate work was done, but it was not work at or for Cambridge, as it should have been; and if his double labours had not worn him out before his time, no one can tell how many more he might not have added to the victories of science.

In some well-known instances the University was able, after the waste of a score of years, to reclaim the services of other like men, who had been compelled in the meantime to give themselves sometimes to an uncongenial professional life, at others to scientific work, it is true, but work away from their own University. Those are not, perhaps, the most grievous cases, where only half a life has been lost. It cannot, indeed, often happen that a professorship can be, even tardily, created for a man who, if the University had been suitably organised, need never have been driven out into the world; and though it is possible to take account of those who have been won back, no one can reckon the number who have finally abandoned their natural course and been lost, not only to the University, but to learning and science.

No reform, which failed to cure an evil that was sapping the strength of the University, could be welcomed as sufficient; and, for a reform such as this, the University was powerless without financial help. Even the advance that was secured had only been won inch by inch by hard fighting in the Senate House. Although the reformers during the last quarter of a century have generally had a majority in their local Parliament, a very considerable minority, sometimes almost equalling the majority, had steadily resisted every proposal to give real efficiency to University, as distinguished from College teaching; and as soon as any project was seen to involve the necessity of applying to the colleges for pecuniary assistance, the tables were instantly turned—the conservative minority became the majority for the time being, and the proposal was summarily rejected or, more commonly, withdrawn as hopeless. There was much that was plausible to be said in favour of the right of the colleges to hold their own property if they chose; but the College conservatives felt that they were bound to show something better than dry technical right, and strove vigorously to prove that the colleges were morally justified in their refusal to contribute, on the ground that any project which, like Dr. Peacock's scheme, proposed to get real educational work out of University teachers, was a mere

chimæra, because the professorial system always had been and always must be a sort of ornamental adjunct to, rather than an essential element in, the system of Cambridge education. As it was pointedly put by one of the ablest supporters of this paradox: 'For some reason or other the professorial system as a whole has failed to supply an efficient teaching power in Cambridge, and unless the whole course of University study is essentially changed, I see no probability that the professoriat will do in the future what it has not done in the past.'

So far as statements of this character related to the past, they undoubtedly contained a large measure of truth. The work of the professoriat had been somewhat of an ornamental character, and even those who loved it best could scarcely say that it had supplied an efficient teaching power in the University. No one had recognised this more fully than Dr. Peacock, himself a professor; but instead of adopting the despairing view of these modern reactionaries, he discerned the cause of the comparative failure, and pointed out the means of restoration. And they were plain enough to all unprejudiced eyes. To render the University staff a real educational element three things were wanted. It must be made numerically strong enough to cope with the work to be done. It must, by adequate endowments and graduated promotion, offer a sufficiently attractive career to satisfy the generally modest aspirations of scientific ambition. And, lastly, it must cease to be a fortuitous concourse of atoms, and must be organised into one harmonious and co-operating body.

It was to this end that the efforts, not only of the Peacock Commission, but of the reforming majority of the Senate, had been steadily directed, and nothing was wanting to success but the means of providing for the necessary outlay. These means the Universities Act of 1877 supplied, for the express purpose of giving greater efficiency to University teaching; and any statutes framed under that Act must of necessity have given effect to its leading object. Indeed, it was scarcely concealed that the desponding suggestion of the hopelessness of University reform was directed rather against the policy of the Act of Parliament than against the machinery of any statutes passed under its authority. As an objection, the time for its consideration ceased when the royal assent was given to the Universities Act. Still it has done, and may yet do, good service as a beacon, pointing out both to the framers and the administrators of University statutes the rocks which have threatened, and may still threaten, danger of shipwreck. It would be idle to shut one's eyes to the fact that it is a much more delicate, and in some sense more difficult, task to put a new spirit into an old institution than to create a new foundation. There is the unlearning of old habits and customs, as well as the learning of new duties to be secured; and it must be conceded that something of this sort will have to be compassed before the objects of the Act

of 1877, or of the new Cambridge statutes, can be said to have been achieved. Those who have studied the University statutes carefully—more carefully, at any rate, than some who have criticised them—will see that they are framed with the view of facilitating the transition from the past *régime* to the future.

They were directed mainly to three ends: 1, The increase of the University staff of teachers; 2, Its organisation in three grades under a central control; and 3, The supply of funds to effect these purposes.

Under the first head provision is made for a few new chairs in subjects which had been strangely neglected; but the main addition to the strength of the staff is furnished by a body of readers who are to rank next to the professors, and by the assimilation of a number of inter-collegiate lecturers into the system under the title of University lecturers.

The statutes provide that the ultimate number of readers shall not be less than twenty, to be appointed at the earliest time when funds are available.

The University lecturers combining College and University functions would probably not be less numerous, and no maximum limit is imposed on either class, so that the University is left free to increase its staff, so far as its funds will allow, to any extent which may be requisite to secure complete efficiency.

By these arrangements, even on the minimum scale, the numerical strength of the University staff will be more than doubled, and will surely suffice not merely to supply lectures as heretofore from the rostrum, but to furnish the class instruction which has hitherto been wanting.

Indirectly this addition to the staff will offer to the lovers of science a definite career with regular promotion, sufficient, it may be hoped, to stop the waste of zeal and genius from which the University has so long and so seriously suffered. And if more men of the right stamp are thus retained, the interests of research may be trusted to take care of themselves. The demands on the time of professors and even of readers need not be so severe as to deprive them of ample leisure for original work, and when leisure, opportunity, and genius are combined, there is little danger that the congenial task of investigation will be neglected.

Under the second head, the plan of the statutes is of the simplest. They classify the teachers into three grades—professors, readers, and lecturers; and they give to one central body the administrative control of the whole, pointing out in clear terms the ends to which the controlling power is to be directed. These ends are shortly: economy of strength by due division of labour, and efficiency of work by suitable classification of students. The past failure of the University system was quite as much due to neglect of such details as to insuffi-

ciency of strength. The number of teachers might be indefinitely increased, and yet no solid impression made, if each one were left to pursue his own course without consultation with the rest, and to leave chance to gather round him such casual pupils as might come, without the opportunity of that continuing relation between teacher and taught which is necessary to generate confidence on the one side and interest on the other. The function of the General Board is to remedy all this, and in the language of the statutes to issue 'regulations and instructions in respect to the subjects and character of lectures . . . the subordination when necessary of readers and lecturers to professors . . . the arrangements to be made for the distribution of students among the different teachers, so as to secure classes of suitable size, and to group separately the more and less advanced students, and any other matters affecting the method of instruction to be pursued with a view of providing suitable and efficient education in all subjects of University study for all students, whether more or less advanced, who may require it.' That this function will be discharged with tact and wisdom there is no reason to doubt, and when that is done the problem of University organisation will have been solved.

Under the third head the enactments of the statutes amount to this: The University will ultimately be enriched from college sources by 30,000*l.* a year, of which 25,000*l.* will be taken in the shape of money contributions and 5,000*l.* in fellowships attached to most of the professorships as an increase to their endowment. The sufficiency of this increment of income under careful management for the working of the statutory scheme is not doubtful. The fresh outlay on stipends over and above the annexed fellowships would amount to about 15,000*l.* a year, leaving an income of 10,000*l.* to meet a variety of miscellaneous demands, including the interest and sinking fund on loans for new buildings, further contributions to the library, the better maintenance of laboratories and museums, and certain other incidental matters.

It was neither possible nor necessary that this large demand should be made at once upon the colleges. The Act of Parliament had expressly saved the rights of existing fellows, and it would only be by the gradual disappearance of these vested interests that a college would find itself in possession of a sufficient surplus to provide its full contribution without serious derangement of its finances, and interference with its work. The levy of the maximum amount is, therefore, postponed till 1894, and in the meantime contributions are to be taken rising from 6,000*l.* in 1883, 12,000*l.* in 1885, 18,000*l.* in 1888, and 24,000*l.* in 1891, to the full 30,000*l.* in 1894. It is believed, however, that this scale of augmentation will, with due economy in miscellaneous expenditure, enable the educational machinery of the statutes to come very shortly into operation on a considerable scale, and to attain its full development a few years later.

Two things will probably strike every one who considers these statutes—one that the general scheme does not contain a particle of originality, and the other that its success must depend entirely on the efficiency with which it is worked. This is neither more nor less than the truth. Mr. Bryce quarrels with them because they do not introduce a violent revolution, and if a violent revolution *was* wanted he is right in complaining. But though they do not revolutionise they must give an enormous impetus to the great and progressive revolution—or, as I should prefer to call it, development—which began with Dr. Peacock, and has ever since been progressing as best it could in the University. The simple fact is that given as premisses the past history of Cambridge and the powers of the Act of 1877, the statutes almost dictated themselves. So far as I can see, the only credit which can be claimed by the Commission is that of not having closed their eyes to the truth which stared them in the face.

By means of the power of drawing upon college wealth, the new statutes have provided machinery for the restoration of University efficiency which had so long been fruitlessly aimed at by University reformers, and this is all that they can be said to have done.

It may be hoped too that this has been effected without inflicting any real injury on the college foundations. The unfortunate incidence of a great wave of agricultural depression at the very time when this new burden was cast upon the colleges, has undoubtedly made the immediate pressure more severe than had been anticipated, but after a very careful investigation the Privy Council were apparently satisfied that nothing was taken which the colleges could not fairly bear to lose, or which the University did not absolutely require.

It is not less obvious that the good to be looked for from the statutes will be due at least as much to those who will administer as to those who have framed them. Even a very indifferent system will yield good fruit in the hands of able and zealous men, and the best would certainly come to grief if worked without tact and sympathy. Probably there is no clause in the statutes upon which so much depends as that which regulates the constitution of the General Board, who will of necessity be masters of the situation. It was needful that it should contain a sufficiently vigorous element free from the bias of past associations, which could scarcely be wholly absent from the old professoriat. It was not less necessary that the professoriat itself should be strongly represented, as without their cordial co-operation the smooth working of the new machinery would be a thing to despair of. It is from their body that the answer must come, and assuredly will come, to the suggestion that 'there is no probability that the professoriat will do in the future what it has not done in the past.' The statute gives to the professoriat so considerable a representation on the General Board as cannot but prevent the control of the latter being exercised with harshness or borne with

reluctance, while the foreign ingredient added should prove strong enough to insure the due exercise of its important powers.

That they will be so utilised by strong men at Cambridge as to carry to its fullest development the determined struggle so long sustained for the restoration of University efficiency is a belief which I hope to retain, until the result shall have silenced controversy. Those who have worked so well under great discouragement in the past will scarcely fail now that the sun shines upon their efforts. When they have completed their task, the credit of the victory will be almost exclusively their own.

There are some who have doubted—possibly there are some who yet doubt—whether the end proposed by the statutes will ever be actually attained. I believe the fear is groundless. Failure is only possible on two hypotheses: first, that the working of the machinery should fall into the hands of a reactionary party; and secondly, that they would use their position to defeat the objects of the statutes. The first of these suppositions is exceedingly improbable, and the second must strike any one who knows Cambridge as simply impossible. Except on the one dispute—now finally set at rest—concerning college contributions, the party of progress in University matters has always held the lead, and even if for a time their opponents should command a majority, a man must be very cynical to doubt that they would loyally further the purposes of the statutes, however little they may have desired to see them passed.

One word more is due to Mr. Bryce's aspirations. There is much in them which demands sympathy. Every one would rejoice to see the culture of the University influencing thousands every year where it now reaches only to hundreds; and there is no reason why we should not expect to see it, though not exactly by the process of trenchant legislation. At this moment there is going on an active and self-sustained movement in both Universities, which may well result in all or almost all that Mr. Bryce desires, though in a form which will not interfere with the old arrangements for resident students. No statutes are needed to help this effort at University extension, and the best thing that can be wished for it is that it may be left to work out its own purpose by its own healthy methods unimpeded by officious aid.

But this is a very different thing from inviting a multitude of boys, some three years younger than the present class of undergraduates, to gain a cheap education at Cambridge. Such a project would be impossible, unless study at the University was forbidden to adults. So long as grown men are allowed to enter the lists, immature boys will not come, for the simple reason that they would be hopelessly handicapped in the race. All the honours and all the rewards would be carried off by the men, and the boys would soon find it to their advantage to seek education and distinction where

they would be free from such fatal competition. But suppose the other alternative. Let men above the age of nineteen be excluded, and the standard of University culture must inevitably fall. Instead of complaining, as in the past, that Cambridge could grow giants in knowledge, but could not keep them, we should have to lament that her best productions were promising pigmies. The notion of a University of resident boys becomes an anachronism as soon as a country has so far advanced in prosperity as to possess a class who can afford the time to carry the period of education a few years further on in life. They may be called a privileged class—and so in the highest sense they are. They are the class whose privilege it is to enjoy facilities for study which are not granted to all; and for this very reason they are the class from which a University may hope to collect the most capable minds for the advancement of science in the days to come. Whatever else it does or leaves undone, no University can afford to neglect the training of those students from whom the greatest results are to be looked for. Less favoured youths may well be cared for at the same time, but not under conditions which would displace the strongest and most promising; and, therefore, not as the staple of the body of resident undergraduates.

In conclusion, I may add—though it can scarcely be necessary—that in what I have said I have spoken for myself alone, and not in any sense as a member of the late Commission. In the face of the pessimist views which have been so freely circulated, it seemed desirable that the facts on which the future of Cambridge depends should be put before the world a little more carefully than they have been by some critics of the recent statutes, and this I have endeavoured to do. Whether my inferences from these facts are sound or not is a matter of much less importance.

G. W. HEMMING.

THE SUBJECTIVE DIFFICULTIES IN RELIGION:

OR, DOES UNBELIEF COME CHIEFLY FROM SOMETHING IN RELIGION
OR IN OURSELVES? ¹

IN these later days we hear much about the difficulties connected with Christianity, and even with Theism itself, of which Christianity is daily more and more found to be the sole effectual shield. Those who dwell upon them, whether with a morbid satisfaction or a needless alarm, would do well to reflect on a remark of Cardinal Newman's, to this effect, viz. that a hundred difficulties need not produce a single doubt. Nature is full of difficulties, and most men, except those who would stumble at a straw, know how to pursue their way notwithstanding. We have heard of 'an apology for the Bible;' but Nature makes no apology. She says, 'Learn of me, and you shall have bread; ignore me, and you shall starve.' There are subjects higher than Nature, the very greatness of which would make a true intelligence anticipate that with them many difficulties must be intertwined; while the thoughtless alone could have expected, or even desired, the absence of such. A superficial age fancies that the wonderful is the incredible, or that the great ideas which for ages have awed or charmed mankind can be pushed aside by 'points' cleverly manipulated, or by a 'rough and ready' cross-questioning, impertinent if directed against an ancient philosophy, and one which apparently assumes that the religion it interrogates is a 'character well known to the police.' It is after a different fashion that the difficulties found or fancied in serious matters of belief have to be dealt with. They imply defect, doubtless; but there remains the question whether that defect exists in the creed, or in the intelligence challenged by that creed. It is certain that the first teachers of that creed acknowledged the difficulties connected with belief, for they went further and affirmed that it is impossible for the merely natural man, without divine aid, to accept, or, at least, 'spiritually to discern,' truths

¹ The following remarks, as they reply to but popular objections, do not profess scientific exactitude of expression. I trust that there is nothing in their tone to give offence. It would be an insincerity to vindicate the cause of religious faith in the language natural when one is only putting forth theoretic views.

divine. It is equally certain, on the other hand, that they regarded those difficulties as arising both from the blameless limitations of man's intellect, and also, too frequently, from a defective moral condition; for they asserted that there is such a thing as 'an evil heart of unbelief;' that it is with the heart man believes; that the believing heart is under the influence of a grace descending from Him who is the Supreme Truth—a grace that belongs especially to the humble and the pure, that may be intercepted by even a single serious and unrepented sin, and that may, after having been possessed, be forfeited when trifled with or abused.

But this is not all. They affirmed not only that faith—a faith not superseding reason but strengthening and directing it—was possible to man, and was his deepest necessity, but much more, viz. that it was his great initiatory spiritual gift. As the optic nerve expands into the retina, so faith was regarded as the nearer and rudimental part, exercised on earth, of a power destined to be developed after a glorified fashion in heaven, there passing into Beatific Vision. Such a power could neither have been regarded as a thing inconsiderable, nor as one but accidentally connected with man's appreciation of Truth Revealed. It is a thing dishonestly unreasonable, while dealing with revelation to ignore the hypothesis on which it rests. On that hypothesis faith is a transcendent spiritual power crowning our intellectual being, as our intellect crowns our animal being; and where it has its perfect work, religion shows itself so plainly to reason enlightened and emancipated that not to believe seems a thing self-willed and unreasonable. Such a claim was a strong one, doubtless; but its 'right divine' was attested by its victory. The Faith conquered the world; and the world, thus conquered, bore the yoke of truth as lightly as a garland. A civilisation such as the old empires, which had degraded the moral more than they exalted the political status of man, never dreamed of, planted pure feet on the earth, and placed it in connection with higher worlds. Divine truth seemed to have become part of man's natural heritage, and 'arts unknown before' passed centuries in singing its praise and picturing its calendars.

For ages, though heresies sprang up, as had been predicted, respecting the definitions of truth, yet doubt as to the divine claims of religion, both natural and revealed, would have been regarded as a pitiable blindness. Men lived in the midst of a great light, its own sufficing evidence; and to turn from it would then have appeared a thing as witless as we should now regard the repudiation of inductive science with all its splendid results. But this could not last for ever. It was forbidden by the very greatness of a religion which, while ruling man, had remembered that he who rules should be as he who serves, and, while directing, had also liberated the faculties of man, and thus consciously prepared for truth a militant condition, and a series of trials different from those of the early persecutions but

not less severe. Religion, apart from the special blessings she had conferred, had also, with an ungrudging wisdom, preserved and transmitted gifts which, though immeasurably humbler, were yet a part of man's inheritance, viz. the ancient languages, with their noblest intellectual monuments. The highest inspirations of classic genius were by her exalted to an office of which they had not dreamed. Her schoolmen completed what the Fathers had begun. Aristotle conversed with St. Thomas Aquinas, and Virgil passed the golden branch on to Dante's hand. Had such bequests never come to be abused, the Christian estimate of fallen human nature would have been proved a fallacious one. It was certain from the first that the arts of the early world, the '*Juventas Mundi*,' though grafted on the Christian stock, would endeavour once more to 'wanton in youthful prime,' and on a pagan soil. The same thing was certain as regards the early dialectic science. The little bird was sure, when the eagle on whose back it had mounted had reached her utmost elevation, to take its little flight and twitter a span or two higher.

Another nurseling of authentic religion was no less likely to turn against her after a time, and for a time—that is, material science, or rather the rash award of those who occasionally profess to speak in her name. The connection between Faith and Science is not the less certain because indirect; truth is akin to truth, though they have their 'family quarrels;' and the most spiritual of religions has proved far more auspicious to the knowledge of material things than any of those pagan religions which, while preserving many truths derived from patriarchal times and the primeval revelation, grew corrupted through material instincts. Unlike them, Christianity sustained the original doctrine of a Creator. The visible universe was proclaimed not to have existed eternally. It was not an emanation from the Divine, nor the Protean clothing of elemental divinities. It was a creation, and the creation of One whose action was ever orderly, and who was known to man as the Supreme Law-giver. A Christian intelligence could hardly doubt that God's material universe must so far resemble His moral universe as to be grounded upon laws, the general permanence of which was attested, not contested, by the occasional occurrence of miracles vouchsafed only when required by His Creation's moral ends. The Christian instinct believed also that God, who rewards the strenuous use of His gifts, not the hiding away of them in a napkin, had included in the heritage of man that knowledge of the material creation which, in whatever degree it truly enlarges his intellect, must increase his appreciation of the Creator's greatness, and of the creature's comparative insignificance. But here again, on the Christian hypothesis, the littleness of pride was sure at times to abuse the gift. The greatest men of science have asserted as strongly as the theologians that humility is the precondition of knowledge; but the smaller men among their followers have often been

the brisker; and as Diogenes 'trampled on the pride of Plato with a greater pride,' so they have now and then surpassed the superstitious credulity of a beggar-woman by the scientific credulity with which they have resounded, as if it had been a demonstrated certainty, the latest theory of some scientific improvisatore. These nimble spirits assure the theologian disposed to stand by the ordinary interpretation of a text, until it has been proved that the less obvious one is yet the right one, that the inspired record has been confuted by science, and they affirm this without waiting to learn from Theology what is, or is not, included in the term 'inspiration,' or from Science what is her final utterance on newly discovered facts. The 'border warfare' on the limit ground of religion and science may last long, but it is certain to end in a deeper appreciation of that Divine Truth with which scientific truth can never be at war while scientific error may be, though only for a time. But our theme is a different one; we are concerned with the subjective difficulties men make for themselves, not the objective difficulties they find.

They are numerous, and they are clamorous. To many thinkers, as to many statesmen, religion has changed into the 'Religious Difficulty.' It has become a controversy. And here it must be remarked that the conditions of controversy, however inevitable, are by necessity less favourable to the elucidation of truth on the subject of religion than on subjects of less moment and less dignity. The objector is free to put forward the whole of what he deems his case; the defender of religion, while replying to objections, has often to leave unnoticed the larger part of what he knows to be deepest and highest in the truth he defends, lest he should seem either to preach where he should argue, or, in arguing, to assume what, however certain, his adversary is not yet logically bound to concede. The laws of discussion compel him also to address almost exclusively the logical faculty in his opponent; yet he knows that the office of logic, in such subject-matter of thought, though a high, is a subordinate one—rather that of detecting sophisms and methodising inquiry than that of demonstrating truths—and consequently, that when he has confuted his opponent's errors logically, he has not necessarily a claim on his full assent, though, in proportion as that opponent has a candid temper and a philosophic mind, the 'sensation of positiveness' which is sometimes strongest where faith is weakest may have undergone diminution, and he may have learned an excellent lesson, viz. to be sceptical *as to scepticism*. The logical faculty is but a part of man's understanding, which is but a part of his intellect, itself a part only of his total being; notwithstanding, it is to this logical faculty that controversy mainly addresses itself; while, on the other hand, it is the total being of man, intellectual, moral, and spiritual, not a fragment of his mind, that receives the sacred challenge of Divine Truth. Intuitive reason sits

in a higher court than the 'faculty judging according to sense,' and pronounces with certainty—'securus iudicat'—on matters of which the inferior faculty takes a limited cognisance, dealing in fact but with their superficial phenomena. It would be absurd if in studying geometry a student were to demand mathematical demonstration on condition of confining himself to diagram and compass, and of discarding the intuitive part of man's intellect, acknowledging none of those axioms and postulates which admit of no argument, because they underlie all demonstration, and are certain without it. Equally unphilosophical must it be to exclude the intuitive when grappling with the problem of a God. Yet this is, in a great part, required in argumentative discussion by the essential nature of controversy. The highest truth in matters theological belongs to a region above the polemical, as Theology has ever been the first to confess. This may also be said of scientific truth; but in another important respect these two orders of truth materially differ. If the intuitions of geometry do not admit of argument, neither do they require it, for they address the reason alone. But the intuitive element in religion belongs both to man's reason and also to that *moral mind* which includes the co-operation of the Will. To demand therefore, as controversy does, not only such a demonstration of religion as yields certainty to reason at once moral and speculative, and brings peace to 'men of good will,' but one that forcibly excludes all alternative 'views' open to man's free-will and insurgent fancy—this is, in a great part, surreptitiously to remove the theme of discussion from its higher grounds of thought and place it on lower grounds. The unbelievers say, sometimes perhaps unconsciously, of the believers, 'Their gods are gods of the hill country, but our gods are gods of the plain;' they demand battle on the lower level; and in accepting their challenge the defenders of religion fight at disadvantage. All admit that it would be unfair to demand an exclusively logical demonstration as to the existence of Conscience, *i.e.* one forbidding all appeal to interior emotion, since conscience is, *ex hypothesi*, a moral power, addressing our whole moral nature with all its aspirations and sympathies, its hopes and fears, though it is by no means confined to the region of sentiment, and does not reject the witness derived from experience and expediency. It cannot surely be less unjust to deal after this narrow and arbitrary fashion with religion, which ever proclaims that, although in its relations with man's reason it invariably respects the rules of logic, so far as they admit of a just application, its empire is coextensive with, and its demonstration addressed to, the total nature of man.

Let us take another illustration. The material beauty of the earth, apart from all utilitarian considerations, witnesses to its Creator, because it reveals that law of loveliness to which He has subjected creation. But beauty is discerned through the imagination;

and thus a faculty which in its perversions is often signally opposed to religion, has, notwithstanding, a grave office in attestation of her claims. Again, unhelped by the affections, it would be impossible to grasp the ideas of honour or patriotism. How much higher, then, must not be the place in connection with religion assigned to the affections of man! Apart from their insight even human things cannot be understood. The nobler a character is, the less can it be interpreted by a coldly critical observation.

You must love him ere to you
He will seem worthy of your love.*

A great poet describes a beautiful character as 'one that never can be wholly known,' and the loftiest have often been those most subject to misinterpretation. How quickly the eye of love detects the need that cannot be expressed! How often sympathy thus does what genius without it could never do! Still more powerful than either the imagination or the affections is the moral being of man in sharpening that eye which deals with what is super-sensuous. Long before those memorable words had been uttered, 'If any man will do God's will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God,' the best pagan teachers had proclaimed loudly that it was to the pure heart and the righteous life that the vision of Truth was accorded. It is easy to suggest that such assertions respecting those indirect but vital relations which subsist between man's intellect and his imagination, affections, and moral instincts, are but an attempt on the part of religious apologists to elude the tests of philosophy. The converse is the truth. The assertion is the assertion of philosophy. Nay, and this is remarkable, such a statement may be advanced even respecting man's appreciation of mere material nature, and will then be unchallenged by those who forget how much more eminently it must apply to that which lies beyond nature. Mr. Carlyle maintains, with no less truth than eloquence, that nature has no meaning to the mere physical or the mere intellectual observer. He writes thus:—

Without hands a man might have feet, and could still walk: but, consider it—without morality intellect were impossible for him: a thoroughly immoral man could not know anything at all! To know a thing, what we call knowing, a man must first *love* the thing, sympathise with it: that is, be *virtuously* related with it. If he have not the justice to put down his own selfishness at every turn, the courage to stand by the dangerous-true at every turn, how shall he know? His virtues, all of them, lie recorded in his knowledge. *Nature*, with her truth, remains to the bad, to the selfish, and the pusillanimous, for ever a sealed book: what such can know of Nature is mean, superficial, small; for the uses of the day merely. But does not the very fox know something of Nature? Exactly so: it knows where the geese lodge.²

If Nature requires for her right interpretation the service of 'all' a man's virtues, the supernatural may certainly claim, as it has ever

² Wordsworth.

^{*} Carlyle's *Hero-Worship*, p. 99.

done, that of humility. It must require, however, many others also—the ‘single eye’ of the Gospel, for divine truth comes home at once to the simple, but has no meaning for the sophisticated nature; zeal and perseverance, for the search is often arduous; purity, for it is the ‘clean of heart’ that ‘see God;’ reverence, or else the inquirer will overrun and trample down truth in his quest after knowledge. Above all it requires a devout heart; for as a heart seduced from the right leads the intellect into error, so a heart faithful to the right leads it to truth. Men sometimes imagine that such statements apply only to revealed religion. They are true not less in relation to Theism. To suppose that this principle applies to human knowledge on all moral subjects, and even on the highest and fairest material subjects, and yet that when cited in connection with man’s appreciation of religion, whether natural or revealed, it is but a pretence and a pretext, this is to declaim, not to reason.

It is the whole vast and manifold being of man—his mind and his heart, his conscience and his practical judgment, his soul and his spirit—that Divine Truth challenges. The sceptic, when proud of his scepticism, insists upon the mighty and manifold problem being presented to his logical faculty alone, and wonders why he can make so little of it. In place of dilating his being to embrace the largest of truths, he contracts it to a lance’s point, and pushes it forth in oppugnancy. He does not perceive that this mental attitude is one that violates not merely the philosophic conditions under which alone the knowledge he seeks could be his, but also those under which only it professes to be cognisable. He makes this demand because he insists on gaining his knowledge of things divine in no degree by way of gift, but exclusively as his own discovery: that is, not as religion but as science. He assumes that because religion, like nature, *has* its science, it therefore *is* science, and is nothing more. As well might he assume that nature is nothing more than natural philosophy. If he came forth to the threshold of his house, he would be bathed in the sunbeams. He has another way of ascertaining whether a sun exists. He retires to the smallest and darkest chamber in his house, closes the shutter, and peers through a chink.

The indevout inquirer too often forgets also that even if it were to a single intellectual faculty that divine truth presents itself, still the aspect which it wears when seen would depend largely upon the percipient himself. Without any fault in itself it might to him appear either repulsive or uninteresting. The scientific plate from which the ordinary eye turns with dislike is to the eye of the scientist beautiful. This is because his point of view is that of science. Now, a man’s point of view, when he contemplates the great religious problem, is predetermined by all the antecedents of his life, by all its accidents, and much more by all its acts, evil or good, remembered or forgotten. To the mind of man in all the best ages religion has

been a matter of piercing significance. To that of some particular individual it may present but a blank or a distortion. That the fault belongs to religion is his assumption only. He is therefore bound in reason to distrust that assumption. In another matter also the over-hasty inquirer is apt to run too fast to a conclusion. 'The truth at least of natural religion is a thing in itself discoverable, as believers affirm,' he says; 'therefore, if they speak the truth, I should have succeeded long since in discovering it.' But what is in its nature discoverable is not certain to be discovered by each man, and under all circumstances. The law of gravitation is discoverable: even the peasant may be acquainted with it, not indeed by discovery, but by a thoroughly reasonable deference to the consentient testimony of philosophers. A man of education and ability may refuse such deference, and he may also wholly fail, from a hundred causes, in his attempts to ascertain, by his own efforts alone, whether the calculations through which that law is known are correct. How much more may he not fail to discover for himself those divine truths which, when received as a part of his heritage, he despised! A great philosophical writer has borne witness on this subject. Coleridge thus sets forth the results of his long and profound meditations:—

I became convinced that religion, as both the corner-stone and the key-stone of morality, must have a moral origin; so far at least that the evidence of its doctrines could not, like the truths of abstract science, be wholly independent of the will. It were therefore to be expected that its fundamental truth (he speaks of Theism) would be such as might be denied, though only by the fool, and even by the fool from the madness of the *heart* alone! . . . The understanding meantime suggests, the analogy of experience facilitates the belief. Nature excites and recalls it as by a perpetual revelation. Our feelings almost necessitate it; and the law of conscience pre-emptorily commands it. The arguments that at all apply to it are in its favour; and there is nothing against it but its own sublimity. It could not be intellectually more evident without becoming morally less effective; without counteracting its own end by sacrificing the life of Faith to the cold mechanism of a worthless, because compulsory, assent.⁴

If Coleridge believed that Theism did not admit of a strict demonstration through that 'scientific reason the objects of which are purely *theoretical*,' apart from the inquirer's 'good will,' and in spite of his hostile temper, this was, in his estimate, but because religion stands above such demonstrations. 'I believe,' he says, 'the notion of God is *essential* to the human mind; that it is called forth into distinct consciousness principally by the conscience, and auxiliarily by the manifest adaptation of means to ends in the outward creation.'⁵

By some this will be stigmatised as 'mysticism.' Why should men feel aggrieved by all that constitutes the greatness of humanity? Those who object to mysteries in religion, whether natural or revealed,

⁴ *Biographia Literaria*, part ii. p. 208.

⁵ *Literary Remains*, vol. i. pp. 390-91.

object to religion's belonging to the infinite, or else to man's being permitted to have any dealings with the infinite. The finite intelligence is of course not able to *comprehend* in its fulness the infinite. Is it, then, an injury to man that he is raised high enough to *apprehend*, at least in a fragmentary way, such portions of it as are nearest to him and most needful? If such knowledge sometimes strikes upon difficulties, is that strange? Where the finite and the infinite intersect there must needs be apparent contradictions—that is, there must be truths so large that, as Coleridge remarks, to our petty intelligence they can only express themselves approximately and in the form of converse statements mutually supplemental, notwithstanding what at first sight seems mutual opposition. What mysteries prove is that man's mind has, by God's aid, reached its highest, and that God is higher still. The philosopher who thinks that to him there should be no mysteries does not think that there should be none to the peasant. Yet the intellectual difference between man and man must be small compared with that between man and God.

Those who demand definitions on all occasions, after that 'stand and deliver' fashion more common among peremptory than profound thinkers, forget that it is more often through careful description than through definition that the most vital, and also the most practical, part of our knowledge reaches us. If our knowledge of things divine remained, even when at its highest, restricted within the limit of exact definitions, a new charge would be brought against it, viz. that it was not a divine truth revealed to us, so far as our smallness can receive it, but merely one of the petty systems shaped by the human understanding—its creation at once and its plaything. Were it indeed no more than this it would include nothing that defies an exhaustive analysis. It is a special 'note' of divine truth, that although, when presented to man, it does not contradict the higher reason, yet it transcends that mechanical faculty which exults only in the work of its own hands. Religion is given to us as our help, not our boast. It can lift us, but we cannot bring it down. It is a truth immeasurably above us, with which we are allowed to have relations:—we cannot therefore inspect it as if it were a map outspread beneath us. We are surely little tempted to complain merely because we are allowed glimpses of more than we can measure, and not permitted to see, as a whole, a truth which professes to show us but its utmost parts, those immediately needful for us. Such complaints do not proceed from reason, which, just because it expects proportion in all things, does not expect authentic religion to be without difficulties to a finite intelligence. They proceed rather from petty conceptions of things the largest man deals with.

It is the lawless in man, not the clear-sighted, which revolts from mystery. Mystery implies obedience in the form of docility. Such is the first moral habitude which authentic religion might have been

expected to demand. It is the claim which nature makes. So far as our natural life is cast in a divine mould, as distinguished from that portion of it which is artificial and conventional, it makes upon us, in its initiatory stages, the same demand made by religion. It is through a sympathetic and joyous docility that we learn to walk, to speak, to exercise and direct our first affections, to reach out to the rudiments of all wisdom. The process is one from faith to knowledge. It is but mechanical and technical knowledge that is won on other conditions. Sciolists quarrel with religion for being in analogy with nature, and for eternalising the youth of our heart. This is a temper the more childish the less it is childlike—one that reaches decrepitude before it reaches intellectual manhood; one that never attains that heroic strength which copes resolutely with the great acts and sufferings of life and death.

Reason knows that man becomes dwarfed the moment he loses hold of God, and that the bond between him and God—religion—ceases to be religion if it discards its sovereign attributes. If it declines from doctrinal truth and becomes but literature or art, it can do nothing more for man. It can serve him only on condition of ruling him; and it can rule him only through the 'obedience of faith,' which accepts mysteries because, though it sees, it yet knows that in the present preparatory stage of man's existence, it has to see 'as through a glass darkly.' Reason perceives that it must be the function of religion to challenge what is deepest in man at once with a potent voice, and a gentle one, thus eliciting a belief which would be barren if it did not blend with and work through love. Reason sees that if religion included no mystery it would inspire no reverence; that in the absence of reverence all its divine truths would for us become shrivelled up into withered forms and polemical disputations; that pride would be inflamed, the heart hardened, and a wider gulf than nature's set between God and man. Reason acknowledges that it is worthy of God that, in His dealings with man, whether through natural religion or revelation, He should both show Himself and shroud Himself—disclose Himself to men of good will, who can walk humbly and bravely in His light, and veil Himself from those to whom the revelation abused would prove but a woe. God shows Himself, and He shrouds Himself, alike in His Word and in His works. 'The heavens are His garment;' and it is the office of a garment both to indicate and to conceal what it invests.

Reason knows her own limits. When the subject-matter lies wholly within those limits, as in science, truth is proved by reason; in matters capable of man's apprehension in part, and yet partially beyond those limits, it is proved to reason. In the former case reason asserts; in the latter she confesses: in the former case she judges alone; in the latter she sits among assessors. When reaching her conclusions on revealed religion, she listens without jealousy to the

whisper of faith, remembering that, of all God's creatures on earth, one alone is capable of receiving a challenge so high—His *reasonable* creature, man. When forming her judgment on the great Theistic problem, reason does not decline as irrelevant the witness of conscience. She knows that while conscience affirms a law, and therefore a law-giver, it is yet so far from asserting its own divine sufficiency that it acknowledges it cannot give man strength faithfully to obey that law. It calls itself but a voice—a voice crying in a wilderness; and its power and its weakness alike point to One greater than itself. Reason knows that it is but declamation to set up morality in place of religion. Gratitude, loyalty, honour, prudence, benevolence, the sympathies alike and the aspirations of humanity, all these have a place in morality; and, like conscience, they declare that they possess interests in the question whether man has a Creator and a Judge. If he has, then man's moral duties must be all of them duties to Him. It is not reason that refuses to take counsel with such advisers. While bowing to faith in what is beyond her ken, but yet congruous with all her holiest instincts, reason offers up her 'reasonable sacrifice,' and receives her reward. It is this—that she is herself received as a subject and citizen into the luminous and measureless kingdom of Theism; all the verities of that kingdom, the existence of God, His unity, wisdom, love, justice, His providence, omnipresence, and omnipotence, all His attributes, as numerous as the faculties of all creatures capable of knowing Him, becoming thenceforth a portion of her heritage, and having their place in her teaching. Theism having become practical—i.e. devotional—the true Theist learns that, from the first, Christianity was implied in it; and that the doctrine of a Providence pointed to that of the Incarnation.

Reason detects at once the unreasonableness of the charges most commonly brought against faith. She sees nothing unreasonable in the belief that an endowment or power should exist, as distinct from the mathematical faculty as the latter is from the experimental, one able, not when obliterating the inferior faculties, but when supplementing and raising them, to elicit a new and spiritual 'discernment,' a power august and helpful to man when meditating on supernatural things and eternal interests. The denial of this faculty on grounds purely *à priori*, or from prejudice, is among the paradoxical notes of a time when many proclaim, on the flimsiest evidence, the existence of faculties by which we can recognise remote material objects without aid from the senses, or converse with departed souls who revisit earth to play tricks under tables. For some persons the supernatural retains its charm, provided it can be dissociated from the glory of God or the good of man.

Reason has no sympathy with a common allegation alarming to men at once proud and easily frightened—viz. that faith means belief on compulsion. A man may profess, but obviously cannot

exercise faith on compulsion; and, if he simulates it, religion inexorably esteems him but as one who adds hypocrisy to unbelief. To exercise faith is to believe Divine truth not only with as great a freedom as reason uses in other matters, but with freedom of a more absolute order. When reason believes, on the testimony of sense, in the material objects around us, the mind is chiefly passive, and exercises little more freedom than a mirror that reflects them. When a finer faculty deals with a geometric problem, the intellect is, no doubt, active; but, if it discerns the truth at all, it does so by intuition, and must needs accept it. In neither of these cases is there either merit or demerit, for whether the truth be discerned or remains undiscerned, the confession or denial of it is alike involuntary. But when man believes divine truth, on divine faith, he believes voluntarily as well as reasonably, and therefore meritoriously. It is the special dignity of God's *rational* creature that that union with his Creator for which he was made is effected neither passively on his part, nor involuntarily, but through a personal co-operation with grace, which, though a humble, is also the highest exercise of his most God-like power—free will. In mere intellect there is often, as in the animal part of our being, something that resembles mechanism—witness our involuntary ‘association of ideas.’ In our ordinary and worldly life there is also an element of bondage, for we act, though only within certain limits, under the suasion of downward-tending inclinations, and with a preference determined in part by the balance of earthly interests. But soul remains free; and the will, the spiritual within us, when it is a ‘good will’ becomes the highest expression of our freedom, lifting the reason into its loftiest sphere, and delivering the heart from the thralldom of inferior motives. The obedience of this nobler will to grace is the ‘fiat’ which unites man with God; and faith, the light of the soul, is the child of that union. The Creator's primal ‘Fiat lux’ was an act of supreme authority; the creature's ‘Fiat voluntas tua’ is an act of humility, and irradiates the world within.

Faith, so far from being belief on compulsion, is, in the highest sense, the spirit's *act*, and an eminently reasonable act, though also more than reasonable. There is no difficulty in recognising this truth except to those who have been entangled by sophisms, and cannot discern what is divinely simple. The unbeliever unconsciously assumes that the frank acceptance of a creed is much the same sort of thing whether that creed be true or false. He thus implicitly implies that truth does not exist; for if it exists it must wield a moral power. Religion affirms the contrary—viz. that objective truth does exist, and that God's *reasonable* creature was created in a dignity so high, and after his fall renewed by a grace so admirable, that his well-being consists in communion with Truth, whose claim he has been made capable of recognising:—‘Deus, qui humanæ substantiæ *dignitatem* mirabiliter condidisti, et mirabilius reformasti.’ The

creature challenged by the Truth is also a creature formed 'in the image of God ;' and to that challenge he responds, 'This is flesh of my flesh and bone of my bone.' Enough has come to him in the way of evidence, not of course to make any creed, but to make a true creed, credible:—belief is consequently reasonable; but the mind is not therefore 'compelled to believe: a moral motive is presented to a man 'of good will,' and faith, which is morally bound to crown reason, supervenes upon it because the will is in vital sympathy with the true and is not held back by 'invincible' hindrances. It is plainly illogical to say that this, religion's statement respecting the nature and genesis of faith, is unsound, merely because creeds that mix error with truth are sometimes accepted. Such creeds are accepted, not by divine faith, but, at best, by mere human faith; and creeds wholly corrupt are accepted by that blind credulity which 'believes a lie.' True Faith is not the less true because it is imitated by false faith, just as Virtue is not rendered null because hypocrisy is common. The perfect freedom of divine faith is a fundamental hypothesis of theology; faith would otherwise lose all that nobility which authentic religion has ever claimed for it; while unbelief would involve no more responsibility than erroneous judgments on scientific or historical subjects. A man may esteem Cæsar a bad general, and yet be only mistaken; but if he repudiates the laws of conscience, he is acknowledged by all grave reasoners to stand guilty unless he has the excuse of an ignorance not connected with the will. If moral faith be thus a duty, and yet be free, why should religious faith be branded as compulsory merely because it too is a duty?

Reason does not sanction another charge brought against religion, —viz. that it is all 'bribery and corruption,' and that its votaries believe only to gain enjoyment, or shun suffering, in a future life. This is at best a misconception, and sometimes not without a touch of the spiteful. Religion does not reserve her rewards for the next world exclusively; or, rather, those who dwell in the temporal world dwell also in the eternal, eternity not being a prolongation of time, but a vaster sphere clasping a smaller one, and reaching with its penetrating influences to beings enclosed at once within both. It is a commonplace of theology that the Christian seeks the Cross, and commonly finds it, while yet the consolations of religion not only exist for those who dwell upon earth, but are granted in their higher degrees to those who have most of suffering. Moreover, the desire of heaven is not a form of selfishness. On the contrary, it is the only effectual cure for selfishness. The selfish man makes himself the centre of his universe, loving little besides, except so far as the love of others can minister to self-love: but heaven is not an improved earth for specious baseness; it is the 'Beatific Vision' which draws the beholder into itself, renewing the creature after the divine image, while it also makes him realise that merely relative and dependent character which belongs

to all creaturely existence. In that Vision self-love is lost, while true personality, far from being even merged, is developed to the utmost. The desire of heaven, that is the love of God and the belief that the highest good must consist in the contemplation and fruition of the Uncreated Good, is not founded on any calculation of interests, but is a primary spiritual instinct. The converse fear is also a primary instinct of our spiritual being, and one of which the animal nature seems incapable. It is the fear of an eternal exile from the supreme Good and the supreme Love—an exile self-inflicted by an eternal hate. If it be objected that the promised reward of righteousness, whether in the present or a future life, destroys the disinterestedness of religion, it may suffice to reply that the cavil might be raised equally against virtue, since 'virtue is its own reward,' and against disinterestedness itself, since disinterestedness is man's sole protection from many of his heaviest cares. Who would affirm that filial love means but the child's selfish desire for parental protection, and that parental love is but the parent's intention to enjoy his children's reverence, or their aid in his old age? Fame and power are among the rewards of good actions done for man's behoof; yet it is not true that those actions are done chiefly, or need be done at all, 'for pay.' Those who look only at the wrong side of the tapestry can see nothing save the stuck-out ends of threads; but they are not philosophers on that account. A world in which there existed no connection between happiness and excellence would be a world in which happiness must chiefly spring from, and gravitate towards, evil—a belief which would *implicitly* deny the existence of a Creator Himself at once all-blessed and all-good. The aspiration after a love for God wholly disinterested has seldom been expressed with such ardour as in the celebrated Hymn of St. Francis Xavier who, notwithstanding, believed the Saviour's promise that the humblest good action shall 'not lack its reward;' and those who disclaim all religious fear, on the ground that 'perfect love casteth out fear,' are claiming for themselves perfection—let us hope, without observing that they are doing so.

Another popular charge against religion, while one that reason repudiates, is one that vanity and weakness are especially influenced by—viz. the charge that faith is feebleness. Reason perceives that if faith exists at all, it must, on the contrary, be a strenuous energy. To it belongs not only the gift of spiritual discernment, but that of daring. It is the great spiritual venture, launching forth 'in search of new worlds beyond the deep.' Like virtue it is a virile gift. One of the failings which chiefly produces lack of faith is lack of courage. Faith is a power; and as, in history, it has wrestled with all the powers of this world, so, in the history of a soul, it wrestles with Powers unseen. Man, even subsequent to the Fall, is, except where a second Fall has drawn him down beneath the level of fallen nature, a religious being—one who has the strength that endures long kneel-

ing, as well as the power of sitting or lying still. He has a soul, as well as a mind and a body. Religion is a strong soul's commerce with God, as scientific thought is the strong mind's commerce with philosophic truth, and fruitful labour is the strong hand's commerce with nature. That sacred commerce belongs to the soul at once through the submission and the dauntless energy of faith. The entire and final loss of that faith is to the soul what imbecility is to our mental, and torpor to our animal being. It is the barrenness of a soul that has not energy to bring forth truth. It is no error of strength: it is the restless feebleness either of the world's premature senility, or of malady itself a temporary senility.

Whenever, yielding thus to spiritual weakness, man has relaxed his grasp upon truth once his, he has soon after been found running upon the downward trails of the old pagan philosophies—a circumstance full of significance. The most irrational of these was the theory which accounted for the universe in its present form by a 'fortuitous concurrence of atoms.' Of course it would be absurd to impute such a theory to those who believe in Evolution, for that theory admits that, outside what it accounts for, there remain three problems still unsolved—viz. the origin of the first matter, of life, and of law, including the laws connected with Evolution. To the theist these three problems are solved by that which 'Evolution,' if it does not teach, yet does not deny—viz. the existence of a Divine Creator. Matter cannot be eternal; but God, if a man takes in the idea at all, cannot be thought of as other than eternal. He who is the Eternal Existence has created the first matter; He who has life in Himself has created life; and He who is the Supreme Lawgiver has subjected matter and life to the laws they obey. But all evolutionists are not theists; and the atheistic form of Evolution, abjuring the support which a philosophic evolution derives from Theism, involves in a more pretentious form an absurdity quite as great as a fortuitous concurrence of atoms—viz. the dogma that a Matter self-subsisting, and quickened by a Life never imparted, obeys a Law never imposed upon it. Again, the most abject of the ancient philosophies was the cynical, which selected the tub for its temple. But not less cynical is that modern materialism (Carlyle would have called it 'hog-wash') which, disbelieving in the existence of soul, makes man a mere animal, and educes whatever he thinks or feels out of a perishable material organisation. If man were indeed but the most intellectual of animals, he would be the worst, since he would be the only animal that sins. Among the forms of modern cynicism may be classed that of 'Agnosticism,' which does not deny that a God may exist, but affirms that, even on that supposition, man must remain ignorant of His existence, adding that knowledge on that subject, or the kindred subject of man's immortality, is needless, such themes being amongst those respecting which a healthy mind will feel no distress. The

diseased limb feels no distress when the period of mortification has set in, and that of dissolution is imminent; and yet mortification is not thought a healthy condition. The paganism of old times, till its season of mortification had arrived, would have despised a contented Agnosticism; for with the hopes and the yearnings derived from a belief in immortality was interwoven whatever was great in the arts or acts of antiquity. The child is no agnostic; like the peasant he is ignorant of many things irrelevant; but he 'delightedly believes' in things divine. 'Agnostic' is a Greek word, signifying much the same as a time-honoured one derived from the Latin—viz. 'Ignoramus;' and one hardly sees why the invention of this new term should be considered as so great a flight of modern philosophy. Contemporaneously with these metaphysical systems there have too often been put forward ethical theories, which it would be unjust to charge upon any large school of thought, but which notwithstanding carry with them unequivocal warnings to several. They have vindicated suicide, infanticide, the putting to death of persons in hopeless disease, and much besides of a character worse still, which painfully recalls the lowest ages of paganism. The books propounding them have been publicly sold in the streets, and defended in the courts of justice. Surely a boastful age is not without cause for misgivings, and may one day find cause to be grateful for humiliations!

One would have thought that the primary mathematical truths at least must ever occupy an unassailable place; but those who are old-fashioned enough still to believe in the universal and absolute character of geometry are now named as the followers of a special 'intuitional school' by persons who ascribe, astonishing as the statement may seem, our knowledge of abstract, as of physical science, to experience, not to reason, and who affirm that in other planets a larger experience may contradict the assertions which it makes in ours, such as that two and two must invariably amount to the same as three and one, and that the angles of a triangle must in every case be equal to two right angles! Once more, personal identity might be supposed proof against cavil; but passages⁶ may be found in recent books of high pretension, which mean—if they possess a coherent meaning—that man's moral existence is but an on-flowing irresponsible stream of sensations, thoughts, and purposes, not ruled by any independent and personal will, but necessarily winding in the channel moulded for them by irresistible motive and external circumstance. Scarcely less strange are the conclusions of a certain new philosophy which regards itself as the high-water mark of all philosophic systems. It informs us that it was but an extravagance of the human race, in its childhood, which made man turn his attention to things divine; that the same race, only a little wiser in its youth,

⁶ Several such passages are quoted in a remarkable book, Mr. Kirkman's *Philosophy without Assumptions*.

had then made a study of moral and metaphysical subjects; but that, mature at last, it has now discovered that the proper object of investigation and interest is material nature. Fraudulent nomenclature is one of those fine arts in which false science is an adept. It deserves a sterner censure than most errors, though one confined to those who invented it, and not extended to those who, themselves ensnared, use it unwittingly. It has its alluring side. It praises 'truth,' but truth in its tongue means but a portion of what it means elsewhere, viz. truth discovered, revealed truth being remorselessly ignored. It praises the love of truth; but it loves truth so little that it prefers the search after truth to the possession and use of truth, alleging often that the very claim to revealed truth is an unworthy one, because it implies a restriction on inquiry. It praises 'culture;' but the term, in its cant sense, excludes those thinkers of our time, though highest in art, science, and letters, who have remained believers in the Bible, and includes in its brevet promotion all who believe in the latest theory of Biblical criticism. It boasts its 'free-thought;' but the 'thought' thus lauded is not deep; and the 'freedom' does not include a freedom from that presumption which most impedes sound thought, or even from that cowardice which trembles at the charge of 'obscurantism.' Fraudulent nomenclature has also its cautious side. Working its way through books and journals read by believers as well as by unbelievers, it is skilful not to shock: besides its strong meat for men, it has milk for those who are still but babes in unbelief, draws distinctions between atheism and 'dogmatic atheism,' and asserts that to admit a God is not to admit a personal God, but only a Force that may exist impersonally, like the law of gravitation. Theists, of course, ascribe to God, but in a transcendent sense as well as degree, attributes such as love, wisdom, justice, holiness, power, which, in a sense and degree immeasurably lower, exist in man also, simply because man was made in God's image:—the new nomenclature, inverting the truth, has the assurance to stigmatise such an ascription, in the absence of which the term God would represent no idea, and make no appeal either to the moral reason or the human heart, as man's creation of a God after *his* own image, and nicknames it 'anthropomorphism.' The new philosophy last referred to has carried this new nomenclature to its utmost extreme. It does not deny a 'Grand Etre;' it only denies that he is God. The 'Grand Etre' is Humanity: the individuals of the human race perish and vanish, but Humanity remains: it is to be worshipped; and an elaborate system of rites and festivals has been instituted for that worship! This system is certainly original, for it combines atheism with idolatry, viz. worship, the highest it has to give, of that which is not God; and it unites both with a practice as anomalous in the eye of reason as of faith, viz. the adoration of that which has no actual

existence, since, apart from the individuals it supposes to pass into nothingness, Humanity is but a collective name.

A word on the ideal end of this philosophy. Assuming its eventual prevalence and the success of its aims, man would have finally put aside all hope of attaining knowledge respecting things divine, and also all belief in the soul's immortality. On the other hand, he would have perfected his knowledge of nature, and his mastery over the material universe. Let us assume also that he had banished diseases, improved civil government, and lengthened human life. What does the triumph amount to? The narrowing of man's being by the extinction of its spiritual part and the enlarged possession of all those things which, apart from things spiritual, are nothings. The human affections, if we believed that the objects of them must moulder for ever in the dust, would either shrivel up like dead leaves, or survive but to mock us; and we should envy the animal races among which they are, as for such they should be, evanescent. Unfountained from above, the higher moral virtues would decay for lack of a meaning; and the imaginative arts would dwindle in sympathy with that decline. Our perfected knowledge of physical science, when nothing remained to be known, would waken neither our energies nor our admiration; nay, possibly, when we had learned how to 'put a girdle round the earth in forty minutes,' our last discovery might be that our planet had shrunk to an asteroid and our palace to a prison. If a human aspiration remained, the victories of our material knowledge would but intensify our grief at the invincible barrier between us and all moral knowledge. Barbaric races live in a twilight region of intellect, clasped by a boundless horizon of twilight hope:—'perfected' humanity would dwell in a blinding glare of knowledge respecting matters barren to the soul and to the heart, encompassed by the very blackness of darkness respecting all those which are precious to the spirit. The contrast would make the loss intolerable. Man would walk upon an earth all ashes, and under a heaven all iron. The ideal of the Positivist philosophy would be the nearest realisation of that hell which Christian philosophy, by no means bound to interpret literally Biblical expressions one of which is obviously metaphorical, has found it difficult to define. And yet this vast despair would be but a misplaced, stunted, and vitiated fragment of the boundless Christian hope, which includes in its heaven, not lost in a Vision and Fruition mightier yet, the perfection of every knowledge, separated from the error mixed with earthly knowledge, and graduated aright amid the hierarchy of the knowledges; and includes not less the perfection of every high and pure affection, cleansed from mortal dross, separated from what was temporary in its purpose, and exalted, not lowered, by just subordination in the hierarchy of love.

At a time when 'Progress' is the cry, and 'We will charge you

with reaction' is the threat, it may be well to remark that there is such a thing as progress neither upward nor onward, but downward, and such a thing as reaction in favour practically of ages both remoter and blinder than those condemned on the ground that they were 'dark ages.' In defence of such progress is raised another popular cry, 'Beware of tradition,' 'Beware of prepossessions.' This is also a cry to which reason can give but a limited consent. Whatever knowledge has been attained, or will ever be attained, must needs be transmitted by parents to their children, and therefore must reach remote generations largely as a tradition, without on that account forfeiting the benefit of that evidence, whether external or internal, by which it is authenticated. Humanity itself is a tradition, and cannot separate itself from the conditions of an historical existence; and though philosophy, no less than religion, protests against '*traditions of men*,' it condemns by that term only those local and partial traditions of the clique, the school, or the nation, which make null a larger truth at once attested by reason, and brought home by the universal consent of men, as part of the human heritage, to individual man, at a period when he is as yet too young adequately to test, though yet he feels, its reasonableness. Moral prepossessions we must have, because the best thoughts of the best ages, when sifted by time, mould our beings from the first, and because, if we had not moral prepossessions, we should have immoral. Should 'Agnosticism' last long enough to become a tradition, the child born in that sect will start with prepossessions, such as that 'truth' is what each of us troweth, or has discovered, and that 'liberty' consists in our having always an undisputed choice between alternatives, not in our willingly and gladly, and by no means on compulsion, believing the true and doing the right. If we discarded 'prepossessions,' we should enter on the study of morals without the admission of any responsibility on our part, and to that of history without any preference for the just ruler above the tyrant. Man could never have made a beginning of natural philosophy if he had not come to it with that high prepossession, the idea of law; and, as Bacon reminds us, the '*prudens interrogatio*' is necessary if we would elicit from nature more than the fool's answer. If prepossessions are thus preconditions for natural and for moral philosophy, are they intrusive in religion?

As superficial is another allegation often made, viz. Religion but solves the riddles of existence by resolving them into another riddle as inexplicable. Were it true that it only resolved the many into one, it would so far have followed the aspiration of philosophy, which is to resolve phenomena into laws, and laws into a single law, and which knows that the ultimate ground of all must remain inexplicable to science, since, if capable of being explained into aught beside, it would not be the ultimate. But this is the least part of the

sophism. Religion does not substitute riddles for riddles. She answers a thousand painful riddles, each of them a Sphinx ready to devour us, by lifting them into a higher region; and she resolves them, as has been well said by Auguste Nicolas,⁷ into one sun-like mystery, which, if itself too bright to be scanned with undazzled eyes, yet irradiates the whole world besides. The ages and nations bear witness to that mystery; it is the mystery of power and of healing, of life and of love. The knowledge of God ratifies conscience and enlightens it; consecrates reason while humbling it; sets the will free by teaching it to substitute for the thralldom of petty motives a glad submission to a holy law. It is the mother of progressive wisdom and of spiritual civilisation; it gives man the power to act righteously and to bear patiently; it changes an anarchy of warring passions into a royal commonwealth of graduated powers. For ages it has dried the eyes of the widow and guided the orphan's feet. Yet these are but its lesser gifts, for its higher boast is that it creates an inner world of sanctity and peace, a 'hidden life' of the creature with the Creator, the pledge of a glorified life with Him. The spleen of an ungrateful and hasty time may fancy that it can sweep such gifts away; but a true philosophy will rebuke a revolt so self-destructive and so dishonourable. Whatever the theorist may affirm or deny, Christianity professes to be essentially a *life*, the life of individual man, and of social man; and, despite the scandals produced by those who have but taken religion's name in vain, human experience has attested her claim. We live in an experimental age: a sceptic would do well to become an experimentalist, and test religion by *living it*. Amid his inquiries he should include a careful one as to whether he has been a sincere and a reverent inquirer. We have been told, and not untruly, that 'honest doubt' has in it much of faith. But doubt is not honest when it is proud, when it is reckless, when it is as confident as if thoughtless negation were solid conviction, or as apathetic as if Divine truth would be less of a gain to man than the 'struggles that elicit strength.' It is in the light, not the darkness, that men struggle; and it is the Christian life that claims the name of a warfare. The warrior must have solid ground beneath his feet.

Alas! the defender of religion must ever end with a confession. If all those who believe had but been true to their trust, religion must in every age have shone abroad with a light that would long since and finally have conquered the world to itself. It is an eye keener than ours that sees how far each man has used his wealth of faith rightly, or come by his poverty honestly. If in many a case unbelief means a defective will, in how many is it not the malady of a bewildered time! How many a one who is tossed from doubt to doubt may yet, in the depths of his being, resemble St. Augustine when he was drawing nigh to the truth, and knew it not! God alone knew that

⁷ *Etudes Philosophiques.*

in him the love of the good and of the true had never ceased, and that, however dry and barren might be the surface of his soul, there still remained, far down, the dews of past grace—and the tears of Monica. Almost to the last in what strange confusions did not that great soul remain, reserved as it was for a career so arduous and an expiation so noble, from the moment that peace of heart had fitted him for the militant life of the Christian, that the darkness which paralyses strength had been chased, and that a Divine light had ‘given the battle to his hands.’ His conversion came quickly at last. Yet the process had been slow. He had learned that the enemies of religion disputed chiefly with the creations of their own fancy; that their difficulties were but those found no less abundantly throughout the course of nature than in the lore supernatural; that *their* warfare was one against the heart of man, with all its hopes and its aspirations, all that can give security to joy and a meaning to pain. Yet still he wavered. Few things earthly helped more to his conversion than the philosophy of Plato, yet just before it he seemed on the point of committing his life in despair to that of Epicurus. So strongly does man contend against man’s greatness; so perseveringly does he flee from his good! But the happy hour came, and the ages have found cause to rejoice. In becoming a Christian, St. Augustine became also a true Theist—that is one who not only believes in God, but loves Him and adores; for love, like humility and faith, is learned at the foot of the Cross.

AUBREY DE VERE.

A GLIMPSE INTO THE ART OF SINGING.

It must have struck every intelligent frequenter of the concert-rooms to what hopeless straits an enthusiastic admirer of any particular singer is put when asked to give his reasons for appreciating the merits of his favourite. The answer, if one is given, is often couched in vague generalities, and in some cases may be said to amount to literally nothing at all. The artist has a good voice, one is told, a clear enunciation, has performed certain *tours de force* with success, and even (for such reasons have ere this been given) his general appearance and deportment are pleasing.

Why should this incapacity to give a reason for liking a thing exist? The explanation is clear enough to those who have turned their attention to the phenomenon, and lies in the fact that an audience taken collectively knows little or nothing of the art of singing, and even were the very executant who is the object of applause interrogated as to the cause of his or her success, in but few cases probably would a satisfactory explanation be forthcoming, for although he or she may have received such education in the art as is usually afforded, that education does not take into account the fact that explanation may sometimes be required.

There exists, indeed, no complete and intelligent system of vocal training. Pupils are not required to reason; suffice it if, after years of toil, by hook or by crook, rightly or wrongly, they acquire the power to produce certain effects. It may be pointed out as an extraordinary fact that while singing is the most widely diffused of all arts, no art is more in its infancy with regard to the principles on which it is taught. I will not stop to offer an explanation of the anomaly. A fine voice will go a long way with an uncritical audience; and there are many singers; I fear, who set a higher value on the apparent satisfaction of others than on the absolute consciousness of having satisfied themselves.

Thanks to Garcia and others, we have now a sufficiency of works dealing with the mechanism of the voice, the action of each organ in the production of sound, and the like, but there is as yet no adequate system for the application of the principles of vocal rendering, no agreement between professors as to the manner of teaching those principles, and consequently pupils are bewildered by the apparently endless variety and incongruity of the methods offered them.

In Signor Crivelli's *Art of Singing* he says:—

In some of the principal musical institutions of Europe a pupil is passed from class to class under different professors, who, regardless of naturally established laws, have written or adopted in practice various methods of singing, each contradicting the other; so that, at last, the pupil often ends by destroying every vocal excellence, and in a short time finds himself unable to sing at all.

These words coming from such a source speak volumes in illustration of the chaotic state of education in the art of singing. To show further, however, the inadequacy of our present mode of teaching singing, I will point out, as shortly as possible, some of its most glaring defects.

1. Singing is now usually taught almost entirely *apart from words*, while of course it is in connection with words that the voice has to be used thereafter.

2. It is taught in connection with only *a few* vowels, whereas the voice has to be sustained on every vowel contained in the language.

3. All languages are treated upon *the Italian model*, as if there were no distinction in pronunciation.

It has often been said that singing is a higher form of speech, but who that calls to mind the endless solfeggi to be found in the generality of vocal tutors, with their continual reiteration of one or two vowels, would suppose that it was any form of speech at all, much less a higher form?

The first study in learning singing is usually that of sustaining notes, but as to the *manner* in which this study is to be accomplished, alas! singing-masters differ widely. Some insist that sounds should be sustained with 'equal strengths;' some by 'swelling notes;' while others maintain that 'the power of swelling notes is the result of all other studies' and consequently should not be attempted until a later period in the course. The emission and sustension of sound are subjects of extreme difficulty to singers, and even those of the greatest celebrity often fail in this respect. How few there are who can at will fix the organs so as to produce sustained sounds on any part of the vocal range with any vowel in different degrees of strength, and with the necessary steadiness and purity. This ought to be within the capacity of trained singers, but, except in very rare instances, is not; nor can we wonder when we remember that the young student begins his education by trying to sustain sounds as long as the breath will allow, before he has learnt to shape the mouth into the various positions necessary to insure steadiness in the various degrees of intensity. It is impossible to produce steady and even sounds without a corresponding steadiness in the fixing and expansion of the mouth.

Another important oversight in the usual vocal course of study is shown in the want of adequate exercises for the study of light and shade. Most singers fail in this respect, and chiefly for the reason, I think, that pupils are taught to sing in *indefinite* degrees of strength,

whereas they are called upon by the requirements of vocal music to sing in five, if not seven, degrees of strength, each of which should be definitely distinguished and studied carefully.

The subject of light and shade embraces the very elements of vocal expression and artistic effect, and certainly needs more detailed and systematic treatment than it generally receives.

And here I should like to call attention to what seems, indeed, a strange omission in our present mode of vocal education; for while masters talk profoundly about the functions of the glottis, pharynx, and larynx, we may be excused for wondering that little is said about the *mouth*. But this is the case nevertheless, as a cursory glance through most of the well-known works on singing will show.

The mouth, a visible organ whose movements are of the utmost importance in the production of sound, has, in these erudite effusions, to give place to the organs of the throat, which, though no doubt equally important, are not visible to the student, who is therefore only capable of exercising control over them according to his estimate of the *kind* of sound he wishes to produce. This power of control is obviously then only gained unconsciously and by practice.

There is not a sound uttered by the human voice that does not require to be moulded and governed by the mouth. Pitch, intensity, and quality are regulated by it.

In the following synopsis the reader will observe the various movements, positions, and expansions of the mouth necessary in the execution of sounds of different intensities, and in their relation with light and shade.

Synopsis.

Simple vowels are formed by definite positions of the mouth.

A compound vowel is formed by two different positions of the mouth and a movement of the mouth as it leaves one vowel to form the other. In order to sing in the English language pupils will require to practise on fifteen different vowels.

Eight Simple Vowels.

ā	as in far
ā	„ fare
á	„ fall
ē	„ feel
ē	„ fer
ō	„ fore
ō	„ food.
e	(Italian)

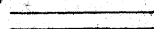
Seven Compound Vowels.


ā = eē ¹	as in may
āē	„ aisle
āē	„ moil
ēē	„ my
ēō	„ mew
ēō	„ mound
ōō	„ mow


¹ The first letter ā in the English alphabet is a compound vowel, containing the Italian vowel e, as in 'Segno,' 'Serenio,' and the vowel ē as in 'feel.' The first vowel 'e' (Italian) is not to be recognised in any word in the English language as a simple vowel, but is found in union with the vowel 'ē,' hence its insertion.

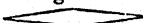
The eight simple vowels require, each, one definite position of the mouth. The seven compound vowels require, each, two positions and a movement of the mouth.

There are four ways of sustaining sounds :—

1st, with equal strength, thus :— 

2nd, with gradual increase of strength, thus :— 






3rd, with gradual decrease of strength, thus :— 

4th, with gradual increase and decrease of strength combined, thus :— 

These modes differ from each other as to the flow of the breath. The first is sustained with equal intensity of the breath ; the second is sustained with gradual increase of intensity ; the third with gradual decrease of intensity ; and the fourth is sustained with gradual increase and subsequently decrease of intensity.

‘Intensity of sound depends upon the quantity of air used in producing a pure vibration.’²

Any note within easy compass can be sustained with equal strength in each of five degrees, thus :—

1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
				

It can also be increased *or* decreased between each degree, and it can also be increased *and* decreased between each degree, thus affording thirty variations of unequal strength, viz. ten of gradual increase, ten of gradual decrease, and ten of both combined.

These, with the five equal strengths, altogether make thirty-five variations, arising from a corresponding number of modifications in the manner of using the breath.

These thirty-five variations, if sustained consecutively with the fifteen vowels already named, will demand for each variation, fifteen different positions of the mouth, that is, eight definite or unaltered positions, and seven different movements ; and not only this, but each vowel will in each variation undergo a real, though almost imperceptible, modification in its character, owing to the fact, that as sounds increase and decrease in intensity, the mouth accordingly increases and decreases in its expansion. We see, therefore, that in the execution of any note, there may be thirty-five times fifteen, that is, five hundred and twenty-five, modifications of positions and movements of the mouth, a number that is again multiplied by every difference in the *pitch* of a note.

The point we have now referred to—that of difference of pitch—introduces at once further considerations.

It is more difficult to sustain sounds in some part of the voice than in others. This difficulty arises : first, from difference of strength between one part of the vocal range and another ; second, difference of

² Garcia's *Treatise on the Art of Singing*.

quality; third, inability to form vowels of the same shade throughout the whole range. Every semitone in the vocal range has its own independent characteristics, and its requirements differ more or less in each of the three points mentioned, from the requirements of any semitone above or below it. It is in its way a new creation; it is a little province which has to be managed by the singer as cautiously and carefully as if it were a great kingdom.

The knowledge of how to manage every semitone in a vocal range, that is, how to fix the vocal organs at once in perfect harmony with each other, so as to insure a good vibrating position, in order to sustain sounds in any of the various ways enumerated, is, indeed, one of the vocalist's most valuable desiderata. In sustaining a sound on any semitone of the vocal range, in the thirty-five ways mentioned in connection with fifteen vowels, we have found five hundred and twenty-five modifications resulting therefrom; and, further, that every subsequent variation in pitch would demand five hundred and twenty-five further modifications of the breath and mouth.

If a singer could be found with a vocal range containing nineteen semitones, on each of which it would be possible to sustain a note in all the variations already mentioned, the number of modifications resulting would thus amount to no less than 9,975.³



Indeed, the number of possible modifications, changes, and mouldings of the vocal organs in connection with sustained sounds, would, if taken in further detail, swell far beyond our power of calculation, especially when we remember that sound, when sustained with the mouth in the position of each of the fifteen vowels named, is capable of further changes as to quality,⁴ that the thirty-five variations of sustained sounds are also capable of further extension as to strength, and that this calculation is exclusive of the various actions and movements of the articulating organs in pronouncing consonants.

In considering the foregoing, there will be seen the abundant material for expression at the disposal of the singer, when once the requisite control over the breath and the mouth has been gained.

And furthermore, we see the importance of accustoming pupils to the practice of singing with all the varied positions and movements

³ The modifications of position, and the movements of the mouth, would amount to fifteen for every one modification of the breath.

⁴ For example, if a sound is sustained with the mouth in the position of *a*, as in 'far,' but the tongue be thickened at the back, the quality will be altered, although the position of the mouth may remain the same.

of the mouth necessary to form various intensities of sound, as well as with all the vowels of the language in which they will have to sing.

If it were only possible to convince our teachers of singing of the possibility of teaching pupils to sing artistically without the aid of anatomical knowledge, and if the principles of vocal rendering were taught more carefully and more extensively, it would really be a valuable thing for our future vocalists.

To show that the former is unnecessary, we have only to observe what Nature does in little children who have never been taught to sing, many of whom can give most perfect specimens of natural and artistic singing; and I have heard very young children use the Legato mode as naturally as breathing, while, on the other hand, there are many singers who for years have struggled bravely, yet have failed fully to master the process.

From boys and girls as they play in the streets, or as they call out to one another, there can be heard the most perfect examples of pure sound, brought forth with a correctness, and sustained with a steadiness of vibration, which many a vocalist might envy.

Indeed Nature's teaching is most valuable, for there is not a sound uttered by any animal, whether bird or beast, by the sea, wind, or any other portion of this great world, but that the vocalist can learn something from it, which will be of advantage to him, when using his own voice in the expression of thought and feeling.

I was much struck with this fact one day, while on a visit to the Zoological Gardens, where I heard, from different animals, illustrations of nearly all the principal subjects belonging to the repertoire of technical vocalisation.

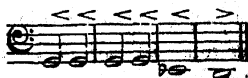
The little White-crested Laughing Thrush gave, in Legato mode, a continual repetition of the major 2nd on the octave above:—



Another small bird, named the 'Great Barbet,' uttered a plaintive wail on the notes E and C with Portamento:—



The strange trumpeting of the elephant gave with crescendos the notes—



The lion's perfect roar rang out in Marcato mode on



and, last, the baby hippopotamus sounded, with evenly sustained and perfect intonation, the same note on the octave below.

Each of these creatures not only produced perfect sounds and intervals, but each did so according to the laws of vocal art, and with expression peculiar to its own feeling.

Here there were heard illustrations of, not only musical intervals, but—that which concerns the vocalist still more—sounds produced with regular and irregular vibrations, pure and imperfect intonations, and the different modes of rendering.

Nature, acting automatically, commits no fault; but when she becomes connected with conscious intelligence, her intuition appears to be dulled and corrupted.

Thus some young singers possess a natural feeling for artistic delivery, and though entirely untrained, yet produce and execute sounds correctly and artistically. But even these, from their very ignorance of the fact that their untutored singing is truly artistic in its naturalness, are too often found, when once they commence vocal studies, aiming at something they ought not to attempt, and consequently in danger of destroying that which, before they began to study, was valuable in their singing.

The human voice, as a musical instrument, claims and deserves the highest culture, for in all the range of the fine arts where is there one that, in power of expression, and directly influencing human feeling, can compare with the wonderful power of the human voice in song?

Its capacity in this direction is indeed limited only by the mental capacity which the singer possesses, and the skill with which the voice is used.

What, then, are the essential requirements of a good singer? Together with an ear capable of distinguishing pitch, and a power of distinct articulation, every *good* singer must possess *mind* and *imagination*, and he must be sympathetic, with a large heart, one that can 'rejoice with them that rejoice, and weep with them that weep.'

Carlyle, in speaking of the great philosopher Goethe, says: 'He sees through every pore of his skin.' We can say of the truly great vocal artist, that he not only sees, but also feels, through every pore of his skin.

Then next let us ask, what subjects of study are necessary for the pupil in regard to the technical part of his art? These can be summed up as follows:—

1. Vowels and consonants.
2. The production and sustension of sounds in connection with the same.
3. Variation of intensity (Light and Shade).
4. The modes.
5. Flexibility (a great subject).
6. Ornamentation.
7. Rendering of vocal music, including phrasing, and the application of all previous studies.

With all this the vocal student needs not only a thorough knowledge of harmony and pianoforte playing, but the active intelligence and mental culture only to be gained by education outside his own special vocation.

The ultimate result of all acquired technical mastery is 'control.' Control has to be exercised in all directions and at all times, not only in regard to innumerable difficulties with the voice itself, but with respect to the feelings, moods, and passions necessary to give true and faithful interpretation to the sentiment expressed; for it is an ever-recurring difficulty to public singers and actors, that they must simulate moods under conditions antagonistic to them.

It is certainly a matter of regret that there should not be established in England some system more adequate to impart to the vocalist a thorough knowledge of the principles of his art.

When will vocal students be taught to make good their acquaintance with the materials required to be used before proceeding to put them together? When will be realised those excellences for which the old Italian singers were so celebrated, of whose praises Madame Seiler and others remind us? At our musical institutions, where a large number of students attend regularly for vocal instruction, some systematic plan of tuition ought certainly to be adopted. The formation of classes, with efficient teachers and the aid of a black-board, the students taking notes for themselves while the different subjects are gone through and explained, might be of much use. The mere verbal knowledge gained on the principal points in class would considerably help the students, when being taught afterwards individually by the master, to apply them to their own particular voices. And now that the great scheme of the Royal College of Music is before the public, it surely is more than ever important that professors should agree on a harmonious system of instruction.

To assist the introduction of this method of teaching, I would suggest that prizes be given for the greatest executive skill in each of such subjects as the best rendering of prolonged sustained sounds in connection with words, the best execution of the modes, &c. Probably this would have some influence towards systematising the teaching of academical professors, and it would at least necessitate thorough acquaintance on their part with English pronunciation.

Indeed, it is a misfortune for English students to be placed for vocal instruction under the guidance of masters whose accent is foreign, and who possess but a limited acquaintance with the English language. There are many pupils who receive lessons in this way with anything but satisfactory results.

It is obvious, however, that no rules can be laid down with sufficient minuteness to relieve the teacher of the responsibility of independent judgment; and it is of the utmost importance that whatever is taught should be carefully explained, whilst nothing can be taught without time. The length of the lessons given at some of our musical institutions seems to be inadequate, some being from a quarter of an hour to half an hour only. I have known pupils come from distant parts to take lessons, and the total amount of individual teaching they received each week amounted to less than *one hour*. In receiving individual lessons, too, the pupil as a rule obtains but little explanation. It is the simple 'do this;' but *how*, the pupil has to find out for himself, at the cost of much valuable time, and much injury to the voice by excessive practice.

There are indeed works for the use of the vocal student, which contain useful hints and explanations of some of the great principles of vocalisation, and foremost among them Manuel Garcia's *Treatise on the Art of Singing*. But in the majority of 'Singing Tutors,' 'Vocal Arts,' and 'Singing Primers,' which fill our music shops, and find their way to many of our schools, there is one great error to be found—that instead of teaching the principles of the art, which it would be safe to apply to any kind of voice, they lay down hard and fast rules for the cultivation of all voices really suitable only for a few, and which, if adopted by all, would prove very injurious.

Human voices vary. Indeed, there are scarcely two to be found that are in all points alike; and while there exists so much difference in voices, there can be little hope of their proper cultivation, if it is to be conducted according to rules that do not allow for their individual differences.

Admitting, therefore, that the principles of the vocal art can be explained, and many of its difficulties studied and overcome in class, the application of its principles in detail must necessarily be entrusted to individual teaching.

What is to be deplored is, that students of singing are still left to get at artistic truths somehow or other, as best they can, and to work them out for themselves, after much perplexity, and after wear and tear of the vocal organs over difficulties that might, as already said, have been avoided by a properly graduated course of study.

With a right system, there is no reason why the young girl who

learns singing at an ordinary school should not be trained to sing, as far as her capacities extend, in as refined and artistic a manner as the prima donna.

Our hopes, however, for a reform in this important matter are fixed upon our public institutions, for with them alone lies the power.

MARGARET WATTS HUGHES.

THE LAW A RESPECTER OF PERSONS.

THAN that the law is no respecter of persons no greater fallacy exists.

The law locks up the man or woman
Who steals the goose from off the common,
But lets the greater villain loose
Who steals the common from the goose.

Nothing could better illustrate this than the different manner in which large and small debtors are dealt with under the English law. The big sinner, who in a wild chase after wealth has 'burst up' and ruined scores and hundreds of families, is provided by law, at the expense of his creditors, with every facility for whitewashing himself, as it is called, and starting afresh. An elaborate machinery is provided by which he may avoid even the slur of bankruptcy, and go into liquidation. If, being made bankrupt, he does not pay ten shillings in the pound, for the look of the thing it is provided that he may be made to make up that composition out of future earnings; but in practice this unwelcome check upon recklessness is a dead letter. True, provision is made for the punishment, at the cost of the creditors, of a fair list of fraudulent practices, but even if a bungling knave, through lack of wit or study, deliberately walks into the net spread out in his sight, the law makes his punishment so costly to his creditors that they will think once, twice, and three times before endeavouring to bring it about. Accordingly, if after squandering every farthing he could lay hands on, recruiting his finances by actual or potential swindling, paying two or three shillings in the pound on liabilities amounting to thousands or tens of thousands of pounds, he is discharged, plunges once more into speculation, makes ten times the amount he had lost, and eases his conscience by repaying to his creditors the sums of which he had previously fleeced them, he is trumpeted forth as a paragon of honest integrity, an example to all mankind. The poor wretch, on the other hand, at best barely able to keep his head above water, who in time of illness or lack of work runs up a bill with his grocer or baker to keep himself or his family from starvation, by English law practically remains the slave of his debt to the last day of his life. He must pay, or bolt, or struggle on with a millstone of debt round his neck in an atmosphere

of county courts, costs, executions, and imprisonment, until death wipes out his score. Between six and seven thousand of these wretched miscreants repent of their extravagances every year in the gaols of merry England. Some of these—thirty-seven in one year, for example—are committed for sums ranging from 1*s.* to 5*s.*, to which, by the way, costs have to be added amounting to 5*s.* 6*d.* every time they are sent to prison; for imprisonment does not wipe out the debt, and the creditor only risks his 5*s.* 6*d.* in procuring it. In nearly half the cases the debts for which these misguided spendthrifts are imprisoned are less than 40*s.*, and so important does the law consider it to punish them, that in one year for which we have a return bearing on the point (1870), it cost the public 710*l.* 10*s.* to maintain in one prison debtors of this class whose united indebtedness was 849*l.* 14*s.* 10*d.*, while the cost to which the whole country was put in feeding persons imprisoned for sums under 40*s.* would have paid a dividend of 11*s.* in the pound on the aggregate debts on account of which they were locked up. Over three-fourths of the entire corps of our gaol-bird debtors are guilty in sums of less than 5*l.*, and over 90 per cent. in sums of less than 10*l.* To put the matter more plainly, taking the number of persons annually imprisoned for debt in England and Wales at 6,500—the average of the last three years for which we have returns exceeded 6,700—we should find the debts on account of which they were sent to prison divide themselves roughly in somewhat the following fashion: Imprisoned for sums of from 1*s.* to 5*s.* between thirty and forty; for debts not exceeding 40*s.* about 3,000; for debts not exceeding 5*l.* over 5,000; for debts not exceeding 10*l.* 5,850; and for debts between 10*l.* and 50*l.* 650. According to the report of the Parliamentary Committee on the abolition of imprisonment for debt, the average amount for which these debtors are sent to gaol is under 2*l.* 16*s.* The total indebtedness, therefore, on account of which the whole 6,500 are locked up is about 18,000*l.*, and the cost to the country of maintaining them in prison is at least 9,000*l.* If a man has the means of paying and conceals it, or refuses to give it up, I have not the smallest objection to his being made to pay by any means in your power, but poor and rich should be dealt with alike. That they are not, is tolerably clear from the fact that in one year for which we have a return bearing on the point only nine persons were sent to prison for non-payment under judges' orders of sums over 500*l.* If the proof required of ability to pay and refusal to do so were the same in both cases, it would argue great honesty in the big debtor and great dishonesty in the small. But the process by which the judge satisfies himself is very different in the two cases; and while we may rest fairly satisfied that the gentlemen who refused to pay 500*l.* or over might have disbursed had they chosen, it is difficult to imagine the thirty-seven under-5*s.* defaulters incurring 5*s.* 6*d.* of expenses,

and going two or three weeks to prison, rather than produce these amounts if they had them.

In theory imprisonment for debt in England was abolished in 1869, and practically it is abolished for the big debtor. His present liberty and future immunity from responsibility are carefully secured by the Bankruptcy Act. As we have seen, he is occasionally sent to prison for refusing to do something that it is in his power to do, but before sending him there for contempt the judge takes ample care to satisfy himself that he is punishing him for refusing to do what is within his power. In the case of the small debtor also imprisonment for debt has in theory been abolished for a dozen years or more. It was not seemly that England should remain almost the last country to retain such a relic of barbarism. Theoretically the 6,500 petty debtors who each year go to gaol are sent there for contempt of court, but the contempt is really a pharisaical legal fiction. The debtor summoned in a large proportion of cases does not turn up, or is represented by his wife, the reason being that he cannot appear in court without losing a day's work or possibly his situation. The creditor makes an affidavit or produces other evidence in support of *his* estimate of the debtor's ability to pay, and the court, almost as a matter of course, orders the debtor to pay such sum or such instalments of his wages as upon this statement seem fair. In considering a man's ability to pay, the court would require to take into account not merely his wages and his family, but other demands which he may have upon him—it may be other judgment-debts which he must also pay under penalty of durance vile. But the last is a circumstance of which the judge at present takes no cognisance. He gives the order as a matter of course upon the information before him, suspending it for a time which seems to him reasonable to enable the debtor to pay; and if the latter does not pay within that time, without further ceremony he goes to prison. A clerk or working man may have come to London from the country, leaving unpaid some disputed account for bread or clothes. Months afterwards the debt may be sold to a debt-collector and sued for in the local county court. The man is summoned, but he has no means to enable him to travel down and dispute the debt. Judgment goes by default, and *ex parte* evidence being given to the effect that the man has no family and earns so much per week (while in point of fact he may earn much less and be the sole support of aged parents), the court makes an order which, judging from the evidence before it, is equitable enough. That order is sent to London, and, if the debtor cannot comply with it, he is marched off to prison for a period not exceeding forty days. Or the lynx-eyed agent of some loan society marks a man as holding a comfortable situation and pesters him with proffers of loans. It is a paying business this; the interest charged, according to evidence given by Mr. Commissioner Kerr before the Select Committee on Imprisonment

for Debt (Question 493), ranging from three or four hundred to as many thousand per cent. per annum, and it is consequently well pushed. In a weak moment the man yields to the temptation and accepts a loan. Having paid the original amount several times over, he finds himself getting deeper and deeper into debt and is county-courted. In the case of a greater debtor, if the judge did not find a short cut out of the difficulty the Bankruptcy Act would speedily get the unfortunate out of the toils. But the poor man must pay or go to prison. Again, Mr. Kerr told the same committee (Question 434) that he might have produced a drawer full of letters of complaints regarding tea sold in the country and sued for in his court. A traveller goes to the country and gets an order from some woman who keeps a small shop for tea on trial or to be paid for if sold. The tea is sent by a city carrier and turns out unsaleable rubbish, and the woman refusing to pay is summoned before the Commissioner's court. The traveller swears to the debt being due for goods sold and delivered, and the woman being unable to come up and give her version of the transaction, judgment goes by default, an order for payment is made, and she must either pay or go to prison, not of course for debt, but for contempt of court, which to her means very much the same thing. Unless, indeed, she has the good fortune to have got into debt to some one else for 50*l.*, when (coming in that case within the class of respectable persons) she can petition for liquidation and set incarceration at defiance.

Now I know very well that hard cases make bad law, and I am perfectly aware that against these cases could be put others of men earning two or three pounds a week and owing debts to struggling hucksters whom they have cajoled into giving them credit, whose spare cash goes in drink, and whom apparently no power short of imprisonment can induce to pay their debts. But the same class of cases are to be found among our larger debtors. There are many men owing hundreds of pounds to any tradesman who will trust them, getting their meat on credit, and their wines on credit, and their dress and pictures and jewellery on credit; borrowing money from everyone who will lend it them, and earning good professional incomes, who never pay a debt so long as they can avoid it. We never send such a man to prison. We allow him to petition for liquidation or become bankrupt, and to arrange with his creditors as best he can. If he has not gone too far, it is the simplest thing in the world for him to run up such debts as will enable him to secure a majority of friendly creditors. If he is a bachelor he has only to marry when things begin to look hopeless and settle so many hundreds a year upon his wife, and when the crash comes she will rank for the capitalised value of her annuity. A majority of friendly creditors, and he is safe from bankruptcy and sure of his discharge; or, at worst, he can always get rid of his obligations on making up 10*s.* in the

pound. The tradesmen suffer; but what business is that of ours? The law very properly answers, None at all; and refuses to incur the obloquy and expense of imprisoning the debtor on the chance of inducing him to make a better arrangement with the butchers, jewelers, friends, and tailors who have trusted him.

Why should the law not take the same view of the case, whether a big or a small debtor is concerned? Because, as it stands, it is a flagrant respecter of persons. While imprisonment for debt pure and simple existed, it was a rough-and-ready—a very rough-and-ready—check on fraud. If a man owed you money you were allowed to clap him in gaol as a means of persuading him to produce what was due, if he was able. Or you were allowed to imprison him, and he was kept a prisoner until he made surrender of all his possessions for the benefit of his creditors and satisfied a judge that he had not been guilty of fraud, or, if he had trencched rather closely upon it, until he had expiated his sins by a sufficient period of incarceration. The Debtors Act of 1869 put the matter on a much more rational footing. It abolished all civil imprisonment for debt, and it enumerated a number of practices which it pronounced to be frauds and punishable criminally. Unfortunately, in practice the cost of punishing these frauds, and the onus of instituting prosecutions for them being thrown upon the creditors, the majority of them escape unpunished; but the theory of the Act of 1869 is unassailable.

Again, under the Bankruptcy Act an attempt was made to induce insolvent persons to wind up before their estates were utterly worthless, by requiring payment of a minimum dividend as the condition entitling them to discharge from their debts. Unfortunately again, the minimum was fixed at 10s. in the pound, a figure far too high when the expense of bankruptcy proceedings is taken into account. And, again, the duty of granting or refusing this discharge was thrown upon the body of creditors, thereby creating a motive for the manufacture of friendly and fictitious creditors. But the theory was good, and whatever defects experience may have shown in the working of the law in the respects I have named, they are all to the advantage of the big debtor. The President of the Board of Trade very properly proposes reform in these particulars. But why should he not take advantage of the occasion to apply to the poor debtor the same measure which we apply to the rich—to abolish in his case imprisonment for debt in reality as well as in name; to constitute those malpractices frauds in his case which the law declares to be frauds in the case of his big brother; and to punish them as crimes in big debtor and in small alike? Why, if it is politic that the large debtor be allowed to purge himself of his liabilities and start afresh, should the poor debtor be condemned to remain in debt until he has paid to the utmost farthing?

I ask these questions, not as a theorist, but as a practical man;

for during the last three sessions I have, by as many Acts of Parliament bearing on distinct branches of the subject, which I have succeeded in carrying, placed the poor man and the rich in Scotland on precisely the same footing; and, as a firm believer in the doctrine that the law should be no respecter of persons, I should like to see the same equality of treatment to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects extended to the sister countries. For depend upon it that, so long as we have class laws, we shall have bad laws. General legislation, based on general principles and applicable to all classes, may involve individual hardships and injustices; but if it does so to any extent, the need of a remedy will be felt by all classes, and a remedy will be demanded and devised. Separate legislation—I don't speak of points of detail, but of points of principle—separate legislation for different classes will inevitably involve injustices, and these injustices will be difficult to remedy, because, while they press upon one class, they work to the real or supposed advantage of another, which will fight to maintain its advantage, and cares nothing for hardships to which its members are not exposed. For this reason Mr. Bass, who session after session laboured to accomplish for England what I have succeeded in bringing about for Scotland, laboured in vain, although a select committee endorsed his views; and for this reason, I believe, every private member who attempts the task will fail. This is pre-eminently a matter for Government to deal with. But such is the opposition which any proposal for a reform of the law so as to make it applicable alike to rich and poor would evoke, that even Mr. Chamberlain has shrunk from venturing on anything so revolutionary. In the 114th clause of his Bill, it is true, machinery is provided which would enable county court judges to take cognisance of the entire extent of a petty insolvent's debts before making an order. But that order would still constitute a lien on the debtor's future earnings, inability to comply with it would still expose him to imprisonment on the fiction of contempt of court, and he would have no right to discharge except upon compliance with the terms prescribed by a judge who is directed to order payment of 'the debts (and costs) 'in full, or to such an extent as appears practicable.' To make up for this exclusion from the advantages of ordinary bankruptcy, Mr. Chamberlain—by way of a sop to the poorer debtor—proposes to protect against seizure 10*l.* worth of his household goods and 10*l.* worth of 'the tools and implements of his trade.' To protect a man's goods from seizure for the payment of his debts, while leaving his person liable to imprisonment for debt, is a novel, but to my mind a most illogical, proposal. The American law, from which the idea of protecting household goods and tools is borrowed, is much more consistent. It protects the debtor's person as well. But any exceptional protection of property in the case of a particular class is vicious in principle and illusory in operation. When a poor man's credit is

gone, and, through illness let us say, he can earn no money, he must pawn or sell both tools and furniture to buy bread. Again, why should the artisan whose 10*l.* is invested in tools be privileged above his neighbour, say the greengrocer, whose capital is sunk in a stock-in-trade equally necessary to enable him to earn a living? What is the use of protecting furniture against the tradesman creditor when through the operation of the law of distress, which the Government Bill leaves untouched, it remains at the mercy of the landlord? On what principle can you protect one man's furniture and tools from seizure for a debt admittedly incurred in their purchase, while you allow his neighbour's cash, accumulating in a savings bank for a similar purchase, to be appropriated in payment of a disputed debt for which he has been adjudged liable? The fact is that if once you stray from the path of definite principle in legislation, you lose yourself in a maze of anomalies and injustices.

Well, how did I, a private member, succeed in procuring one debt-law, alike for poor and rich, in Scotland? Chiefly, I believe, because the Scotch law on the subject of imprisonment for debt was more harsh, illogical, and anomalous than that of England, and because, the mysteries of Scottish law being couched in an unfamiliar language, English members practically left the settlement of the question in the hands of the Scottish law officers and members of the select committees to which my measures were referred. In this way impartial inquiry led to immediate legislation; while in respect to the English law the report of a very strong select committee has for ten years remained a dead letter.

What then was the state of matters in Scotland before 1880? Imprisonment for civil debt still existed, and close on one thousand debtors every year went to prison. Not exactly for debt, either, but for rebellion against the command of the sovereign promulgated through her courts in refusing to pay sums by them ordered to be paid. You had the same theory of contempt, only more picturesque, more ancient, and less subtle, for there was no pretext of investigating the debtor's ability to pay. But even in the seventeenth century, when the Scottish Parliament passed the Act which till two years ago regulated the custody of debtors, the national shrewdness enabled it to see that if the creditor chose to resort to imprisonment to force payment of his debt, he, and not the public, should bear the expense of keeping the debtor in prison. Accordingly, when the creditor handed him over to the gaoler, he had to deposit 10*s.* as security for his keep. If the debtor was without means, the incarcerating creditor was compelled to allow him a daily aliment—the exact sum being left to the discretion of the court—varying from 4*d.* to 9*d.* or 1*s.*; and if he got tired of paying that allowance, the gaoler thereupon set the debtor free. We had a sanctuary, too, in Edinburgh, into which if the debtor could escape (and pay certain fees to the bailie of Holyrood) he was secure against arrest.

But in one respect the old Scottish law was far ahead of the present law of England. There existed a crude bankruptcy law for the poor called *cessio bonorum*; and in theory the poor debtor as well as the rich was entitled to liberation on surrendering all his possessions to his creditors; only in his case it required a month or six weeks to comply with the prescribed forms and get out of gaol—and it cost money, too. If he knew the law, and had reserved six or seven pounds of his creditors' money to meet contingencies, he could be sure of his liberation on making honest surrender (*cessio*) of the few pence or shillings that remained when he came up for examination. But if he had been weak enough to waste this indispensable cash in paying off some of his debts, and had left himself destitute, there was nothing for him but to remain in prison as long as his creditor chose to keep him there. When he had secured his examination and release, he was protected against further arrest, but he was not freed from any portion of his liabilities. There was no whitewashing for him.

A further anomaly existed. Fifty years ago the abuse of the power of imprisoning for small sums had been found to be so flagrant that an Act of Parliament was passed altogether abolishing imprisonment for sums of less 8*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* (a hundred pounds Scots), and preventing the addition of separate debts under that amount, with a view to rendering imprisonment competent. Imprisonment, therefore, for ordinary debts under 8*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* remained absolutely abolished; and as the credit given to the working classes by individual shopkeepers rarely or never exceeded that sum, they were free from all fear of imprisonment or examination, or any proceedings for recovery of the sums due by them other than might be directed against their household possessions or their wages. Debtors for anything over a certain minimum sum, varying from 50*l.* to 100*l.*, could petition for bankruptcy, obtain liberation if imprisoned, and get a discharge, whatever dividend they paid. But the debtor belonging to the intermediate class, the debtor for sums above 8*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* and under 50*l.* or 100*l.*, was the debtor who went to prison.

In Scotland, therefore, ordinary debtors were divided into three classes: 1. Those for sums not exceeding 8*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, who could not be imprisoned nor brought up for examination with a view to expose fraud, but who could get no discharge from the liability to pay their debts. 2. Those for sums between 8*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* and 50*l.* or 100*l.*, of whom many hundreds went to prison each year, who were absolutely in their creditor's power unless they possessed money enough to pay for a petition for *cessio*. These, if they had necessary funds to meet expenses, were examined, and on surrender of all their possessions, whatever these might amount to, were liberated and protected against further arrest—unless, indeed, there seemed to the

judge to have been some fraud, when he adjourned the case so as to give the debtor the benefit of another month or two's imprisonment, subject, of course, to the incarcerating creditor's supreme pleasure, and at his expense. This class of debtors could obtain protection against arrest, and were subject to punishment for fraud in the rough-and-ready fashion I have indicated, but remained liable to pay their debts in full. 3. There was the respectable debtor, whose case came under the respectable bankruptcy law, who never went to prison, or, at all events, only for a few days; who was judicially examined as to his affairs, and was alimented out of his (creditors') estate, and having come out of the matter as well or as badly as possible, and paid a dividend as high or as low as chance might decree, was practically entitled to his discharge at the end of two years. Theoretically, the common law of Scotland was wide enough to punish any frauds disclosed in bankruptcy examinations; but practically it never, or, to speak accurately, 'hardly ever,' did so. Here was the state of things which existed, according to a report adopted in 1875 by that eminently sedate and respectable body, the Chamber of Commerce of Edinburgh. From the instances which they enumerated in detail the reporters say:—

... It will appear that a trader, if so inclined, may carry on business to the extent of thousands a year, without keeping a cash book, day book, or ledger, or any set of books from which a balance may be struck; or, if he prefers it, he may keep a cash book, and omit to enter to the debit whatever receipts he pleases. He may put away his goods (although, as this is a statutable offence, he had better be careful); he may be unable to give his trustee any assistance in tracing how his goods were disposed of; he may buy on credit, and sell immediately by auction at a loss for cash, and be unable to tell what he did with the money; and he may go on at this rate from month to month till he reduces his estate to 1s. per pound; and, finally, he may detail all this before a judge in open court, for the information of any one desirous to learn what are the facilities for such operations, and the impunity with which they may be carried on, with the knowledge also that next morning's newspapers will extend the benefit to their readers over the length and breadth of the land.

As the Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce was never known to joke, we may accept this as a serious, though a vigorous, picture of the state of things which existed in Scotland. It was probably even worse than exists in England at the present day. I believe successful prosecutions for fraudulent bankruptcy do sometimes occur in the latter country, while in Scotland they were so rare that one witness who gave evidence before a select committee over which I presided in 1880 had only known of one such case in twelve years, and another did not think that in twenty-two years there had been more than three or four.

Such was the state of matters when Lord Watson, then Lord Advocate in Lord Beaconsfield's Government, in response to complaints to him from almost every commercial body in Scotland,

introduced a Bill applying to Scotland those provisions of the English Debtors Act intended for the punishment of fraudulent bankruptcy. Owing to the dissolution of 1880, this Bill came to nothing, and before Parliament re-assembled, Lord Watson had been promoted to the Upper House. His proposal had, however, been long enough before the public to elicit a threat of opposition on the ground that it did not proceed on the same lines as the English Act, which not only provided for the punishment of frauds, but abolished imprisonment for debt, in practice for the wealthier and in theory for the poorer classes. It seemed to me a pity that the matter should be allowed to drop, and accordingly I, in 1880, introduced a Bill abolishing imprisonment for debt in Scotland and providing for the punishment of frauds. This was referred to a select committee. The objection was at once raised that, if you abolished imprisonment for debt, no means would be left for compelling the debtor below the range of the Bankruptcy Act to surrender his property. He would virtually be freed from all compulsion, would be subject to no examination, and might commit every species of commercial fraud with even greater impunity than his more important *confrère*. This objection we met by a simple and obvious expedient. At that time the only mode of compelling such a debtor to disgorge was to imprison him civilly until he consented to do so. The creditor could release him when he chose, but as long as he chose to keep him locked up, the debtor's only remedy was to apply for *cessio bonorum*, or liberation on surrender of all his property. If he preferred to remain in prison, he could not be forced to give up property which every one might know to be in his possession.

The obvious remedy was to place in the creditor's hand the initiative—to allow him to apply for a decree ordering the surrender of the debtor's property, and to make such a decree equivalent to a transfer of the debtor's property to a trustee appointed by the creditors and the court. Instead of imprisoning the debtor to induce him to give up his property, the judge ordered it to be given up, and, if necessary, taken from him. On the creditor's initiative, and not his own, he was made liable to examination. The process was not confined to persons who had debts over 8*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, but was extended to all classes of minor debtors; and the same practices which were declared to be fraud, and were made criminal on the part of a large debtor, were made frauds, criminally punishable, when committed by a petty rogue. As to the malpractices which were declared to be crimes, we took as our basis the Irish Debtors Act, passed after the English had been in operation some years and experience of its defects had been gained; and feeling it to be an absurdity to punish a man for mutilating, falsifying, or destroying his books while he was allowed to evade all difficulties by keeping no books at all, we made it a statutory crime in traders with liabilities over 200*l.* not to have kept

such books or accounts as, according to the usual course of any business or trade in which they were engaged, were necessary to exhibit or explain their transactions. Theoretically, most, if not all, the specific malpractices which we made statutory offences had, in Scotland, been crimes at common law; but while, as such, the onus of proving criminality lay with the prosecutor, the Debtors' (Scotland) Act shifted the presumption of guilt to the insolvent, and left him to prove if he could that his sins of omission or commission had been unconnected with any intent to defraud his creditors.

In England, as I have said, the initiative and the expense of prosecution for bankruptcy frauds falls on the unfortunate creditors, whose interest it is, therefore, to say as little as possible about them. In Scotland, being now crimes, it is the duty of public prosecutors to deal with such cases as they would with other crimes—to inquire into the charge and, while refusing to lend themselves to mere vexatious prosecutions, to prosecute real breaches of the law in the public interest and at the public expense. The duty of reporting to them cases of fraudulent bankruptcy, whether large or small, is imposed upon the trustee and the judge before whom the examinations are conducted, and it is competent to any creditor or any member of the public to give information as in a case of ordinary crime. The result of the passing of the Scottish Act has been that, although it only came into operation two years ago, and although at first the Crown authorities were very chary in putting it into force, and I received numerous complaints that it was likely to turn out a dead letter, it is now beginning to be worked with more vigour. Under the elastic provisions of the Act, prosecutions have taken place before sheriffs, with and without juries, and before the high court of justiciary. The criminals have been big debtors in bankruptcy or sequestration cases, and small in *cessio* cases. In no case, so far as I know, has a prosecution under the Act resulted in failure, and within the last eighteen months more fraudulent debtors in Scotland have been punished as criminals than, according to the evidence before our committee of 1880, had been punished in the preceding twenty-two years. As the facilities for their punishment, and the familiarity of the public and public prosecutors with the provisions of the Act increase, I think there is every reason to believe that we shall find prosecutions for fraudulent bankruptcy increase also.

But there remained another anomaly to rectify. If it was politic to grant the big debtor a discharge from his liabilities on compliance with certain conditions and formalities, there seemed no reason why the smaller debtor should be debarred from the same advantage. At the same time, the theory of the English law which refuses a bankrupt his discharge unless he pays a minimum dividend appeared, if rendered effective, calculated to prove a wholesome check on reckless trading. Accordingly, in 1881, I introduced a measure

to effect these objects, and it is now law. Under it the poor debtor becomes entitled to his discharge on the same conditions as the rich, but by means of a less elaborate and costly process; and in neither the one case nor the other will a discharge be granted unless the debtor has paid a minimum dividend of 5s. in the pound, or has proved, to the satisfaction of the judge to whom he applies for it, that his failure to do so has arisen from circumstances for which he cannot fairly be held responsible. This differs from the provision of the English law in two respects. First, the minimum is 5s. instead of 10s., because it was felt that, assuming the deterioration and expense of winding up an estate to be 5s. in the pound, if you refused to grant a discharge to a bankrupt who had stopped while his estate was worth 15s. in the pound, one of two things must happen: either discharges must practically cease to be granted, or the provision as to non-responsibility must be strained so as to allow all sorts of cases to escape. In the second place, following the example of the Irish Bankruptcy Act, the court is made the judge as to whether, when the minimum dividend has not been paid, a discharge should be granted; and the granting or refusal of a discharge being taken out of the hands of the creditors, the inducement to manufacture fictitious friendly creditors for the purpose of controlling the bankruptcy is done away with. The consequence is that, while in England I am informed this provision has remained a dead letter, in Scotland it has within the last year been enforced in a number of instances.

Until a few months ago civil imprisonment still remained competent for non-payment of debts for the support of natural dependents—parents, wives, children, and especially illegitimate children. It was of the most barbarous and illogical type, untempered by the right to liberation on surrender of goods, inaccessible as a remedy to creditors without the funds necessary to keep the debtor in prison, and resorted to as a means of gratifying vindictive feeling, enforcing marriage, or compelling payment of lawyers' costs (which in such cases are held to form part of the debt in connection with which they are incurred). As the English law regards such debts from a standpoint entirely different from that in which they were or are regarded by the law of Scotland, I need not dwell on the manner in which the select committee, to which my Bill on the subject was referred, dealt with them. Suffice it to say that, arising, not out of contracts, but out of natural and common law, they were treated as constituting an entirely distinct class of obligation, wilful neglect to implement which amounted to an offence against law and society that it was the duty of the State to punish. Such neglect has accordingly been made punishable on order by a judge by limited periods of imprisonment at the public expense, and the arbitrary power with which the creditor was previously armed has been abolished.

The point, however, to which I desire to call attention is not the abolition of an almost unique relic of past centuries in the shape of imprisonment for debt in Scotland, but the fact that within the last three years our law has undergone a change which places the rich insolvent and the poor on precisely the same footing so far as freedom from arrest, punishment of debt-frauds as crimes, and privilege of discharge is concerned; and this has been done principally by the institution of a cheap and summary form of bankruptcy, for which the name of *cessio* has been retained, applicable to small estates. Sequestration, or bankruptcy proper, and *cessio* are made interchangeable. Proceedings in *cessio* may—if the judge thinks the estate such as to require the more elaborate machinery for its disposal—be transferred to sequestration; and, on the other hand, proceedings begun in sequestration may, when the estate is small, be transferred to *cessio*. It costs 50*l.* or 60*l.* to make a man bankrupt in the ordinary fashion, and a mere fraction of that sum to obtain decree of *cessio*; and whether a transfer is made or not, the petitioning creditor's expenses are borne by the estate. The result is that the cheaper method, although yet barely two years in existence, is becoming more and more widely resorted to, and anyone who chooses to look at the bankruptcy notices in the Scottish press, will observe that the number of petitions for *cessio* bear a very large proportion to those for sequestration. This would serve to show that the introduction of a cheap form of bankruptcy meets a want of the creditor class as well as the debtor.

Of course there has been some little outcry about the abolition of imprisonment for debt. No reform was ever achieved without some outcry from prejudiced and interested parties. When a trader through his own imprudence has incurred a bad debt, it is a great solace to him to reflect that he can punish his debtor. If the law allowed him to exact a satisfaction for his loss in scourging or kicking his debtor, and an Act were passed depriving him of that luxury, it would evoke an outcry in certain quarters. The ancient Roman law did permit the families of insolvent debtors to be sold as slaves, and themselves to be hewn into pieces and divided amongst their creditors; and I don't doubt but that, when these effective remedies were abolished, there was a certain amount of grumbling and complaint. But it probably soon died out, as it has long since died out respecting the abolished imprisonment for petty debts in Scotland and large ones in England. And for this reason, that no injustice has been done. There can be no injustice in modifying the means provided by law for the enforcement of debts arising out of voluntary contract. The creditor enters into the contract with his eyes open, and where he does not think the powers entrusted to him for the recovery of his debt sufficiently strong, he can refuse to enter into it. The law incurs no responsibility for the creation of the obligation, and the

Legislature is absolutely free to enforce it by whatever means seems best in the general interest. The person giving credit in order to secure himself against wrong has but to mete out that credit according to his estimate of the means which the law places at his disposal for the recovery of his debt in each particular case.

The question, therefore, of abolishing imprisonment for debt is not a question of justice or injustice, but of policy and humanity. That question has been decided in favour of abolition in almost every civilised country in the world, and the same verdict has been pronounced upon it in England, although, in the case of the smaller debtor, by an unworthy subterfuge it has been rendered null and void. I appeal to a Government who profess to believe in equal rights for great and small at least to place all classes of the community on the same footing. If we must have imprisonment for debt, let us at least apply it in cases where the gain to the creditor will be in some degree commensurate with the cost to the State. If we must hold future earnings responsible till every debt is paid, at least let us apply the rule to the merchant as well as the miner, to the lawyer as well as the labourer. Or, as we cannot go back, I appeal to them, in amending their Bankruptcy Bill, to place all classes on the same footing in England as has been done in Scotland. Abolish imprisonment for innocent debt under whatever guise; allow credit to regulate itself on the same principles for high and low; free the statute book from the reproach of providing one law for the rich and another for the poor, and save the nation from the disgrace of maintaining a system which, while each year sending forth thousands of large debtors free and irresponsible to commence a new career, under cover of a transparent hypocrisy, sends thousands of smaller ones to gaol, and wrecks their lives and prospects for debts, the entire aggregate of which amounts to a mere fraction of the loss inflicted on his creditors by many a single enterprising bankrupt.

CHARLES CAMERON.

FRANCE AND CHINA.

LOOKERS-ON proverbially see most of the game; and there is not much ground for surprise if the French, intent on realising the schemes over which they have meditated in the Indo-Chinese peninsula in one form or another during the last century, fail to perceive all the consequences of their present action in Tonquin, or to accurately measure the danger of a contest with the power of China. But if France is showing herself blind to facts, and inclined to embark upon a policy of adventure in the purest sense of the word, that is no reason why those who are concerned in watching the progress of events in the far East, and the development from their state of torpor of the mighty power and unlimited resources of the Chinese people, should be backward in assigning its true significance to a complication that promises to bring the name and authority of Europeans into disrepute. Although criticism on the subject of colonial extension may come with a bad grace from an Englishman, I shall yet devote myself to the task of showing here that in this particular instance France is attempting not only an enterprise of doubtful advantage, but one in which I have not the least doubt she will ultimately fail, and fail with ignominy. The French Government has apparently been seized with a mania for colonial empire. In Madagascar, on the coast of Africa—nay, in the interior of the Dark Continent—among the archipelagoes of the Pacific, and lastly in an outlying dependency of China, it is bent on the same task—the creation of vast colonial possessions by Presidential decree, and instantaneously as at the beck of some magician's wand. Each of these undertakings has its difficulties; but of them all there is not one requiring the same tact, determination, and display of force as the last, if it is to be successfully accomplished. Great care on the part of the French representatives in allaying its susceptibilities, and in promising to respect the rights it has acquired from antiquity, might perhaps have induced the Peking Government to remain passive while the marauders of the Songcoi were being chastised, or until that river had been turned into a safe avenue for trade. But not merely have the French failed to display that tact; they have absolutely shown not the slightest desire to

respect Chinese susceptibilities in the matter at all. The recent declaration—not less impolite than impolitic—of M. ChallemeLacour denying succinctly any rights on the part of China in Annam has swept away whatever cobwebs there may have been in the minds of the young Emperor's advisers as to the intentions of France in Tonquin; and Chinese acquiescence in any form in the plans of our neighbours is henceforth an utter impossibility. The breach between China and France being thus clearly marked out, and not to be closed up save by the withdrawal of the French, it becomes necessary to consider what France hopes to gain in Tonquin, and how she proposes to obtain her objects. On the other hand, it will be essential also to ascertain the grounds and extent of China's pretensions, and the available force with which she can sustain them.

The ambitious plans of France in this quarter of Asia are not the birth of yesterday, and, if they admitted of being successfully carried out in the way in which her present rulers have approved, it would be difficult for us to challenge her right to extend her influence in that region where she has obtained some foothold. If there is adverse criticism of French action in the following pages, it is not because the conquest of Cochin China might lead to the introduction of French influence into the politics of Burmah and Siam, or to the further complication, by the appearance of a Fourth Great Power in the arena, of the great Asiatic question—which, plainly put, is how six hundred millions of Asiatics are to be kept, if not absolutely in a state of subordination to the interests of England and other European countries, at least so as to recognise a community of interest with them. The French have in every way as much right as any other people to find and to use such vents for their energy in undeveloped and promising regions as they may require and can obtain. Their settlement in Lower Cambodia was certain with due encouragement to prove the means of the extension of their authority up the Mekong to the confines of Burmah and China. The growth of their dominion might have been slow, but it would have been certain, and it would not have attracted the hostility of the Chinese. But so tardy a development did not suit the views either of those in power at Paris, or of the adventurous explorers who have dilated upon the incalculable sources of wealth that await French traders on the road through Tonquin into Yunnan. The quicker method has, therefore, been resorted to of asserting French predominance in the councils of Annam, and of entrusting to the officers and soldiers of the Republic the duty of making the Tuduc's authority respected in the northern district of Tonquin. But the advantage of rapidity has only been obtained at the cost of the bitter opposition of China; and as the French have not even utilised it, but remain precisely where they were twelve months ago; they have not even derived from their change of plans the profit they anticipated. The opposition of China, as soon

as it shall find expression in acts, will raise a much larger question than the mere addition of another tributary kingdom to the possessions of France, or even than the approach of the tricolour to the Chinese and Indian frontiers. No petty feeling of jealousy impels us to deprecate the measures of France in Annam, but a lively concern lest the interests of England and of Europeans generally should be permanently injured in China through the reckless and ill-considered acts of a country which has comparatively little at stake. Neither our knowledge of what France has done in the past in her method of colonisation, nor her manner of proceeding on the present occasion inspires confidence as to her successfully executing so dangerous an undertaking as that of wresting a vassal state from its dependence on China. The smallness of the votes asked for, the meagre character of the reinforcements sent, and of the military preparations, prove either that the French Ministry does not comprehend the nature of the task it aims at accomplishing, or that the French people are to be blinded to its true character until they find themselves pledged to a struggle of power with China. On either supposition such an enterprise does not promise well at the very commencement; and in the event of French defeat or failure it will be the other Europeans, and particularly Englishmen, in China who will suffer from the consequences of Chinese triumph and European discomfiture. It is for this reason, and for no other, that we have a direct interest in the progress of the Tonquin difficulty; and France is morally bound to pay heed to the remonstrances of those who will have to suffer for her folly.

The missionaries of Rome were the pioneers of French influence and dominion in Eastern Asia. Had they been supported by the weight of a secular authority, there is no saying what splendid triumphs they might not have been the means of obtaining for the French nation. In Annam they succeeded in establishing the hierarchy of their Church, and the Bishops and Abbés of Cochin China contribute some of the most interesting epistles to the celebrated *Lettres Edifiantes*. It was their mission to spread the truths of Christianity; and it has been no part of Jesuit teaching to throw doubt on the capacity of that great Order's members to propagate its objects by taking a leading part in the management of secular affairs. Towards the end of the last century an opportunity presented itself for active intervention in the policy of the country. The ruler of Annam was deposed by a popular insurrection, and his authority was cast off by all his subjects outside the citadel of Hué. On the advice of the Roman Catholic Bishop Adran he sent his son with that ecclesiastic to Paris to entreat the aid of Louis the Sixteenth to re-establish his authority. His request was granted. A supply of arms, and the loan of a few officers and of some ships of war, sufficed to restore his sovereignty, when the grateful king accepted the terms of a treaty,

concluded at Versailles in 1787, by which the peninsula of Tourane and the island of Pulo Condore were ceded to France. The outbreak of the French Revolution prevented the execution of these clauses, and the places mentioned did not become French even in name. Although the French never quite lost sight of their pretensions in this quarter, where they seemed to have a clear field of action, nothing was done towards realising the designs of Bishop Adran until after the Anglo-French expedition to Peking. The French fleet appeared at Hué, and reparation was exacted for a long list of outrages committed on Christians since the beginning of the century. The Emperor of Annam was called upon to fulfil the stipulations of the Treaty of Versailles, and after discussion the district of Saigon, on the Donnai and near the mouth of the great river Mekong, was ceded to France instead of the peninsula of Tourane, which would have placed the Annamese capital at the mercy of the French. No sooner were they established at Saigon than they set about extending their authority into the neighbouring states, and they did so with such effect that in the course of a very short time they were the masters of the whole of Lower Cambodia. Three years later, in 1864, the King of Upper Cambodia accepted the protection of France, and thus was the beginning of what was hoped would prove a flourishing dependency established in the valley of the Mekong. It need only be said on this point that Saigon has disappointed the expectations raised as to its future. Large sums were expended on its development under the Empire, but it remains an unhealthy and stagnant settlement, from which commerce and prosperity have kept aloof.

Probably the disappointment thus occasioned spurred the French into activity in the direction of the capital of Annam and of the Gulf of Tonquin. The discovery in 1866-7 by the mission of M. Doudart de Lagrée, who gave his life to the cause of geographical research, that the Mekong was unnavigable, showed that that stream was not to be the means of tapping the fertile and undeveloped region of south-western China and its border lands; while the discovery at the same time of the navigability of a stream flowing into the Gulf of Tonquin supplied a further motive to turn their attention in that direction. This stream was, it need hardly be said, the Songcoi, or 'Principal' river of Tonquin, the Red River of the Chinese. It was not, however, until the years 1870-3 that the journeys of the energetic traveller M. Dupuis attracted marked attention to this route into Yunnan, by which he conveyed a supply of arms to the Chinese authorities, then on the point of restoring order in that province. Although M. Dupuis did not receive from French officials all the support and countenance he desired and probably deserved, the effect of his journeys was to hasten the progress of the measures which had been commenced for the complete subordination of the Annam ruler to French interests. Negotiations were begun with the Court of Hué for a fresh treaty;

and, although a personal outrage on a French officer, Captain Reinhardt, who had been appointed envoy for the occasion, arrested the conclusion of a treaty, it really contributed to the more prompt settlement of the question by obliging the French to present an ultimatum. The treaty was at once signed, and the Tuduc recognised in 1874 the protectorate of France. The nominal effect of this treaty was to place Annam at the complete dependence of France, to assert there the predominance of her trade and her policy, and to lay down a series of regulations which would have the effect of opening Tonquin and the Songcoi to foreign commerce under the ægis of France. Nine years have nearly elapsed since those events happened, and the French find themselves very little advanced on the path to success, and in face of difficulties which were never contemplated, but which have not even yet fully revealed themselves.

This brief narrative of events will make the objects of French policy in Tonquin sufficiently plain. They desire in the first place to oust Chinese influence from Hué, and indeed they consider that they have done so by the terms of the treaty of 1874, which they only began to put in force last year. And in the second they hope to obtain in the Songcoi that easy and direct trade route into southern China which they were disappointed of twenty years ago by the discovery that the Mekong was unnavigable. And I may be permitted to say that these objects appear to be perfectly natural, and as justifiable as any similar proceedings ever are by ambitious governments or energetic and expanding nations. But are they practicable? Will France be able to carry out her projects? That is the whole question; and it is to that point, and not to any minor issues, that we have to devote the best attention we can.

The French claim the right to act as they are doing in Tonquin under the provisions of the treaty with Annam. They assert that that instrument set aside the rights of China, and established those of France in her place. The Chinese were neither directly nor indirectly a consenting party to that treaty. They were ignorant of its stipulations until the French began in the early part of last year to take measures to give them effect. In 1874 the condition of the Chinese Empire, although steadily improving, was very different from what it is now, and the French may be excused for supposing that they were not required to give much heed to the shadowy claims of Peking. But at the same time having no desire to irritate the Chinese, whose assent was necessary to the institution of trade with Yunnan, they studiously kept the Treaty of Hué secret, and did nothing to dissipate the idea that Annam was the tributary of the Dragon Throne. There was no interruption in the ordained relations. The Tribute Embassy entered China and visited Peking in 1876; and M. Dupuis has placed it formally on record that 'there can be no doubt as to the reality of China's suzerain rights over Annam.' The assurances given by M.

Bourée at Peking and to the Marquis Tseng at Paris did not allow of a doubt being felt as to the intention of the French Government to do nothing to injure the self-esteem or the interests of China. This prudent attitude of conciliation towards the Celestial Empire has been abandoned by the present French Ministry. There is no more talk of respecting the rights of China, and the ruler of Annam is accused of breach of faith by M. Challemel Lacour for continuing to recognise the suzerainty of the sovereign from whom his predecessors sought inspiration at a more remote period than European history cares to contemplate. This declaration might pass for little in itself, but it acquires the greatest importance when taken in connection with the latest act on the part of those in power at Hué. Far from being impressed with a sense of the overwhelming power of France, the Tuduc has during the last few months manifested an intention to resist her pretensions, and his emissaries have been declaring to the Chinese their desire to maintain the long-established relations with Peking, at the very moment that French officers thought their influence paramount at his capital. At the very time that M. Challemel Lacour was making his famous announcement in the Chamber as to the perfidy of Annam, the representative of France was taking a hurried departure from Hué.

There is consequently an end to the idea that France will find in the Annamese ruler a willing tool towards realising her schemes of aggrandisement; and if those schemes are to be carried on, they will have to be accomplished against the will of the people and potentate in whose interests the world was asked to believe that they were to be undertaken. The French are thus deprived of the simple method of proceeding which it was thought would disarm the suspicions of the Chinese, at the same time that it enabled them to declare that they were only giving effect to the lawful authority of the Tuduc in his northern province. They will be obliged to revert to the proposal of conquest pure and simple of M. de Carné, if they are to do anything with effect; and it is impossible to see how, if they persist in the adventure, they can possibly avoid a collision with the power of China. We may feel reasonably certain that the Annamese have not ventured to show their antipathy to the French so plainly without some definite assurance of support from China; and we may see in the boldness of the Tuduc and his people the conviction that that support will be neither half-hearted nor in vain. The fighting in Tonquin affords further evidence in the same direction. The French have had as opponents there not the Black Flag marauders, but the troops and officials of the ruler of Annam. The latest news we received from the Songcoi was to the effect that the French commandant, Captain Rivière, had been obliged to attack Namdinh in order to keep open his communications with the sea; and at that place he had only to encounter the regular forces of the Tuduc. Nothing

whatever has yet been done towards the chastisement of the Black Flag marauders who hold the upper course of the Sengpooi and the road into Yunnan, while the French find themselves engaged on the very threshold of their enterprise in a conflict of authority with Annam, and in open hostilities with a portion of its troops. If the French are to carry out their enterprise at all, they will have to devote themselves to the difficult and expensive task of conquering Annam, and of reducing it to the position of a subject province. It is not impossible that such an undertaking might prove both successful and remunerative; but if it is to be so, the French must understand that it is a very serious business, which would require an army of twenty thousand men and a liberal expenditure. The insignificance of the reinforcements sent to Captain Rivière show an utter inability to comprehend the difficulty of the task, and argue a want of knowledge or a height of faith calculated to invite disaster. The inadequacy of the force employed by France is shown by the difficulty which Captain Rivière already experiences in maintaining his communications, while the open defiance of the Annamese will scarcely allow even sanguine Parisians to believe that there is a very exalted opinion of the power of their country in this quarter of Asia. When the arrival of fresh troops is followed by a fresh ebullition of national antipathy, even the blindest can scarcely fail to see that the work of pacification or of conquest is not making any satisfactory progress. Such has been the case in Tonquin; and the French can hardly show themselves indifferent to its true significance. The obligation rests upon them either to at once abandon the expedition, or to prosecute it in such a manner and with such a display of force as will secure their objects and sustain the reputation of Europe. If they will only look the plain facts in the face, and take our criticism in the sense in which it is intended, they will recognise that it is not the prospect of their success which displeases or appals us, but a very real concern at the consequences of their failure, which for many reasons appears to be the far more probable result of their operations.

If the French have not been able either to overcome the local difficulties or to overawe the petty government of Annam, it will be readily understood how much more difficult it will be for them to vanquish opposition when to the resources of the Tuduc are added those of the Chinese. It is typical of the increased and more accurate knowledge of China in this country that, although the Chinese have as yet taken no overt step towards the assertion of their rights, there is a remarkable unanimity of opinion as to their intention to do so; and there can be no doubt that this view is a correct one. The authority of a Chinese emperor over his tributary states is one of a peculiar character, and does not convey to the European mind much of the reality of power. But although it may be vaguely defined and loosely applied, it possesses an importance in the eyes

of Chinese statesmen that is not to be lightly estimated. There has been no symptom at Peking during recent years of any desire to curtail its responsibilities, or to draw in the advanced outposts of the empire. The recovery of the imperial authority has been followed by the vigorous assertion of dormant claims and historic rights that would have been allowed to lapse by any people less impressed than the Chinese are with their importance and by the bitter experiences of the past. Having made their authority respected in most of the border provinces, and in remote dependencies which repudiated and cast off the connection, they are not likely to tolerate or to regard with indifference the violent severance of the link binding the Tuduc to Peking, when both that prince and his people desire its maintenance. To do so would, indeed, leave them open to the double charge of being indifferent to their own dignity, and of being false to a faithful dependent in distress. There can, therefore, be no reasonable doubt that the Annamese will find in China a staunch and vigorous supporter of their efforts to prevent the protectorate of France ever being carried into practical effect. It is only necessary to consider, in conclusion, the chances of whether that support would be effective or not.

The Chinese army on paper has a nominal strength of nearly one million men; but travellers are never tired of telling us that this force has no real existence. We shall not here claim for it any great efficiency, it being sufficient for the present purpose to point out what are the undoubted facts, that the Chinese have no difficulty in placing an army in the field at any threatened point, while their garrisons in Pechihli, Mongolia, and Central Asia were never as numerous as they are at this moment. There are weak spots and some shortcomings in the military organisation of China; yet there is no question that the emperor's representatives can, for the simple and sufficient reason that they have done it, place an army of fifty thousand fairly efficient and well-armed soldiers in the field at any given spot without the least difficulty, and without weakening their garrisons. If this fact is fairly mastered, it will be seen to be a great deal. It may be doubted whether, so far as numbers go, any other empire in Asia could in a time of trouble do the same. Fifty thousand men at Pakhoi and on the Kwangsi frontier would imperil the safety of a much larger body of men than Captain Rivière has any immediate prospect of finding under his orders. But, formidable as such a force would be, the measure of Chinese opposition must not be assumed at any fixed number of fifty thousand men, or of twice that number. For a point of vital importance there is practically no limit to the number of men China might feel disposed and be able to throw away. Her naval power has steadily increased also, and under foreign leading her ironclads and fast-sailing gunboats should be able to give a good account of themselves in the rivers and in the

shallows off the coast. A war with China will on the next occasion be no child's play for the best equipped and most determined of nations; and if France were to endeavour to hold her own in Tonquin against such an assailant, she would have to send many armies and fleets to the East, and to station a permanent garrison of twenty thousand men in Annam.

There are some who think an expedition to Peking is the sure and easy way to bring China to reason, and to extract from the Chinese Government whatever concessions and favours may be desired by grasping foreigners. It is more than twenty-two years since such a proceeding was successfully carried out by the allied forces of England and France; but while the grand result is remembered, the details are forgotten. A reference to the attack on the Taku forts, and to the affairs on the Peiho may be suggested to those who imagine that a Chinese force is similar in character to the typical Asiatic rabble. Yet at that time not merely did the Chinese possess no modern weapons, but their fortifications were undefended in the rear and on the flank, and had only to be turned. Their principal rivers, and particularly the approaches to the capital, are now protected by forts built after the most approved models, and armed with Krupp's heaviest ordnance. The Chinese have carried out some of the most necessary military reforms in the disciplining and arming of their troops; and they have to a great extent procured the services of foreign officers, or adopted the teaching of foreign knowledge. Moreover, proof has been furnished by a succession of remarkable campaigns that these improvements have had practical effect, and exist in something more than in name. If France is blind to these facts, and disposed to echo the foolish scepticism prevalent in the Treaty ports, German opinion has, with its sound common sense, rejected past delusions, and has not felt any hesitation in expressing the belief that China may on some future critical occasion prove itself a useful ally to the Fatherland.

The French people are following a very short-sighted policy in allowing themselves to be drawn into such unprofitable and interminable enterprises as the occupation of Tonquin is most likely to prove. They cannot succeed there without a lavish expenditure of men and treasure; and the reward of even the most complete success will probably be inadequate and disappointing to them. But the essential condition of success in every affair of life is to employ means proportionate to the result, and this the French are certainly not doing in their operations in Indo-China. They have a most difficult and dangerous operation on hand; they are acting as if they had only to destroy some African village, instead of to subject more than five millions of people, and to check the pretensions of the proudest and most despotic Government in Asia. A war between China and any European Power, save for some principle in which all Europeans

are equally concerned, can be nothing short of calamitous to the general interest. The country that would imperil the security of the present fortunate good understanding by prosecuting an ambitious scheme at the cost of China accepts a grave responsibility by incurring the disapproval of those with whom it is in this matter morally bound to act in concert. It is often said that China is not making sufficiently rapid progress; but while it may be doubted whether she would herself benefit by any acceleration in the adoption of Western improvements, it is quite certain that European nations would not derive any advantage from such a course, while it might entail for them the greatest peril. A successful foreign war is the one thing that would above all others restore the anti-foreign feeling to a dangerous height. It would certainly be followed by the making of many unpleasant demands on this country, and on others engaged in Chinese trade. It would lead to the general modification of China's foreign policy, and it could hardly fail to produce a most disturbing influence on her external relations generally, and with England in particular. These would be some of the disastrous effects of a war in which China were victorious; and if ever there was a near prospect of a campaign having such a result, it is in the case of Tonquin, where the possibility of war stares France in the face without her being able apparently to realise its dangers, or to exercise sufficient restraint to prevent herself being drawn into a collision with China. The more intelligent Frenchmen cannot suspect our good faith or doubt our good-will; but if they are not to be consenting parties to a national calamity they must at once do their utmost to suspend the irregular warfare on the Songcoi, and to allay the gathering indignation of China.

DEMETRIUS CHARLES BOULGER.

SOCIAL REFORM.

THE last Liverpool election was fought and won largely on the lines of 'Social Reform.' I have been often asked to explain what I mean by this term; and I will try to do so as concisely as possible in this article.

I premise by observing that questions of mere party politics have not the interest they possessed in former years for the mass of the British people. Political rights have been widely extended, civil and religious equality have been practically secured, the great battle of Free Trade has been fought and won, and though it is true that important reforms have still to be carried, involving a more complete and just representation of the people, yet it must be granted that there are no great wrongs of a political kind to be redressed in England, and no burning questions on the carpet which stir the pulse of the people.

We are in a period of 'slack water' so far as politics are concerned, and yet it is equally true that party strife was never more eager, or more injurious to the work of Parliament, than it is and has been for some years. The waste of the nation's time is excessive. Legislation is hindered and almost put a stop to by barren controversy or by foolish and undignified recrimination. The reputation of Parliament is on the wane, and people are ceasing to regard it as a great legislative machine, and are coming to think of it rather as a huge debating society.

One might almost conclude from the sterile and profitless talk in Parliament that no serious work remained to be done; that the nation was contented and prosperous, and could get on well enough without legislation at all. I fear that some of our politicians are under this delusion. Bred up in the lap of plenty, engrossed either with politics or pleasure, they see and know little of the condition of the masses. The great ocean of human misery that surges in the heart of our great cities is unheeded by them; they scarcely know of its existence. Peace, order, and security prevail, and the richer classes are too apt to think that this is the best of all possible worlds, and that England is the happiest of countries. I venture to doubt the soundness of this opinion. England may be the paradise of the

rich, of the poor it certainly is not. It is a country of such violent contrasts as have never been witnessed since the days of Rome under the Cæsars; such accumulations of wealth in single hands have not been known since then, nor such seething masses of human degradation and misery as are to be found in the metropolis and in all our great towns.

These facts are of the gravest import. They present problems that demand the closest attention of the Legislature, they are tenfold more important than those which occupy the time and attention of most politicians, and if they are not dealt with by means of prudent far-seeing legislation, they may be forced on our attention amid the storm of popular discontent, and have to be rudely solved under democratic pressure from beneath.

Our country is still comparatively free from Communism and Nihilism and similar destructive movements, but who can tell how long this will continue? We have a festering mass of human wretchedness in all our great towns, which is the natural hotbed of such anarchical movements; all the great continental countries are full of this explosive material. Can we depend upon our country keeping free from the infection, when we have far more poverty in our midst than the neighbouring European nations? I believe that we owe our exemption from social disorder very much to the untiring labour of a multitude of Christian philanthropists, who, in all our large towns, are struggling to alleviate human suffering.

Politicians little know how much they owe to these self-sacrificing labourers, what numbers of soldiers and policemen they enable us to dispense with, how they keep alive in the hearts of multitudes some sense of duty to God and some measure of respect for their fellow-men. But the problem cannot be solved by private effort alone; its magnitude is appalling, it demands the help of the State, and the object of this paper is to point out in what direction State help can be effectually rendered.

Should, however, proof be demanded of the existence of such a mass of destitution and misery in our midst, I reply in the first place that my personal acquaintance with the poor of Liverpool fully bears out my assertion so far as that city is concerned. We have large tracts of Liverpool given over to the reign of squalor, filth, and rags—we have extensive areas inhabited by a dense population, where scarcely one well-dressed or respectable-looking person is to be seen. The women are filthy in their habits, the children covered with dirt and half-clothed, the men when not at work are usually drinking in the public-house. In these dreary regions there is nothing to delight the eye or refine the taste: the abject wretchedness that meets one on all sides is so depressing that none will visit these slums except on errands of religion or philanthropy.

Thank God, there is a noble band of self-denying workers even

here, and were it not for them the social condition of the city would be far worse than it is.

We have in Liverpool 2,500 'courts,' as they are called, inhabited it is supposed by 150,000 people. The sanitary condition of these confined and unhealthy culs-de-sac is very bad and the death-rate excessive, and the want of appliances for decency so great, that it is scarcely possible to conceive of respectable family life existing in their midst. There are occasionally to be found decent and well-conducted families even in these cheerless abodes, but the general aspect of the people is lamentable and is a disgrace to our age and a danger to the State. No doubt Liverpool is exceptionally situated, as it contains a large Irish population of the poorest class, who came over after the famine in 1847 and gravitated through utter poverty into the lowest parts of the town. Many of these people lived a respectable life in the rural districts of Ireland, but when they came to Liverpool they succumbed to the pestilential atmosphere they had to breathe. Indeed, it would be almost a miracle for people to maintain their self-respect in many parts of our city, so foul are the language and habits of the people, and matters would have been much worse but for the great temperance movement headed by Father Nugent. This corruption of manners is by no means confined to the Irish; very many of the English are quite as bad, and there is a considerable residuum of drunken degraded Scotch and other nationalities. The casual labour along the docks, and the absence of suitable employment for women, aggravate the difficulty in Liverpool, and the excessive drunkenness of large sections of the population of both sexes make their moral or material elevation almost impossible. I have no wish to cast any reflections upon the activity of the churches or the benevolent agencies in our midst. Few towns exhibit more abundant efforts for the good of the masses. There is a large volunteer army of religious workers, and matters are decidedly improved from what they were some years ago. The Corporation has also done much to improve the sanitary condition of the town, but the execrable social conditions amid which the poorest part of the population live defeat all attempts to apply a thorough remedy, and they will defeat them so long as these conditions exist.

I have dwelt upon the state of Liverpool as best known to myself, but the same description applies in more or less degree to all the great cities of the empire. Each of them possesses a pestilential deposit of human debasement and abject poverty. All that I have said of Liverpool holds good in a vastly greater degree of the metropolis. There we see such extremes of wealth and poverty as the world nowhere else exhibits; the area of destitution is enormous, and the number of people who are half-clothed, half-fed, and steeped in wretchedness would amount to several great armies. I quote from an admirable book by Mr. Francis Peck, recently issued, the following:—

Many families in London and in the large provincial towns have only one single room, in which parents and children of all ages and both sexes work, live, and sleep. It is impossible to conceive that children brought up thus can fail to become unhealthy in body and depraved in mind and morals. In a far larger number of cases than would be believed by those who have not studied the subject the domestic conditions in which these families live are appalling: such as would not be permitted to continue for a single year, but for the selfish indolence of the well-to-do classes, who carefully avert their attention from the consideration of so unpleasant a subject. But, however concealed, the condition of things which does exist is not less horrible than dangerous. Nor can society avoid the baneful consequences by merely refusing to look the evil in the face. Often indeed has a terrible retribution overtaken individuals of those very classes of society that had the power to help to remedy the evil, but would not use it in time, as some of their dearest and fairest children have been swept off by diseases originating in the fever-haunted dens which their own selfish indifference had permitted to exist.

Passing through our large towns, a little away from some of the leading thoroughfares, terrible spectacles of misery may be witnessed; courts and alleys, where the air is deadly foul, where overcrowding poisons the blood, and where the wretched inhabitants are so enervated that they have neither power nor inclination to struggle upward.

The following quotation is from a report by the Rev. Archibald Brown, a well-known minister in the East-end of London:—

Any practical worker among the lowest class of London's poor knows only too well that decency forbids a published account of the manners and morals of tens of thousands. A precarious income of a few shillings a week, obtained as casual dock labourer, or some similar employment, renders it impossible for the family to rent more than one room. In the fetid atmosphere of this room, delicacy, self-respect, and modesty languish and die, and no wonder either. Both sexes of all ages are huddled together for sleep on an indescribably filthy 'shake-down.' The garments of the day are the covering for the night, with perhaps the one difference of being over them instead of on them. This crowding together is the death of decorum and the source of untold depravity.

Just after the receipt of several letters suggesting that surely some of the scenes described by our missionaries were overcoloured, we went for several hours among the people of our districts. Immediately, on returning home, we wrote the following in our diary, while the facts and scenes were fresh in our memory. In no way do we deal with the question of the merits of the cases; we simply record a condition of life existing in our midst:—

'I have spent the whole of this morning in Bow Common, or rather in two streets of this great district. The scenes I have personally witnessed haunt me.

'In No. — E—— Street, I found Mrs. Q—— surrounded with hundreds of match boxes. The floor was covered with them, save where a heap of rags was lying, this being the "shake-down" for the night. The husband is blind, so can earn nothing; and the wife having a crippled hand, through working in white lead, is obliged to obtain help. She is paid 2½d. per gross of boxes. Out of this she pays a girl 1d. per gross to help her. Paste and fire they have to find.

'In No. — of the same street, I called on a young wife and mother of three children. Not a scrap of furniture was in the room. A small fire was in the grate, fed by some of the flock out of the mattress they lie on at night. The sanitary arrangements in the back yard were so indescribably filthy, that, though I am tolerably hardened, I sickened, and had to leave. It was enough to breed a plague. Next door is another of my cases. The mother is dead and the father consumptive. I found three little children by themselves. None had any stockings

or shoes. "Martha," a bright little girl of ten, had just finished scrubbing the floor, and was about commencing the same kindly action on her little sister. In the same house, upstairs, in a room filled with smoke, was a wretched family. The father had left early in the morning to try and find a job at the docks. The mother, who is in ill-health, was sitting on a box, and two or three young boys, black as negroes, were squatting on the floor. One boy, about five years of age, was standing in front of the fire as naked as he was born, but for an old shawl cast over him. In an adjoining room, destitute of all furniture, two elder lads asleep. The ceiling has fallen down, and I could see daylight through it. In wet weather the state of mingled wet and dirt can be imagined. In another street, close at hand, the houses are being done up, so all the tenants have been turned out. At the top, however, of an otherwise empty house—a large one—I found the most miserable case of all. The husband had gone to try and find some work. The mother, twenty-nine years of age, was sitting on the only chair in the place, in front of a grate destitute of any fire. She was nursing a baby only six weeks old, that had never had anything but one old rag round it. The mother had nothing but a gown on, and that dropping to pieces; it is all she has night or day. There were six children under thirteen years of age. They were barefooted, and the few rags on them scarcely covered their nakedness. In this room, where was an unclothed infant, the ceiling was in holes. An old bedstead was in the room, and seven sleep in it of a night, the eldest girl being on the floor.

These pictures are appalling, and, to deepen the sense of the magnitude of the problem, I would remark that we have over and above the poverty-stricken masses here referred to an army of 900,000 State paupers in Great Britain, and perhaps half a million of people more or less dependent upon State relief in Ireland.

There are not so many classed as paupers in the latter country; but considering the vast number of applications under the 'Arrears Act,' and the numerous families in the West of Ireland needing special help to prevent starvation, I think this statement is within the mark.

We have, therefore, nearly one and a half million paupers in the United Kingdom, besides a prodigious mass of people just one degree removed from pauperism, many of whom are only kept by private charity from sinking into the pauper class.

I believe that the number of people who are on the verge of pauperism, and are more or less dependent upon charity for their support, is nearly as great as that of absolute paupers; and it is probably within the mark to say that we have in the United Kingdom two to three millions of the pauperised class, or at all events of people who are unable to support themselves decently; a great part, probably the greater part of them, are drunken and profligate in their habits, and it would be difficult to say whether misfortune or folly has done most to produce this deplorable result.

Now, the point to which I wish to call attention is that the bulk of this human deposit of vice and poverty is *hereditary*; it has come down from past centuries and goes on little changed or ameliorated by the growing wealth and progress of the country. Though the average income of the middle class and respectable artisan class has

more than doubled within this century, the lowest stratum is as foul and beggarly as in any period of our history.

Perhaps its actual magnitude may not be quite so great as it once was, certainly its relative size is less, for the classes above the lowest have greatly increased, but the pressing question is how to cleanse the Augean stable of this moral filth which underlies our modern civilisation. I repeat that most of the evil is hereditary, it is bequeathed from parent to child; the habits of the young are formed amid such depraving influences that they can scarcely grow up different from their parents, and the conclusion has been gradually forced upon me that we shall never break the hereditary entail of pauperism and crime in this country until we take *far more stringent means to save the children.*

In all our large cities there are hordes of little ragged urchins who live on the streets, earning money by trades closely akin to begging. At night they sleep in pestilential fever-dens or low lodging-houses, where they see and hear everything that is vile; they grow up devoid of moral sense, and drift in most cases into the wretched modes of life their parents pursued. I have been much brought in contact with this class of children through a rescue work carried on in Liverpool during the past ten years. We have a home for destitute children where we train them for a few months and then emigrate them to Canada. None who have not come in contact with the refuse of our cities could believe what cruelty these children often suffer from drunken parents; they sometimes come into our home a mass of sores and bruises and covered with vermin, and more like mere animals than human beings. They often tremble when they hear that 'father' is coming to see them, and cry out with terror when 'mother' insists upon taking them away. It has been deeply impressed on my mind that unless we can get powers from the State to protect these children from the corrupting influences at home, we must resign ourselves to a never-ending stream of human degradation in our midst. It is true that the Education Act has done something to civilise these waifs and strays; most of them are now in attendance at some school. In a ragged school of 1,000 children that I am acquainted with, we found that the great majority of the children could read, which was not the case a few years ago.

It is computed that in Liverpool out of 80,000 or 90,000 children of school-going age, only some 1,500 have not been reached by our indefatigable School Board; but the home influences are so wretched that probably 10,000 or more of these children are neither properly fed, clothed, nor housed, and are surrounded by such evil associations at home, that there is small chance of their leading afterwards a useful life, and we can predict, with certainty, that many of them will enter our prisons, penitentiaries, and workhouses.

I have no doubt whatever, that if an investigation were made into the causes that produce the frightful crop of 80,000 fallen

women said to be on the streets of London, it would be found that the debasing influences of early life accounted for most of it.

I believe the time is at hand when the country will not tolerate this state of things any longer. All the signs of the times proclaim that an era of social reform is at hand; new principles of legislation will be introduced, and fresh powers will be asked and obtained to stem the tide of misery. I believe that the direction in which these powers must be sought *lies in the more strict enforcement of parental obligations*. We have far too long considered that children were the property of their parents, who were free to abuse, starve, or corrupt them, as they thought proper. We have forgotten that the State, which bears the consequences, should have a voice in the matter. We accepted this principle in part when compulsory education was adopted, which was vehemently opposed by the then advocates of 'the liberty of the subject.' We require now a further extension of this principle; we wish to make it obligatory on a parent to feed, clothe, and bring up his child in a decent manner; we wish to make it a crime before the law for a drunken father to spend half his weekly wages in the public-house, and to starve his family on the remainder. I know that this view will encounter vehement protests from the *doctrinaire* opponents of State interference, but it may surprise some of them to learn that our freeborn offspring in America have already introduced this principle into their statute book. The descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers in Massachusetts have made it a misdemeanour to neglect the proper care or up-bringing of children, and give extensive powers to charitable societies to take such children from their unworthy parents and deal with them as the State thinks best. I quote the last edition of this Act, revised last year as follows:—

[ACTS OF 1882, CHAPTER 181.]

§ 3. Whenever it shall be made to appear to any court or magistrate that within his jurisdiction any child under fourteen years of age, by reason of orphanage, or of the neglect, crime, drunkenness or other vice of his parents, is growing up without education or salutary control, and in circumstances exposing him to lead an idle and dissolute life, or is dependent upon public charity, such court or magistrate shall, after notice to the state board of health, lunacy, and charity, commit such child, if he has no known settlement in this Commonwealth, to the custody of said board, and if he has a known settlement, then to the overseers of the poor of the city or town in which he has such settlement, except in the city of Boston, and if he has a settlement in said city, then to the directors of public institutions of said city, until he arrives at the age of twenty-one years, or for any less time; and the said board, overseers, and directors are authorised to make all needful arrangements for the care and maintenance of children so committed in some state, municipal or town institution, or in some respectable family, and to discharge such children from their custody whenever the object of their commitment has been accomplished.

The State of New York has the following provisions in its penal code:—

§ 288. *Unlawfully omitting to provide for child.*—A person who wilfully omits, without lawful excuse, to perform a duty by law imposed upon him to furnish food, clothing, shelter, or medical attendance to a minor, is guilty of a misdemeanor.¹

§ 289. *Endangering life or health of child.*—A person who, having the care or custody of a minor, either—

1. Wilfully causes or permits the minor's life to be endangered, or its health to be injured, or its morals to become depraved; or

2. Wilfully causes or permits the minor to be placed in such a situation, or to engage in such an occupation, that its life is endangered, or its health is likely to be injured, or its morals likely to be impaired;

Is guilty of a misdemeanor.¹

§ 290. *Keepers of concert saloons, &c.*—A person who admits to, or allows to remain in any dance-house, concert saloon, theatre or other place of entertainment, owned, kept, or managed by him, where wines or spirituous or malt liquors are sold or given away, any child, actually or apparently under the age of fourteen years, unless accompanied by a parent or guardian, is guilty of a misdemeanor.¹

§ 291. *Children not to beg, &c.*—A male child actually or apparently under the age of sixteen years, or a female child actually or apparently under the age of fourteen years, who is found—

1. Begging or receiving or soliciting alms, in any manner or under any pretence; or

2. Not having any home or other place of abode or proper guardianship; or

3. Destitute of means of support, and being either an orphan, or living or having lived with or in custody of a parent or guardian who has been sentenced to imprisonment for crime, or who has been convicted of a crime against the person of such child, or has been adjudged an habitual criminal; or

4. Frequenting the company of reputed thieves or prostitutes, or a house of prostitution or assignation, or living in such a house either with or without its parent or guardian, or frequenting concert saloons, dance-houses, theatres or other places of entertainment, or places where wines, malt or spirituous liquors are sold, without being in charge of its parent or guardian; or

5. Coming within any of the descriptions of children mentioned in § 292, must be arrested and brought before a proper court or magistrate, as a vagrant, disorderly, or destitute child. Such court or magistrate may commit the child to any charitable, reformatory or other institution authorised by law to receive and take charge of minors, or may make any disposition of the child such as now is or hereafter may be authorised in the cases of vagrants, truants, paupers, or disorderly persons.

Under these laws charitable societies are incorporated in many of the American States, which search out cases of neglected children and bring them before the magistrates, and place large numbers in training institutions, or find them good homes with the farmers in the far West. In passing, I may remark that am I informed that 51,000 poor children have been taken from New York and emigrated to the far West in the past twenty-five years.²

¹ *Punishment of Misdemeanour.*

15. A person convicted of a crime declared to be a misdemeanor, for which no other punishment is specially prescribed by this code, or by any other statutory provision in force at the time of the conviction and sentence, is punishable by imprisonment in a penitentiary, or county gaol, for not more than one year, or by a fine of not more than five hundred dollars.

² I understand from an interesting letter in the *Times* of April 18, from Mr.

Did we possess such powers in this country, what a mass of neglected children would come under their operation! We have probably fourfold as many neglected children in the United Kingdom as there are in America. What a revolution such laws would work in our midst if vigorously enforced! What a revelation they would make as to the conditions in which multitudes of our poor struggle through life! Taking the pauperised and degraded class as three millions, there are probably three-quarters of a million children under fourteen years of age belonging to it. Many of these are already in public institutions; some 70,000 are being brought up in work-houses or district schools, some 25,000 in certified industrial or reformatory schools, and a vast number in orphanages or other institutions supported by private charity. I cannot obtain statistics of the latter class, but suspect that if all could be reckoned there would be found fully 150,000 children in Great Britain and Ireland brought up in institutions at the public expense.³ It is owing to this that juvenile commitments for crime have largely diminished, and the nation is to be congratulated upon having done so much, but I repeat there is still a large number of juveniles growing up amid conditions destructive of morality.

I have little doubt that if the truth could be ascertained, there would be found from half a million to three-quarters of a million of children so destitute and neglected, that according to the laws existing in America they would become wards of the State. The first thought that strikes one is the hopeless magnitude of the problem. Suppose we had the power of taking these children from their

Tallack, that considerable abuses have arisen on account of the children being removed from New York before they had been properly trained and disciplined.

³ In addition to the above, there are in round numbers about 250,000 pauper children in the United Kingdom receiving outdoor relief, so that we may say, speaking broadly, that the total number of children dependent upon charity is about 400,000. The exact Poor Law figures are as follows, being extracted from the reports issued by the Inspector appointed to visit the Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain and Ireland, and from the Reports of the Local Government Boards for England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland:—

Total number of Children under Sentence of Detention in Reformatory and Industrial Schools in Great Britain.

Boys	Girls	Total
19,037	4,656	23,693
<i>In Ireland.</i>		
936	213	1,149
19,973	4,869	24,842

Total number of Pauper Children under Sixteen in England and Wales.

Able-bodied	Not able-bodied
15,668	88,590 indoor
172,607	34,526 outdoor
Total	261,586

wretched haunts, it would cost over ten millions a year to keep them in public institutions, and would just double the existing cost of pauperism in this country, for the average cost of bringing up children in existing institutions is about 20*l.* per head annually, so that already the nation pays, either by rates or private charity, about three millions a year to save its neglected and orphaned children. It could not be expected to pay ten millions more, especially as much of that money would be extracted from the decent struggling poor to maintain the children of their drunken and degraded neighbours. Besides, there is a just and growing dislike to rearing children in public institutions. No fact is better attested than the superiority of family training; the children, even in the best institutions, grow up very ignorant of the common duties of life, and little fitted to grapple with the difficulties or temptations of the world. Workhouse children, especially girls, do not turn out nearly so well as the children of the decent poor, and Scotland has acted on this belief, and disposed of her pauper children by boarding them out among respectable poor people, with excellent results. Edinburgh has gone so far as to break up her large orphan and charitable institutions, and send the children back to private life, as long experience has testified that 'institution children' turn out so very poorly.

With all this experience to guide us, it would never do to dream of erecting a huge system of State barracks to hold our swarms of neglected children. I could not face this problem had I not a better remedy to offer.

I point to that Greater Britain beyond the seas, the home of pro-

In Scotland

there were classed as dependants on the 1st of January, 1882, 36,712, of whom 3,802 were orphans and 2,147 deserted, and out of which numbers 5,247 were boarded out on the 14th of May, 1882, viz. 2,127 with relatives, and 3,120 with strangers.

In Ireland

on the 7th of January, 1882, there were in the workhouses 11,412 healthy workhouse children under fifteen, and 2,332 orphans or deserted out at nurse; and in addition there were 58,358 persons in the receipt of outdoor relief throughout Ireland, which of necessity must represent a large number of children.

To sum up, there were—

In Great Britain and Ireland

Children in industrial schools	24,842
Pauper children in England and Wales	261,386
" Scotland	36,712
" workhouses in Ireland	11,412
" at nurse in Ireland	2,332
Children wholly dependent upon the State	336,684

In addition to the above must be reckoned the large number of children represented by the 58,358 persons in the receipt of outdoor relief throughout Ireland.

sperous peoples, honest, industrious, and virtuous, where human life is not cramped and confined as it is in this little island.

America, Australia, New Zealand, and our other colonies, know little of those painful social problems that distract us; they are not encumbered with hopeless deposits of hereditary poverty, they know nothing of that heritage of despair which is the only patrimony that masses of our people are born to. Human life in those new countries is buoyant and sanguine, human effort is stimulated to the uttermost by the hope of reward; every one who is not wilfully idle expects to better his condition, a cheerful hum of busy and prosperous life meets one in all these growing countries, the atmosphere of hope is contagious, and the depression of our hereditary poor gives place to energy and hope, when the bracing ozone of a new country is inhaled.

One cannot but ask why have we allowed this deposit of human wretchedness to remain festering in our midst, like a moral cesspool, when it might have been converted into rich alluvial soil in our vast colonies, bearing the golden fruit of countless happy homes. The reply given, we fear, must be that the doctrine of *laissez-faire*, so sedulously taught by our earlier economists, tied the hands of the State from any interference with what are called 'natural laws.' It was held that human sin and misery were the legitimate product of all old societies, and that we must not meddle with the laws of nature. This detestable philosophy of selfishness is now dying out; we are finding that even self-interest demands the eradication of the ulcer, but above all we are feeling that 'Christianity teaches the care of our poor helpless brethren 'who have fallen among thieves.' We are scandalised, and rightly so, at the contrast between the religion we profess and the national life we lead; we wish to yoke together the ethics of Christianity and the maxims of State policy, and I feel convinced that in State-aided emigration, on philanthropic principles, lies the real practical remedy for the chief evils that afflict our nation.

What we really need is a bridge to span the gulf which lies between the destitution of our great cities and the virgin fields of Canada and Australia.

It is true that this bridge has already been crossed by multitudes of thriving emigrants; it is true that the great Anglo-Saxon communities beyond the seas are the product of the emigrant ships that left our shores without State aid; but these were the bone and muscle of our country, the young, the strong, the vigorous, who could help themselves. The destitute and degraded masses have never contributed much to the work of colonisation; without means, without hope or energy, they have rotted in our midst from generation to generation, and will continue to do so if left to themselves. But another question arises here. What use could the colonies make of these wretched people if they were sent there? Their habits are fixed for life,

they have no knowledge of useful trades, nor do they possess physical strength and energy to cope with the new conditions of existence.

Life is no child's play in the colonies. People work harder than they do at home, and these demoralised creatures, with enfeebled frames and mendicant habits, would be a nuisance to the sturdy farmers of the New World. *Our only hope lies in rescuing the children*; this is the main scope of my argument. We cannot rid ourselves of our adult pauperism, but we can save the children if we resolve to do so; there is a boundless field in the colonies for planting out these neglected little ones: We have tested it and found it a perfect mine of wealth in Canada, and no way has ever been devised so inexpensive and so fruitful of good results as this emigration scheme.

Since Miss Rye commenced in 1869, some 10,000 poor children have been sent to Canada, and, with few exceptions, have been absorbed into the healthy rural life of that colony, and are now doing far better than could have been brought about by any agency in the old country.

I am intimately acquainted with the Liverpool scheme, which has rescued 1,200 children in the last ten years. Probably 95 per cent. of these are now leading happy lives abroad. The very few failures that have occurred have taken place with children too old and too demoralised to be safely sent abroad. When the age is not over 12, and sufficient training, say three to six months, can be given in a Christian institution before planting out, success is almost certain. There will be fewer failures than in ordinary middle-class families in this country. We find far more homes in Canada offering than we can supply with children. The farmers often lose their own children, by their early marriage and settlement in life, and are anxious to have the cheerful company of a child. They find also early use even for a child among the cows and poultry and the work of a farmyard. Children are in fact a treasure in a thinly-populated country like Canada, instead of a burden as they often are at home. We take effectual guarantees against ill-treatment, and require regular attendance at school and church, and specified wages after a certain age. The children are regularly visited every year and reported upon by the farmers who take them, as well as by the adjacent clergymen. I believe the children experience more comfort, and are treated with as much kindness as in the average homes of our respectable artisans; in many cases they are adopted and made heirs by farmers who are childless, and the contrast to the utter misery in which we find them here is almost magical. But the rescued children are after all but a drop in the bucket. For every hundred we take away there are a thousand left behind, equally miserable and uncared for, and the question I wish to put is, Can we

not, by means of laws such as the United States possess, rescue these children of drunkards and bad women, and give them a happy career in Canada in place of a lodgment in our prisons, workhouses, or asylums, to which they are obviously destined at home? Ought the State which has to pay the penalty of this neglect to wait patiently until the evil is done? Is it to have such an overstrained regard for parental rights, when it has to bear the melancholy consequences? Nay, is it right, from a moral and Christian standpoint, to permit the little ones to grow up to a future of certain misery, when it has the power to save them if it choose to exert it?

I am fully alive to one great objection: it is said, by dispossessing these dissolute parents of their offspring you encourage them to be still more vicious, you remove one more restraint upon self-indulgence; they will only too readily throw their children upon the State, and spend in drunkenness and vice the money that should go to support their offspring. There is much force in this view. I would not too easily absolve parents from their duties, and would make neglect of children a penal offence, and only resort to compulsory emigration after exhausting all other means of making the parents do their duty. In the last resort, I would lay the cost of emigrating on the parent, and extract it, where possible, by legal process.

But in the adjustment of these rival obligations, I would turn the scale in favour of the child. It is far more important, after all, to save the child than to punish the parent. The hope of a better future lies in the one direction; the evil in the other is temporary and will pass away, or greatly abate, as that corrupt generation dies out. It is the clear interest of the State to protect itself against a fresh crop of criminals and paupers, and this duty it should discharge, even though weighted with some lesser drawbacks.

Further, the cost of the emigration scheme is far less than that of training at home. We reckon that 15*l.* per head covers all expenses, including a few months' preparatory training, outfit, passage, &c. The average cost of each child in the Metropolitan workhouse schools is nearly 25*l.* per annum. About 11,000 pauper children are brought up in these large establishments, at a cost to the rate-payers of London of 250,000*l.* per annum. Probably each child is kept on the average five years, costing, say, 120*l.* in all. We could rescue and plant out for life eight children for the expense that our poor-law guardians spend upon each child. We insure a far better prospect in after life, and we do something to relieve the intolerable pressure in our overcrowded cities. Had our pauper authorities permitted it, agencies such as Miss Rye's, Miss McPherson's, or ours in Liverpool, would have gradually drained away most of these pauper children; but, with a blindness that is incomprehensible, they have preferred herding them together at vast expense, and re-

fused, until quite lately, to allow emigration to be tried. The time will come when this suicidal policy will be held up to ridicule by some future satirist, as Dickens exposed the 'Bumbles' of his day.

A system of officialism is interested in keeping up all these institutions, and so long as it is allowed to dominate, the emigration scheme will be tabooed. All sorts of imaginary evils will be attributed to it, and currency given even to deliberate misrepresentations. The writer of this article can state that what he has written of the Liverpool experiment is strictly correct. He has conversed with many eye-witnesses from Canada, who have visited the children on the spot, and have fully confirmed all the reports of our excellent matron.

The Local Government Board, under its able President, Sir Charles Dilke, has recently removed the interdict upon the emigration of pauper children, and I trust the time will soon come when those dreary barracks will be emptied of their little prisoners, who will thus taste the sweets of natural family life on the soil of Canada or our other colonies. There is, however, one condition I would insist upon—the neglected children of our slums and workhouses must be depauperised before they can be received into good and respectable homes. Decent people cannot be expected to take repulsive children, using bad language and telling lies, to live as inmates of their households. They must be made lovable and attractive, and this is really the kernel of the whole question. I attach, therefore, the utmost importance to preparatory training under a kind and Christian matron. The great success of our work has sprung from that circumstance. There are many ladies specially fitted for training children; it is a natural gift; and the work must be confided to such, or it will prove a failure. Once or twice, well-intentioned attempts were made to introduce corrupted girls into Canada, in order to rescue them, and it nearly wrecked the whole scheme. It would not be difficult to excite a prejudice against all child-emigration, if it were conducted injudiciously. The children must be sent young, and only after careful, affectionate training. The best age is from six to twelve. We can place any number of little girls even at six years old. Such girls are just the class we need most to save. They suffer most from the absence of home life. Girls depend upon personal affection more than boys. Nothing is more certain than that training, even in the best managed institutions, is unwholesome for girls; and what are we to say of the crowds that frequent the streets of our great cities, quite uncared for, hearing and seeing everything vile, and certainly growing up to a dark and ruined future? The crowds of fallen women come mostly from this class; and surely it is a crying shame that happy homes await such girls beyond the seas, and we have no power to transfer them to these, but leave them to prey and to be preyed upon in the slums of our great towns. The surplus of female population in Great

Britain is one of our greatest difficulties. The wages of female labour are miserably low. There are thousands of poor respectable women in London wearing themselves out to earn a living, or, as Miss Bury calls it, a 'dying,' of five shillings per week, at stitching twelve or fourteen hours a day. Can we not do something to relieve this hopeless mass of female poverty? Every hundred girls we emigrate, to that extent relieves the strain at home, and furnishes the colonies with much-wanted female servants, and afterwards with good wives and mothers. In all our colonies women are scarce, men predominate. Women are prized there as they are underrated through superabundance here. What can be a truer work of philanthropy than to rectify this disparity of sexes, and to transfer to happier shores these neglected female children, who are in danger of perishing at home, but might become happy, honest mothers of a stalwart race of colonists abroad?

The neglected children of our towns are in many cases orphaned of one parent or both. Few persons are aware of the vast numbers of widows in our midst—the great mortality among sailors accounts for much of it. Over four thousand British seamen including fishermen were drowned last year, most of them leaving widows and families. Liverpool is full of sailors' widows. I have been in the habit of meeting a weekly class of three hundred poor widows for some years past. Many of them have to live on less than five shillings per week, and often have to bring up children by eking out that slender allowance from charity. The children roam about the streets when the mother is from home, and much juvenile depravity comes from this source. I regard these semi-orphan children as just the class most suitable for emigration. From no fault of their own, the poor mothers are quite unable to train them properly, and when they can be emigrated along with their families with a fair chance of success, it is highly desirable.

I will sum up in a few words what might be done for the State by a large system of juvenile emigration. Our hereditary pauper class costs the State 10,000,000*l.* yearly, and probably as much more is spent in private charity. Crime, which springs mainly from this class, costs about 5,000,000*l.* a year, making a demand upon the nation of 25,000,000*l.* annually, or more than the interest of our national debt, or about the cost of our army and navy. By rescuing the children of that class we should probably stop in the course of a generation more than half of this outlay. Now, what would be the cost of emigrating, say, 50,000 children a year? or put it at the utmost 100,000 children? At 15*l.* per head it would amount to 1,500,000*l.* annually, and the saving to the State might ultimately amount to 15,000,000*l.* annually.

I am well aware that no such vast scheme is possible at present, but there can be no harm in presenting in a striking manner the economical aspect of this great question. Were it possible to put an

end in one generation to even half our hereditary pauperism and crime, we might well incur some temporary risk and inconvenience.

State officialism, however, must not conduct this experiment; it is the humanising influence of loving hearts that alone will make it successful. All that I ask the State to do is to remove vexatious restrictions and to give some encouragement. By arrangement with the Canadian Government, a system of pauper emigration may be carried out with adequate inspection to prevent abuses. Those various charitable societies which have sprung up may be permitted to take away not only pauper but reformatory children, and the Education Boards should be authorised to strengthen their machinery, so as to bring within their care the neglected children of our towns who are evidently going to ruin.

They should be permitted and encouraged to dispose of these poor waifs through emigration agencies of a trustworthy kind. A certain amount of aid could be given by Government to supplement private efforts, but the main stress must continue to be laid upon private unselfish philanthropy. I should advise that, as the work expands, a wise, but not meddlesome, system of State supervision be exercised, for, no doubt, abuses would creep in if not carefully watched.

But the field for benevolent action is almost boundless, and no needless or vexatious interference of the red-tape description should be permitted to hamper individual effort.

I have devoted this article to one particular branch of social reform, but there are other departments scarcely less clamant. The Legislature is far behind public opinion in dealing with the temperance question. Had the aim of Government been to make us a nation of drunkards, it could hardly have devised a better system than we possess. We waste about 130,000,000*l.* annually on intoxicating drink, probably one-third of which might be saved in a few years, if the Legislature would give the same amount of attention to this subject which it does to the affairs of Egypt, the Transvaal, or Afghanistan. But Parliament is too much taken up with 'la haute politique' to find time for more than an afternoon in the session to discuss such trivial matters. It is true that they lie at the foundation of the national well-being, but they do not supply material for party warfare. The time may come when the neglect of these social questions will exact a terrible vengeance on the wealthier classes. Ancient Rome fell from her total neglect of social reforms; the first French revolution was the penalty of neglecting the masses; the modern dynamite conspiracies are the consequence of past ages of misgovernment and neglect of the poor. If we do not drain away the foul sewage that stagnates at the base of our social fabric, we inevitably prepare terrible disasters for our descendants. In these days of popular rights and unlimited licence of speech and pen, it is never safe to count upon immunity because the 'dumb, driven cattle' have

not made a mighty noise. It is far better to anticipate the thunder-bolt by drawing off the electric fluid. It is foolish to wait until the volcano is in motion before we legislate. We have acted on this principle in Ireland, and we see the results. Good legislation, when it comes too late, loses all its grace. It is accepted without gratitude as an extorted right. Let us be wise in time, and not allow the slumbering democracy under our feet to extort boons without gratitude, which far-seeing statesmanship should offer freely before they are demanded.

SAMUEL SMITH.

THE
NINETEENTH
CENTURY.

No. LXXVI.—JUNE 1883.

WHY SEND MORE IRISH TO AMERICA?

‘IRISH’ and ‘IRELAND’ we always say; but let it never be forgotten that those names cover a fallacy. The Irish trouble has its seat in the Celtic provinces alone. Ulster—Teutonic, Protestant, and thriving—is contented with the Union, though certain English politicians who hope to prosper by the revolution would fain persuade her that she is not. Mr. Godkin, in a paper which appeared in this Review some months ago, took English writers to task for their want of feeling in criticising the Irishman’s version of Irish history as it might have been if English tyranny had not interfered. That the version is imaginative Mr. Godkin seems to admit; and it appears somewhat hard that England should be called upon, for the sake of flattering Irish fancy with pensive dreams of Tara’s Halls, to take upon herself the guilt of destroying a civilisation which never existed and never was likely to exist. Speculation about unfulfilled contingencies is seldom safe or fruitful; yet it is not very difficult to say what, if English tyranny had not interfered, the course of Irish history would have been. The stronger race, the race which conquered against enormous odds at Londonderry and Newtown Butler, recruited by immigration from Scotland, and pressing onwards from the North, would gradually have enslaved the weaker race or driven it into the sea. That the political tendency of the Irish is to despotism, disregard of life, and sympathy with slavery, is Mr. Godkin’s own observation. England, therefore,

is responsible for the introduction of Parliamentary government into Celtic Ireland. But she is also responsible for the preservation of the Celtic race.

The British Government is now on the right track. Over-population is the root of the evil, and emigration is the true remedy. In districts over which cereals will not ripen and which nature has destined for grazing lands, misery and barbarism have multiplied on the brutish, precarious, and philoprogenitive potato. In its essential character the question of Celtic Ireland is the Isle of Skye question on a large scale. But Celtic Ireland is Roman Catholic, it is full of bitter memories, and its seventy seats in Parliament make it the prey of politicians who subsist upon the wretchedness of the people, and, so far from promoting, do their best to obstruct, measures of material relief and improvement, the success of which would be fatal to their trade.

Emigration is the true remedy. Agrarian legislation, which roots the people to the soil, can only aggravate the evil; and such, too probably, will be the effect of the Land Act and all the measures of that kind. The object and the chief test of all legislation respecting land must be the increase of production, which alone can improve the lot of the whole people. It is yet to be seen whether the Irish farmer under the new system will produce more. It is doubtful even whether he will be more independent. The first bad harvest will probably throw him into the hands of the money-lender, who is sometimes the real landlord of countries supposed to be free from landlordism, and who never reduces interest, while the ordinary landlord sometimes reduces rents. Peasant proprietorship is attractive, and has great political advantages, especially when Agrarian Socialism is abroad. But the peasant proprietor is apt to be a troglodyte. Even on this continent, the classic land of territorial democracy, the set of population, as the people grow quicker-witted and fonder of society, is to the cities. The cultivator of one of the great farms in the West produces with a hundred men as much wheat* as a thousand French peasants; and it seems far from certain that the American a century hence will not be a dweller in cities fed by scientific agriculture on a large scale.

In the way of political change, apart from the repeal of the Union, there is apparently not much to be done. Ascendancy, so far as laws are concerned, is a thing of the past. The Pope himself bears witness that in no other country the government of which is not Roman Catholic is Roman Catholicism so well treated as in Ireland. It is not very likely that a policy so liberal in that respect is very illiberal in others. What, then, is there left to be reformed? My friend Mr. Morley puts the case, we may be sure, as ably and strongly as it can possibly be put in favour of what he styles the Irish Revolution. Yet he has nothing to bring forward except

defects in local institutions, which are not much worse than those which exist in England, and which, together with those in England, everybody is willing to remedy when a little breathing time from disturbance is allowed. Mr. Morley would hardly propose, in the present state of the country, at once to hand over the police to local and elective boards. He and the other advocates of self-government for Ireland cannot seriously believe that the people of England and Scotland would quietly look on while all the men in Ireland of their race and religion were butchered or driven from their homes by the Celts. Absenteeism has been a crying evil; that it has such stones as this and Tory aristocracy tied round its neck, is the great weakness of the cause of national civilisation in its struggle with the Irishry. To prevent the aggregation of estates and sever Irish from English heritages, primogeniture and entail ought long ago to have been abolished. Other prospect of materially mending matters by legislation, apart from the repeal of the Union, it is not easy to see.

Mr. Morley seems to think that the Irish, if left to themselves, would adopt Protection. A precious remedy for suffering caused by poverty and over-population! Suppose England were to retaliate and shut out Irish cattle and butter. Boycotting is a game at which more than one can play. It is idle to think of forcing manufactures into existence in a country where there is hardly any coal. Something like two millions, I suppose, of Irish have found subsistence in the manufacturing and commercial cities of Great Britain, where their constant inflow has miserably depressed and degraded the British artisan. If these people, with their proportion of the coal, were to be ferried over to Ireland, what would Ireland gain by that proceeding?

Emigration, once more, is the remedy; but it must be emigration of that sort which, instead of merely affording a measure of immediate relief, will put an end to the evil. There is little use in merely taking here and there emigrants enough just to bring the subsistence of the population for the time above the famine line. This process is designated as depletion, and, as in the case of blood-letting, fresh repletion will ensue. The people having for the moment a little more food will multiply all the faster; soon the famine line will again be reached, and the cycle of wretchedness will revolve once more. What is wanted is the clearance of districts, and the restoration of them when cleared to the purpose of grazing, to which alone they are adapted, and for which alone they can be profitably employed, especially in face of the vast and increasing importation of foreign wheat. It would be better surely to clear a limited district, transferring its inhabitants to happier homes, than to deplete one of much larger extent.

Then comes the question, Whither are the emigrants to go? It

has hitherto been taken almost as a matter of course that they should go to the United States or Canada. But it is time that the point should be considered. These people have been the dupes and victims of political incendiarism in their own country. Is it wise to send them where they will be the dupes and victims of political incendiarism again, as assuredly they will be if they come here? Is it wise to send them where they will swell the ranks of the enemies of England, already numerous enough on this Continent? The vote of sympathy with Home Rule passed almost unanimously at the very time of the Phoenix Park murders by the ardently 'loyal' Parliament of Canada shows you what the Irish Vote can do even in a British dependency. Of American Fenianism one would not have you form any exaggerated idea. Though new life has been put into it, as well as into Agrarian Socialism, by your concessions and falterings, it is not believed by any one here to be nearly so strong as Mr. Morley fancies. The sum of money which it has extracted from Irish labourers, Irish servant girls, and Tammany demagogues, is large, but nothing like large enough for an invasion of Ireland. The native Americans are against it, and will lend it no sort of aid. Still it wields a large vote; it is compact, which is always an immense advantage where rival factions are bidding against each other for support, and the party to which it belongs is just coming into power. Its last chance is to embroil England with the United States, and in this it may possibly succeed, either by a raid on Canada or by forcing American politicians to take a hostile line on some diplomatic question. There is a naturalisation law which, if carried into effect, would exclude immigrants from the immediate exercise of political power, but upon its administration entire reliance cannot be placed. Are there no Crown colonies, is there no foreign country, to which the surplus population of Ireland might be sent, and where the Celt might, by the improvement of his condition, material and moral, be gradually made fit for the exercise of political power? Coming out here in the state in which he is, he uses his vote as a shillelah; he blindly follows priests or the vilest demagogues he can find; while as a labourer he is very valuable, he is politically the bane of the community whose franchise he receives; his fatal influence threatens with ruin every Anglo-Saxon polity and Anglo-Saxon civilisation throughout the world. We as well as you have a terribly deep interest in this question of emigration. Canada shudders at the thought of receiving a wholesale consignment of Agrarian Terrorists, with faces such as we see depicted in the photographs of the Irish Trials, though her politicians and her party journalists, restrained by fear of the Irish vote, dare not proclaim on the housetop that which is everywhere whispered in the ear.

If the emigrants could be shipped straight through to the North-

west, like goods in bond, without leaving stragglers, and there permanently settled, it is very likely that in that vast and remote expanse their political venom might be dissipated and lost. But would they stay where they were set down? That is what many besides myself doubt. The Irish Celt is not really a farmer; he has none of the qualities of the pioneer; he is not accustomed to a very severe climate; he is excessively clannish and cannot bear to live apart. Dotted down on farms at a distance from each other, it seems too probable that the emigrants would soon despond, use their shanties for fuel, and decamp to join their kinsmen in the United States. As navvies, working in gangs on the Pacific Railway, they might do well.

I have often urged those who had the conduct of Irish emigration, if this continent was to be the receptacle, to turn their attention to the Southern States. In the South there is no Fenianism: the political questions are all of a totally different kind, and the Irishman will not find a fellow-conspirator in the Negro, whose cruel and insolent oppressor he has always been; a fact which somewhat mars our appreciation of the patriot eloquence of Erin.

You are too much possessed with the idea that to these countries, because they are new, every addition of population, no matter of what kind or quality, must be welcome. New the countries are in age, but they are old in progress; in one country they have run through a cycle of Europe. Pauperism is already upon us. The market for all the lighter callings is overstocked, and I doubt whether in Old Canada there is much demand even for mechanics, though there is still a demand for farm labourers and domestic servants.

I do not want to go into the general Irish question. Mr. Morley seems to believe it possible that you may out of mere weariness consent to the dismemberment of the kingdom. Shameful as the thought is, there seems to be in England such a relaxation of political fibre, that one cannot but tremble. If no sense of honour, no memory of past greatness, no feeling of responsibility towards these unhappy people themselves, whose independence would be a barbarous and murderous anarchy, will suffice to brace you for another effort, think what a hostile Ireland at your side, with two millions of allies in your own island and American Fenianism to boot, would be. Armed with the political power which has been indiscriminately bestowed on him, and which in your cities he owes to the profligate legislation of 1867, the Celt has risen to destroy your Commonwealth. So deal with his attempt that he shall not feel encouraged to repeat it, but become henceforth a law-abiding citizen, content to share instead of ruining the superior civilisation. There is no other road to peace or rest. The Crimes Act has shown you what firmness will do; every one who knew the Irish character confidently predicted this

result. Delay has cost first a train of hideous murders and afterwards a train of hangings, scarcely less hideous, misguided wretches being sent to the gallows while the real culprits go free. This scene of mutual treachery and betrayal dispels the halo which a sinister sympathy had cast round the cause of Terrorism and Assassination. The rebellion of the knife has been beaten; you have still to deal with the rebellion of the vote. Mr. Morley threatens you at the next general election with the Irish constituencies and with thirty English constituencies, in which the scale is turned by the Irish voters. Those thirty English constituencies are in your national councils secret but ever-flowing fountains of poltroonery and treason. But why should there be any scale to turn? Why cannot all loyal citizens for one hour lay faction aside and save the country? Faction is the only real peril of England; one hour of a united Parliament would long ago have quelled such enemies. I call it a rebellion of the vote, and a vote used avowedly for the purpose of wrecking Parliament and the Commonwealth is just like any other weapon, which must be wrested out of the rebel's hand. Mr. Morley can hardly help seeing by this time that Conciliation fails to conciliate; the abuse poured by the Irish on the philo-Celtic Liberals is only one degree less foul than that poured on the most avowed enemies of disunion. Where is the use of cajoling men who subsist by disunionist passion, who will be your mortal enemies till you have granted dismemberment, and your mortal enemies when you have granted it? The future of Anglo-Saxon civilisation throughout the world, let me say once more, may depend on your constancy in dealing with this rebellion.

I have said that the native Americans do not sympathise with Fenianism. This I maintain, notwithstanding what has been written by Mr. Godkin, who is a very eminent journalist and a very excellent man, but an Irishman, and a strong Nationalist in sentiment, if not in name, as every reader of his journal must know. I have talked to scores of native Americans and watched their press. Some of the democratic papers are Fenian, and Mr. Godkin can tell why. Assassination, dynamite, bloodthirsty bluster, and delirious lying make the same impression on all moral and civilised men. The aptitude for municipal self-government, with which Mr. Morley credits the Irish, has been displayed to the full satisfaction of the taxpayer and of all decent citizens in the Irish-ridden cities of the Union. Nor have the native Americans quite forgotten the war, and the rising of the Irish retainers of the slave power in New York. The British Government will be too wise to throw American opinion into an adverse attitude by sharp demands for extradition, or for an interference on which the Washington Government could not venture if the case were its own. But it may safely treat as a pirate any foreigner who enters the

British dominions and tries to stir up civil war. 'It is an established principle of the law of nations that any individual of a nation making war against the citizens of any other nation, they being at peace, forfeits his allegiance, and becomes an outlaw and a pirate.' So said Andrew Jackson, and the American Government maintained the principle in a case which was more than extreme. Native Americans will not wish to renounce it now.

Toronto: May 1883.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

A PROTEST AGAINST WHIGGERY.

THE 'Desultory Reflections of a Whig,' contributed by Lord Cowper to the May number of this Review, have suggested the present paper. On the nature and merits of Whiggery, Lord Cowper speaks with peculiar authority. His character and accomplishments, his social position, and the fact that he has filled a high and difficult office of State, combine to make him a singularly apt illustration of all that is best in Whiggery. The name 'Whig' has within the last fifty years lost a good deal of its old significance. The late Sir Robert Inglis used to describe himself as 'a Whig of 1688;' and even the associations of that sacred date, and the shade of Lord Somers, will not save us from ineptitude, for I find that Mr. Newdegate is 'attached to the principles of the Constitution as established in 1688.' But Lord Cowper is a Whig of a very different type, and anything which he has to say on this matter deserves our respectful attention. In his 'Desultory Reflections' he has described the principles of the political inquiry which he undertook before identifying himself with any party, and the results to which that inquiry led him. I am anxious, in the following pages, to describe the process which conducted a younger and a much more insignificant member of a Whig family to a very different conclusion.

* In relation to this subject, Lord Cowper and I start from the same point. Lord Cowper says, 'I was born of a family which has professed Whig principles for more than two hundred years: in fact, ever since the word Whig was first invented.' As regards the pure blood of Whiggery, I can claim as good a descent. A family which rose to greatness in the upheaval of the Reformation, which contributed a martyr to the popular cause under the Stuarts, which allied itself with Fox in the civil strife of the last century, and in this produced the chief author of the first Reform Bill, will be admitted to be more deeply steeped than most in the traditions of Whiggery. I accompany Lord Cowper a step further; for I am proud of this descent, and revere with all my heart the historic Whiggery of the past. When I was at Harrow, it fell to my lot to win the prize

for an essay on the history and influence of Parliamentary oratory ; and the *Daily Telegraph*, in reviewing the proceedings of the speech-day on which this essay was recited, said, 'The young author bore the historical name of Russell, and he was really reviewing the forerunners and the fellow-workers of his own ancestors in describing the rhetorical powers of the elder and the younger Pitt, Fox, Sheridan, Burke, Canning, and Grey. He was also faithful to the political creed of his house, for the whole essay was a denunciation of the Tories, a eulogy of the Whigs, and an insinuation that the highest of earthly strifes has been the Whig struggle for civil and religious liberty. The well-known constitutional note of Lord Russell was heard in every page.'

But in spite of this hereditary predisposition to Whiggery, I can say with Lord Cowper that 'I soon reflected that neither my father nor any other of my family for whom I felt any respect would have allowed a mere sentiment to influence them, or would have wished it to influence their descendant in so grave a matter. I very soon resolved that my deliberately formed opinions should determine what party I should belong to, and that I would not fall into the fatal error of twisting my opinions into accordance with a party adopted from other considerations.' So, like Lord Cowper, I betook myself to the study of history, in the hope that I might derive from the records of the past some light to guide the present and illuminate the future.

The first result of the inquiry was, that I was abundantly confirmed in my previous admiration of historic Whiggery. I know nothing finer than the courageous consistency with which the great Whig families led and fostered the cause of popular freedom at a time when, in curious opposition to what we now see, the profession of Whiggery meant royal disfavour, social ostracism, and perpetual exclusion from profit and power. But, unlike Lord Cowper, I seemed to see that the men who then led the popular party, and fought for those reforms which we have since attained, were regarded as the extreme, rather than the moderate, reformers of their time. The Whig of a hundred years ago seemed to stand, in relation to current politics, where the Radical stands to-day. The moderate reformers, whom Lord Cowper so much admires, did not so much advance as retard the triumph of their party. Up to 1832 the name of Whig seems synonymous with the most enterprising and aggressive politics of the hour. Since that date the spirit of modern Liberalism has entered on the scene, and political opinion has developed itself with unprecedented rapidity. Of the reforming party in politics, it may be as truly said as of the Baconian philosophy, that 'a point which yesterday was invisible is its goal to-day, and will be its starting-point to-morrow.' The currents of modern thought move so rapidly, that we sometimes forget that the commonplaces of political belief to-day

were fifty years ago the ridiculed doctrines of a limited and extreme section. So far, therefore, and so long, as Whiggery was the creed of our most vigorous reformers, it demands and receives the homage of modern Radicalism.

But during the last fifty years it has fallen out of its old place in the political system, it has dreaded and shrunk from the modern spirit, and, as a penalty, it has lost its hold on the minds of those who decline to live exclusively on the worship of the past. As long as Whiggery led the van of progress, it had a unique glory and a distinctive work. But from the moment that it abandoned its function of leadership to modern Liberalism, it ceased, in my judgment, to have any proper reason for existing. Let me make my meaning a little clearer. As far as Whiggery merely favours gentle and almost imperceptible changes, while endeavouring to check rapid and clearly marked reforms, it is practically tantamount to Conservatism. Old-fashioned Toryism, of the merely hopeless and obstructive sort, has of course a reason and an office of its own. Liberalism, by which I understand the desire for swift and serviceable change, claims the whole heart and energy of many of us.

Moderate Conservatism, which does not absolutely refuse to change, but likes to change as gently, as cautiously, and as seldom as possible, has an intermediate place between Toryism and Liberalism, and a defined and possibly useful function. But I submit that there is no fourth place left for Whiggery. As long as it chose to lead the van, it did the work and filled the place of Liberalism. Now, if its mission is merely to regulate and modify reform, it is substantially only another form of Conservatism. I am far from denying that there is fair scope and useful work in the State for this restraining and retarding influence. All I protest against is, that it has no proper place in any quarter of the Liberal party. The conservative elements of human nature and society will always be strong and large enough without being reinforced from that department of the political body which for so many generations gave its energies to progress and reformation. My first and widest charge, then, against Whiggery is that its heroic doings belong to the past; since those days it has changed its character, its aims, and its methods.

And when we come to compare the principles of Whiggery as it now exists with the principles of modern Liberalism, I must clear the way, not by attempting to define the word 'Whig,' but by marking off two sections of politicians whom I do not regard as Whigs for the purpose of the present inquiry. First, I do not so regard those members of Whig families who belong to, or have cordially supported, Mr. Gladstone's Government. They may or may not be

Whigs at heart, but by their public acts they have associated themselves with the general body of modern Liberalism, and their small differences of individual opinion have found no opportunity of making themselves felt. With the 'permeated' Whig, absorbed into the Liberal party, we have no quarrel: our business is with the Whigs as a separate section.

Again, I exclude from my purview all those who, from sheer vulgarity, have tried to identify themselves with Whiggery as the most gentlemanlike form of political opinion. To my notion, the Whig *nascitur non fit*. It is as impossible to become a Whig as to become a Jew.

What, then, are the particular points on which the Whig creed of to-day seems inadequate or mischievous?

As all through this paper I am following more or less closely the lines laid down by Lord Cowper, I will put first the subject which he also puts first—the Church. I am one of those who hold that religion is, after all, the greatest force in human life, and that 'of the unsolved problems of life and society, Christianity still holds the key.' To all who share this view the Church of England must be intensely interesting. She combines in a singular degree the authority which belongs to an historic position with an elasticity which can embrace and co-operate with the modern spirit. In this combination of gifts the Church of England seems to her admirers marvellously adapted to the high and difficult work of recommending Christianity to those increasing masses of the people who are 'seeking the Lord, if haply they might feel after Him and find Him,' and thinking for themselves in the most interesting yet most perilous fields of human speculation. But if she is to fulfil this mission adequately, the Church of England must be free. She must have self-governing power, freedom from the interference of outsiders, freedom to follow out her own impulses and to do her duty in new and untried ways.

Now against this claim for the Church of England the Whigs have waged relentless war. The whole conception of the Church as a spiritual society is odious to them. In their view she can have no life or work or reality apart from the State. She is a subdivision of the Home Department maintained for the promotion of morals, and Parliament is her absolute master. Any attempt to develop her independent life, to quicken her powers, to expand her influence, to elicit and carry out her living opinion, has been met during the last fifty years by the uncompromising hostility of Whig statesmen. They have been friendly enough to her palaces and peerages, to her purple coats and mitred coaches, but have ridiculed her spiritual pretensions, and dreaded and counterworked her influence. The Tory doctrine of Church and State, if unsound and untenable, had at

any rate a generous and a religious side. In the Tory view, establishment was to a church what a charter of incorporation is to a town. It gave a legal status, a methodical government, and self-controlling powers. But in the Whig view establishment was merely annexation. The State became absolute master, and the subject population lost all control over their own affairs. They might be justly and mildly ruled, but they had no power or right to rule themselves. Nor was the reason for this attitude of the Whigs towards the Church far to seek. Since Whiggery abandoned its function of popular leadership, it has been the creed of a privileged and exclusive class; and as such, it looked with misgiving on the growing vigour of a society which, more than any other institution, had exhibited before men's minds the full beauty and significance of the three sacred watchwords—Liberty, Fraternity, Equality. Whiggery dreads and opposes all movements which resemble or tend towards Disestablishment, not for the Church's sake, but for its own. An eminent Whig peer once said to the present writer: 'I am utterly opposed to Disestablishment; and I will tell you why. As long as the Church is established we can kick the parsons. But once *disestablish it, and, begad! they will kick us.*' The Whig doctrine of Church and State all over.

I proceed to another point of Lord Cowper's, the House of Lords. Here, as becomes his position, Lord Cowper is very positive, and says dogmatically: 'A second Chamber is absolutely necessary.' This proposition some of us would be prepared to dispute. In the present day the lively and widespread interest of the people in parliamentary proceedings, the intimate and constant intercourse between members and constituents on the principles and details of every bill, the immense increase in the number of debaters in the House of Commons, and the consequent deliberation and even tardiness of all legislation—these, and many other causes, combine to make the supposed danger of hasty and unconsidered change very remote. And when that danger disappears, the reason for a second Chamber disappears with it. But, granting for the sake of argument that something of this danger still survives, would it not be fully met by limiting the power of the Lords to a veto for a year on any bill passed by the Commons?

Again, granting that a second Chamber with the full powers of the present House of Lords is a necessity, does it follow that the House of Lords is not in need of sweeping reform? And yet any one who is hardy enough to suggest either the abolition of the House of Lords on the ground that a second Chamber is unnecessary, or the reform of the House of Lords on the ground that it is not ideally constituted, is branded by the Whigs as a frantic revolutionary, and, if he chance to be allied by birth to the peerage, is reproached as a traitor to his natural order.

Yet, assuredly, the action of the Lords has long been leading to some such conclusion. Motives of self-preservation have prevented them, in most cases, from throwing out important measures which the Commons have passed; but they have gratified their instincts by constant, mischievous, and permanent mutilation. And modern Liberalism dissents from Whiggery in its impatience of a system under which this mischief is possible.

With Lord Cowper, again, I take the question of the land. And here one sees at a glance that Whiggery has lost touch of the Liberal party. Lord Cowper expresses himself as favourable to the recent land legislation in Ireland, but there he is at issue with the bulk of the Whigs, as the division lists in both Houses of Parliament abundantly prove. Whiggery, as a whole, is identified with the most exaggerated claims of actual and expectant landlords. Modern Liberalism, on the other hand, aims at establishing the freedom and security of the tenant, at facilitating the transfer of land, and at increasing the number of landowners.

I pass to the question of peace and war. On this Lord Cowper says, rather strangely as it seems to me: 'It is sometimes thought that men of Whig opinions must necessarily under all circumstances incline to peace.' Now that this is true of the historic Whiggery which we revere I do not deny. But of the modern Whiggery which we repudiate it seems to me eminently untrue. Surely the Crimean War and Lord Beaconsfield's 'spirited policy' in the East had no warmer supporters than the Whigs; though, of course, in the latter case we must except, as I have already done, those official or 'permeated' Whigs who had thrown in their lot with the Liberal party. There is, in my opinion, no point on which Whiggery is less in sympathy with modern Liberalism than in its indifference to the principle of peace.

Another cardinal defect in Whiggery, as I understand it, is more of the nature of an intellectual defect. I mean the tendency to blindly worship an inexact and half-understood science like political economy, and to rely on some parrot-like phrase, such as 'freedom of contract,' as though it contained the clue to all social and political perplexities.

The high Whig doctrine would limit the functions of the State to the preservation of life and property, and the enforcement of contracts. Modern Liberalism, on the other hand, regarding the State, with Burke, as 'the nation in its collective and corporate character,' sees in it the one sovereign agent for all moral, material, and social reforms, and recognises a special duty to deal with questions affecting the food, health, housing, amusement, and culture of the working classes. In sanitary matters the motto of both the old political parties has always been Clough's paraphrase of the Sixth Commandment:—

Thou shalt not kill ; but needst not strive
 Officially to keep alive.

One of the most hopeful signs of the times is that modern Liberalism, as illustrated in Mr. Smith's candidature at Liverpool, no longer regards the possession of a vote as the be-all and end-all of civil life, but treats it only as a means to an end, and that end the creation of better moral and physical surroundings for the great mass of our fellow-citizens.

These are some of my reasons for dissent from Whiggery ; but there is another and a graver one, and perhaps it underlies all the others. Modern Whiggery distrusts the people. Here we see at a glance the world-wide difference between the Whiggery of to-day and the glorious Whiggery of the past. Our Whig forefathers were what they were because, like Burke, they had absolute faith in 'the ancient and inbred integrity, piety, good-nature, and good-humour of the English people.' Lord Beaconsfield once wrote : 'The leaders of the people are those whom the people trust.' It may be permitted to a member of a Whig family to say : 'The leaders of the people are those who trust the people.' For the party or the individual who has ceased to do that, there is no place in the Liberalism of the future.

But for those who still dare to hold that faith, the world is full of hope and promise, and the coming democracy has no terrors. Those terrors are for the timid and the privileged, and for all who distrust their fellow-citizens. Lord Cowper says, and all modern Whiggery speaks in his voice : 'I am not much in favour of democracy, and I particularly dislike the feeling that we are doing anything very rapidly.' Now by democracy I understand the self-government of the people ; and no amount of beneficent legislation by another class, no fatherly interest of the wealthy and the cultured in the poor and the hard-working, in a word, no attempt at government from above, will fill the place of that supreme ideal. As to the rapidity of our movement towards it, we may be quite sure that ignorance, prejudice, stupidity, selfish interests, class interests, cowardly distrust of popular movements, 'spiritual wickedness in high places,' will always be strong enough to prevent our progress from being dangerously swift. If we believe that the great human movement is on the whole towards good, and that the world is gradually becoming better, it is to me inconceivable that we should wish to delay its progress. After ages of expectation, I am thankful to feel that at last we are moving and moving fast. And as to democracy itself, divested of absurd and irrelevant associations, I make my confession of faith in the words of a remarkable novel which last year was in the hands of most of us :—

I believe in democracy. I accept it. I will faithfully serve and defend it. . . . I grant it is an experiment, but it is the only direction society can take that is worth

its taking; the only conception of its duty large enough to satisfy its instincts; the only result that is worth an effort or a risk. Every other possible step is backward, and I do not care to repeat the past. . . . I have faith, not perhaps in the old dogmas, but in the new ones; faith in human nature; faith in science; faith in the survival of the fittest. Let us be true to our time. If our age is to be beaten, let us die in the ranks. If it is to be victorious, let us be first to lead the column. •

GEORGE W. E. RUSSELL.

THE FORTRESS PRISON OF
ST. PETERSBURG.

I FIND, in the *Contemporary Review* for February last, a paper by Mr. Lansdell on 'A Russian Prison,' containing a description of the State prison at the St. Petersburg fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul. This description being, in my opinion, too incomplete to convey a correct idea about the real conditions of prison life in the Russian fortress, and being intended, moreover, to cast a doubt upon other trustworthy information about such parts of the fortress as were not visited by Mr. Lansdell, I desire to give some supplementary information about the fortress which I know from my own experience. At the same time I would avail myself of this opportunity for answering, documents in hand, several questions addressed to me by Mr. Lansdell in the same paper, in connection with Russian prisons generally, and with my opinion about his book, *Through Siberia*. By giving publicity to new facts and testimonies, let me thus complete the information I have given about our penal institutions, in a paper on Russian prisons published in this Review for January last.

Without entering in this last paper into useless polemics with Mr. Lansdell, and by merely bringing before my English readers a few authentic facts, I tried to give an idea about the real state of the case. These statements of mine Mr. Lansdell does not contradict. He even seems not to take notice of the horrible facts which I have divulged, and which represent the Russian prisons in quite another light than his own account of them. When I say, for instance, that the St. Petersburg House of Detention—which is quoted by Mr. Lansdell as a sample of 'what Russia *can* do'—was recognised by the Commission under State-Secretary Groth as a building that must be rebuilt anew to be rendered inhabitable, notwithstanding the fabulous sums of money it has cost (see the summary of the official report given in the *Golos* for the 24th of January, 1881); when I mention the wholesale stealing which was discovered in the same prison in 1881; when I recall the disgraceful treatment of political prisoners in this 'model prison' by General Trepoff—treatment which was condemned, so to say, even by a Russian Court,

during the trial of Vera Zassoulitch—Mr. Lansdell turns a deaf ear to all this, and does not say if the St. Petersburg House of Detention still 'may be supposed to represent the very beau-ideal of what a House of Detention ought to be.' When I give, further, the narrative of an inmate of a central prison, published in Russia (under the responsibility of the Conservative editor, M. Eug. Markoff) and the reliability of which was recognised at once by all St. Petersburg newspapers; when I describe how the jailor of this central prison flogs his inmates, and how his successor gives free play to his own fists, Mr. Lansdell does not say if he still believes that in Russian prisons 'justice and mercy go hand in hand'—he likes better not to touch these subjects—but he asks me several questions about other things. Well, I am ready to answer his questions, but my reply will only confirm what I have said before.

Mr. Lansdell asks me, first, what I meant when I wrote: 'In the space of fourteen hours, indeed, he breakfasted, he dined, he travelled over forty miles, and he visited the three chief jails of Siberia: at Tobolsk, at Alexandrovsky Zavod, and at Kara.' I simply meant to say that, whilst crossing the continent at the speed of a Siberian courier who outstrips the post, Mr. Lansdell devoted less than fourteen hours to the study of the three chief penal establishments of Siberia. In fact, it appears from his own book (chapters v. ix. xxi. xxxvi. and xxxvii.), that he spent a couple of hours in visiting the Tobolsk prison, two hours at Alexandrovsky Zavod, and less than ten hours in visiting the prisons of Kara, as in the space of one day he had not only to visit the jails, but also to travel between the different prisons scattered over a space of nearly twenty miles, and to experience the well-known Siberian hospitality in the shape of breakfasts and dinners (fully described in his book). As to the second day of his stay at Kara, during which day he had to visit the prisons of Lower Kara, it proved to be the name-day of the Superintendent of the works, Colonel Kononovitch, and in the evening Mr. Lansdell was bound to take the steamer at Ust-Kara, so that 'when we came to the first prison,' he writes, 'where the officer was standing ready to receive us, I was afraid we should not have time, and that our staying might involve the missing of our steamer. I therefore begged that we might push on, which we did, to Ust-Kara.' In fact, I would not have mentioned this 'less than fourteen hours' knowledge of the chief centres of penal servitude in Siberia, if it were not necessary to reduce to its true value the following affirmation of Mr. Lansdell (vol. ii. page 5): 'I think it only right to say that I have visited Russian Houses of Detention from the White Sea in the north to the Black Sea and Persian frontier in the south, and from Warsaw in the west to the Pacific in the east.' The truth is that Mr. Lansdell has cast a hasty glance on what the authorities were willing to show him; that he has not seen a single central prison; and that had he

visited every prison in Russia in the way he visited these, he would remain as ignorant as he is now about the real conditions of prison-life in Russia.

Still, I said, if Mr. Lansdell were able 'to appreciate the relative value of the information he obtained in the course of his official scamper through the Siberian prisons,' and 'especially if he had taken notice of existing Russian literature on the subject,' his book might have been a valuable one. To this Mr. Lansdell answers:—

Yet there is a fair sprinkling on my list of 120 works 'consulted or referred to,' of Russian authors, and of those whom I have called the 'vindictive class of writers' (some of them escaped or released convicts), who, trading upon the credulity and ignorance of the public, have retailed and garnished accounts of horrible severities, which they never profess to have witnessed, nor attempt to support by adequate testimony. One of these was Alexander Herzen, who wrote *My Exile to Siberia*, though he never went there, but only as far as Perm, where one of the prisons is situated of which Prince Krapotkin complains so bitterly.

It is true that at the end of Mr. Lansdell's book there is a list of 120 works 'consulted or referred to' (that is, quoted by the authors whose works he has consulted). I find even in this list Daniel Defoe's *Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*. But the 'fair sprinkling of Russian names' (if we exclude the authors who deal with Church matters, or merely with geography, as MM. Venukoff and Prjevalsky) must be reduced to the following:—(1) M. Andreoli's paper on Polish Exiles in 1863–1867, which appeared in the *Revue Moderne*, and Mr. Lansdell contradicts it without knowing anything about the sad story of Polish exile but what he has learned from occasional conversations during his hasty travel (I hope to publish soon an episode of Polish exile of which I was an eye-witness, and which, I am afraid, will rather confirm M. Andreoli's revelations); (2) Dostoevsky's *Buried Alive*, dealing with seclusion in the Omsk fortress, *thirty-five years ago*; (3) Piotrovsky's romantic *Escape from Siberia*, *thirty-eight years ago*; (4) Baron Rozen's *Memoirs*, dealing with the Decembrists, *fifty-five years ago*; and (5) Herzen's *My Exile to Siberia*, telling his sojourn in exile at Perm, nearly *forty years ago*. But, of course, I do not find in this list either M. Maximoff's *Siberia and Hard Labour*, which is the result of serious studies made in Siberia, with the authorisation of Government; nor the results of M. Nikitin's many years' official inquiry into the 'state of our prisons; nor the Siberian *stryapchik* (or Procureur) M. Mishlo's papers on the Prisons submitted to his own control in Siberia; nor M. Yadrintseff's *Prison and Exile*; nor any of the official reports I have mentioned in my paper on our prisons; not even M. Mouravioff's papers on prisons, published by M. Katkoff in his arch-conservative review. In short, none of the works which contain any information about the present state of Russian prisons. This ignorance of books which contain reliable information about our prisons is the more remarkable, as none

of the just-mentioned authors belong to the 'vindictive class of writers who vilify the land of their punishment,' but they all were, and several are, officials in the service of the Government.

Let us see now if these authors are not more in accordance with the 'vindictive writers' than with Mr. Lanesdell's testimony. The chief dock-up for prisoners waiting for trial at St. Petersburg, the so-called Litovskiy Zamok, appears as follows under the pen of M. Nikitin:—

It contains 103 rooms for 801 inmates. . . . The rooms are dreadfully dirty; even on the staircase you feel the smell which suffocates you. 'The black holes produce a dreadful impression (*potryasayushchee vpechatleniye*); they are almost absolutely deprived of light; the way to them leads through dark labyrinths, and in the holes themselves all is wet: there is nothing but the rotten floor and the wet walls. A man coming from the free air runs away asphyxiated. . . . Specialists say that the most healthy man surely will die, if he be kept there for three or four weeks. The prisoners who were kept there for some time went out quite attenuated; several could hardly stay on their feet. Only a few prisoners of the less important categories are allowed to work. The others remain with crossed hands for months and years.' When M. Nikitin asked for accounts about the money brought to prisoners by their kinsfolk, or earned by themselves, he met with an absolute refusal from the highest and lowest authorities.—*Nikitin, on the St. Petersburg Prisons.*

The same author writes about the prisons at the police-stations of the capital:—

In the rooms of common people the dirt is dreadful; they sleep on naked wooden platforms, and half of them sleep *beneath the platforms on the floor*. Each prison has its black holes; they are very small holes, where rain and snow enter freely. There is nothing but the floor to sleep upon; the walls and the floor are quite wet. The privileged prisoners who are kept in cells fall soon into melancholy; several are very near to insanity. . . . No books are given in the common rooms, excepting religious ones, which are taken for making cigarettes out of them.—*Police Prisons at St. Petersburg.*

M. Katkoff's review, the *Russkiy Vyestnik*, does not give a better idea of Russian prisons. After having given a description of the police-stations, the author, M. Mouravioff, says that the *ostrog* is not better; it is usually an old, dirty building, or a collection of such buildings enclosed by a wall. It is not better inside: moisture, dirt, overcrowding, and intolerable smell, such is the type of all *ostrogs* in the capitals and in provincial towns.

The dress is of two different kinds; the old and insufficient dress which is usually worn by the prisoners, and another which is distributed when the prison is to be shown to some visitor; but usually it is kept in the store-house. . . . No schools, no libraries. . . . The depôts for convicts are still worse. . . . Let us stop before one of the rooms. It is a spacious room with platforms along the walls and narrow passages between. Hundreds of women and children are collected here. It is the so-called family-room, for the families of the convicts. In this dreadful atmosphere you see children of all ages in the greatest misery. No dress of the Crown is allowed to them, and therefore their bodies are covered with rugs—with dirty *krapes* of rugs torn to

pieces, which can shelter neither from cold nor from wet; and with these rugs they will be sent for their journey to Siberia.—*Russkoy Vyzetnik*, 1878.

M. Yadrintseff—the same whom Mr. Lansdell quotes in the *Contemporary Review*—writes as follows about the Siberian prisons which Mr. Lansdell imagines himself to know after the hasty visits he has paid to them. I condense the description:—

Almost in every ostrog there is a nearly underground corridor, which has the moisture and smell of a grave; in this corridor are the cells for the more important prisoners waiting for their trial. These cells are half underground. The floor is always wet and rotten. Mould and fungi cover the walls. Water is continually oozing from beneath the floor. A small painted window makes the cell always completely dark. The men are kept there in irons. There is no bedstead, no bed; the prisoners are lying on the floor, which is covered with worms and myriads of fleas; and for bed they have rotten straw, for covering their poor overcloth, torn to pieces. The moist and cold air makes you shiver even amidst the summer. The sentry runs away to breathe fresh air.

And in such cells the prisoners spent several years, waiting for their trial! These prisoners, even the most healthy of them, easily become insane. 'I remember hearing once in the night horrible cries,' says one of the prisoners in his memoirs; 'it was a *coless* who was becoming insane.'

And so on, and so on. I could fill pages with like descriptions. Was Mr. Lansdell shown all this? If not, was I not right in saying that he ought to take notice of the existing Russian literature on the subject? And will Mr. Lansdell still maintain that he has taken notice of it?

As to Herzen's work, Mr. Lansdell's reply deserves a few words more. I have quoted, in my paper on Russian Prisons, a description of the Perm prison, which was written two years ago, that is, in 1881, by an inmate of the prison. It was published by Professor Stasulevitch in so scrupulously managed a paper as the *Poryadok* was; it was reproduced by all newspapers, and was contradicted by nobody; even the usual official denial did not appear. What does Mr. Lansdell oppose to this recent testimony? He writes that he has consulted the memoirs of Alexander Herzen, who was at Perm, 'where one of the prisons is situated of which Prince Krapotkin complains so bitterly.' But Herzen was settled at Perm *forty years ago*; he never was there in a prison, and, as far as I remember, he does not even speak at all about the prisons at Perm. Shall I suppose that Mr. Lansdell knows nothing of Herzen's work but its title?

As to the title, Mr. Lansdell accuses Herzen again and again of having published a book on his exile to Siberia without having been there. In the preface to his book, *Through Siberia*, he writes:—

My speciality in Siberia was the visitation of its prisons and penal institutions, considered, however, not so much from an economic or administrative, as from a philanthropic and religious point of view. *Much has been written about them that*

is unsatisfactory, and some things that are absolutely false. One author has published 'My Exile to Siberia' who never went there.

The truth is that Herzen never wrote about the prisons and penal institutions of Siberia, and no work upon Siberia. He wrote his memoirs under the title *Past and Reflections* (Byloye i Dny), one chapter of which, dealing with his incarceration at St. Petersburg and exile to Perm, was entitled 'Prison and Exile' ('Tyurma i Ssylka.') It is probably this chapter which was translated into English, and if the English publisher thought proper to give it the title of *My Exile to Siberia*, I suppose that Herzen had nothing to do with that. The French, German, and Italian translations of the same work are simply entitled *Prison and Exile*. In any case, Herzen's Memoirs, forty years old, have nothing to do with Siberia, and still less with the Perm prisons of our time; and that is precisely the subject which interests us.¹

I flatter myself with the hope that Mr. Lansdell, who has done so much to spread this injurious accusation, will do at least as much to give publicity to the refutation.

I must frankly say that it is with a great feeling of regret that I follow him over such ground. But, as I still cherish the hope that this kind of polemics is rather due to the malice of his official informants than to his own taste for it, I shall continue to discharge myself of this unpleasant business.

I wrote that the chief of the Kara penal colony, Colonel Kononovitch, who managed it so honestly, was dismissed from his duties as soon as the St. Petersburg authorities discovered (in the way I mentioned) that he was 'too mild.' Mr. Lansdell recognises also that Colonel Kononovitch was recalled from Kara; but his dismissal, he says, was not a dismissal but a promotion. Truly, I do not see that. He belonged to the staff of the Governor-General; he was sent to Kara to take the important place of commandant of the penal colony, and, when it was discovered that he was 'too mild,' the order came from St. Petersburg to recall him to the Staff. I do not see the promotion. As to General Pedashenko, who was President of the Council of the Chief Government of Eastern

¹ Mr. Lansdell repeats this accusation against Herzen with such a persistence, at different places of his book, and in the *Contemporary Review*, that, in order to be absolutely certain about this subject, I wrote to the son of Herzen, the distinguished Professor of Physiology, A. A. Herzen. Here is a translation of his reply, dated Lausanne, February 26, 1883:—

'Sir,—You are quite right; it is merely the part of the memoirs of my father which deals with his arrest and exile; there is not a word about Siberia. It was the English publisher who added to the title the words 'to Siberia,' without the knowledge of my father, and my father publicly protested at once against this 'humbug' ('à l'insu de mon père, et mon père a dès alors protesté publiquement contre ce "humbug.") . . .

Believe me, etc.,

(Signed)

A. Herzen.'

Siberia, when he refused to confirm a shameful sentence of death pronounced upon the political prisoner Schedrin, he was nominated (Mr. Lansdell says) Governor of the province of Yeniseisk, which is part of the Governor-Generalship of Eastern Siberia; and without doubt he never will receive again the place of General Governor of Eastern Siberia which he occupied provisionally. Surely that is not a promotion. But even if Kononovitch were promoted to a higher charge in Siberia, it would prove nothing. It is well known that the number of trustworthy men in the Siberian administration is limited, and not in proportion to the number of places where trustworthy men are wanted. It may therefore be that the Governor-General of Eastern Siberia has already found for M. Kononovitch some place where he could be useful without coming into contact with political prisoners. This new post may even be a promotion. General Kukel, for instance, was recalled in 1863 from his post of Governor of Transbaikalia for having allowed our dying poet Mikhailoff to spend his last few months of life under some better conditions than convicted murderers (I know this intimately, as I was his aide-de-camp at that time). But after some months of disgrace and *mise en disponibilité*, he became again chief of the staff of the Governor-General, as there was nobody to occupy this office so well as he could. This change might be considered a promotion. But, promotion or dismissal, the fact is that, as soon as an honest man is at the head of a penal institution, and as soon as it is learned at St. Petersburg that some Siberian officer is merely humane in his relations with political prisoners (even in the way Colonel Kononovitch was—that is, keeping strictly and severely to the law), 'he is immediately dismissed from his post, and another is put in his place who receives the order to keep the prisoners 'in urchin-gloves' (*v yéjovylkh rukavitsakh*). Such was the case with Colonel Kononovitch, with General Pedashenko, with the late General Kukel, in Siberia, with Mr. Heard in Russia, and with so many others. As to the consequences of such 'promotions,' I have told them. The political prisoners at Kara were submitted to such a treatment (contrary to the law), that two preferred to commit suicide rather than suffer more from the arbitrariness of M. Kononovitch's successor. Semenovskiy shot himself on the 1st of January, 1881, and Rodin poisoned himself with matches on the 17th of January.

I wrote further that the chief prison of St. Petersburg, the Litovskiy Zamok (of which I have just given an idea by quoting a few lines from M. Nikitin's description), is an 'old-fashioned, damp, and dark building, which should be simply levelled to the ground.' 'To this proceeding,' Mr. Lansdell says, 'I would not utter a word of protest.' He admits, too, that I 'perhaps justly' 'find a good deal of fault with this prison.' Well, I am glad to hear that Mr. Lansdell finds a good deal of fault with one Russian prison; but I regret that,

though he visited the Litovskiy Zamok, he did not describe in his book the *chief prison of the Russian capital*; his readers would then know what to expect from provincial prisons.

Still, by way of saying a good word even of the Litovskiy Zamok, Mr. Lansdell (referring to another part of my paper, where I mentioned MM. Kononovitch, Pedashenko, and Heard's dismissal, and concluded that in Russia 'to devote oneself to any educational work, or to convict population, is inevitably to incur dismissal or disgrace') remarks that 'it was in this very Litovskiy Zamok' that he met with 'a lady interesting herself in the education and temporal welfare of prisoners' who gladly accepted books for them. I hardly need observe that a lady's being allowed to distribute books, clothes, and food to destitute prisoners has nothing to do with the systematic removal by our Government of men like MM. Heard or Kononovitch, and with the filling of our prison administration with rascals like those I have described. But even this example could not be worse chosen. There were two ladies at St. Petersburg, both engaged in this charitable work: an elder lady, and a younger one, the wife of a general occupying a high position at St. Petersburg. The high position of both had opened to them the doors of prisons. Neither interfered with political matters; both are perfectly known as mere philanthropists; neither transgressed the right they had obtained of visiting prisoners, common and political, for charitable purposes. But in 1877 the younger lady was requested by the Government to leave St. Petersburg and to refresh herself, far from her family, at some watering-place in Germany. I hope this 'disgrace' is removed now; but still it is characteristic that the only example quoted by Mr. Lansdell had such an end. I hope he will understand the feeling of delicacy which prevents one from entering on more details about the lady in question; and I merely remark, therefore, that, if the Russian Government really patronised those who are interested in the educational and temporal welfare of prisoners, the discussion would not have taken the narrow limits it has now taken. We should see hundreds of ladies carrying on the same philanthropic business; we should see M. Heard at the head of a series of colonies for young prisoners; the scarcity of books would not have been such as it is described by Mr. Lansdell, and—I should not have written what I wrote.

As to the overcrowding of Russian prisons, Mr. Lansdell doubts whether they were so overcrowded as I said in my paper. I cannot better answer than by producing a few quotations from the materials I have at hand before me in my cell:—

The Tomak depôt (writes the correspondent of the *Siberian Gazette*) is overcrowded. To the 1,520 people we had, 700 new ones are arrived, and so the prison which was built for 900 people contains 2,220. . . . There are 207 on the sick-list. (*Siberian Gazette and Moscow Telegraph*, August 28, 1881.)

At Samara:—‘The average number of inmates in our prisons, on the first of each month for this year, was 1,147; the aggregate cubical capacity of all our prisons being for 559 inmates.’ (*Golos*, May 13, 1882.)

At Nijniy-Novgorod:—‘The prison, built for 300 men, contained during the navigation as much as 700, sometimes 800 prisoners.’ (Official report mentioned by the *Golos*, March 1882.)

In Poland:—‘Each place in the prisons of Poland is occupied by four prisoners instead of one. It is proposed to build a number of new prisons;’ they are not built up to this time. (*Moscow Telegraph*, November 1881.)

Shall I fill one page or more with like quotations, or, better, see what is said by official persons entrusted with the supervision of prisons?—

M. Mouravioff, a collaborator of M. Katkoff’s review, in an elaborate paper on Russian prisons (written precisely in the spirit that the admirers of the Russian Government like), says:—‘Almost all our prisons contain one-and-a-half to twice the number of prisoners for which they were built.’ (Prisons and the Prison Question; *Russkiy Vyesnik*, 1878.)

The Siberian *stryapchiy*, M. Mishlo, writes about the Siberian prisons which were under his own control:—‘The jailor brought me to the rooms. Everywhere dirtiness, overcrowding, wetness, want of air and light. After having visited the rooms, I entered into the hospital. As soon as I entered the first room, I was involuntarily thrown back by the inconceivable smell. . . . The cabinets were luxurious apartments in comparison with the hospital. . . . Everywhere the number of prisoners is thrice the number permitted by the law. At V. (Verkhneudinsk), for instance, the *ostrog* is built for 240 inmates, and usually contains 800.’ (*Otechestvennaya Zapiski*, 1881.) With regard to Verkhneudinsk the proportion was the same when I made the inquiry as to the prisons of Transbaikalia in 1862.

Finally, we know from official figures that the aggregate number of prisoners throughout Russia in Europe exceeds the capacity of the lock-ups in the proportion of nearly three to two (70,488, instead of 54,253); and it is a secret to nobody that in many prisons, especially in the East, the number of prisoners is very often twice the number allowed by the law. If such is the overcrowding now, everybody will easily conceive what it was in 1861, when the inquiry mentioned in my previous paper (page 31) was made. At that time the prisoners were not transported, either by rail or in barges; they made the whole journey from Astrakhan and Odessa to Nerchinsk on foot; and the overcrowding along the whole ‘Vladinirska’ (route to Siberia), during the breaking up of ice and the freezing of rivers, was really dreadful, as also the mortality. We see, however, that, as the number of prisoners increases with the increase of population, things are not much better now.

It was precisely to such an overcrowding, together with a phenomenal dirtiness, that the famous typhus-epidemic at the Kieff prison was due. It may have been imported by Turkish prisoners, as the authorities said, but it took its dreadful proportions from the overcrowding and dirt. ‘Buildings erected for 550 inmates contained twice this number,’ says the *Golos* correspondent in a letter

dated the 30th of October, 1880; and he adds, 'the professors of the University who visited the prison, arrived, as is known, at the conclusion that overcrowding was the chief cause of the epidemic.' The circular of the Chief Direction of Prisons, to which I alluded in my paper, confirms, in its first paragraph, the exactitude of this conclusion. No wonder that, after a partial evacuation of the prison, there were still 200 typhus-sick out of 750 inmates. No wonder also that the mortality at Kharkoff assumed the proportion (200 out of 500) attributed to it by the priest of the prison in a sermon which was reproduced in the local *Eparchial Gazette*—a paper appearing under the supervision of the Archbishop.

I think that I have thus answered all questions of my critics with regard to prisons in Russia. It is obvious that all the documents could not be inserted in one review-article. But I hope that my readers will see that each of the facts I bring forward is supported by reliable testimony. As to prisons and exile in Siberia, they will be dealt with in another paper.

I come now to the fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul, where Mr. Lansdell was admitted to look through inspecting holes into the cells of the Troubetskoy bastion and to enter an empty cell, and where I was kept for nearly two years.

The system of Mr. Lansdell in dealing with this subject is really very strange. He mentions first what a friend of his (a person of high 'intelligence and probity,' who 'moves in high circles at St. Petersburg') said about prisoners in the fortress. They were fed, he said, 'with salt herrings and given no water to drink, so that they became half mad with thirst;' this 'business was only stopped by Count Schouvaloff;' but his friend 'still thinks that drugs are sometimes given to prisoners to make them frantic, in the hope that during their excitement they may be led to confess.' Then he describes his own visit to the fortress, and how he 'peeped breathlessly,' after having 'duly prepared his nerves to see how this arch-offender is treated.' And as he sees nothing but a man lying at this moment on his bed, or a lady reading at her table, he discharges his bad temper against the 'exaggerated and vindictive expressions of released prisoners' who 'vilify the land of their punishment,' &c. I really do not see how the 'vindictive' writers could be rendered responsible for the opinions of Mr. Lansdell's friends, who probably gather their information from the high circles where they move, and have sufficient intelligence to discriminate for themselves between mere fables and reality.

As to 'vindictive writers' who are accused of exaggerations, there is only one who has written about the Troubetskoy bastion, and this one seems to be quite unknown to Mr. Lansdell—I mean Pavlovsky, who published in the *Paris Temps* (in 1878, I think) a description of his imprisonment in the fortress, with a preface by Tourgueneff,

whose name is a sufficient guarantee of the *absolute* trustworthiness of Pavlovsky's description. Mr. Lansdell's diatribes against 'exaggerated and vindictive expressions' of released prisoners are, therefore, mere flowers of polemics. As to myself, I have mentioned the Troubetskoy bastion in the following lines: 'But for the greater activity and life of the place (the House of Detention), I should have regretted, all dark and dripping as it was, my casemate in the fortress of Peter and Paul—a true grave, where the prisoner for two, three, five, or ten years hears no human voice and sees no human being excepting two or three jailors, deaf and mute when addressed by the prisoner.' And we shall just see if these lines are not absolutely true.

I must remark at once that the idyllic description given in the *Contemporary Review* of the life in the Courtine of Catherine the Second has nothing to do with political prisoners. The comrades of Netchaieff were the last who were kept there in 1870, and since that time the Courtine has been completely rebuilt. The prisoners confined there now are not 'chiefly, I believe,' but *exclusively* officers condemned to arrest in a fortress for disciplinary offences.

As to the inmates of the Troubetskoy bastion, Mr. Lansdell omits to mention the most essential circumstance with regard to them, which circumstance would throw quite another light on his description; namely, that the prisoners he has seen in the Troubetskoy bastion *are not convicts; they are people awaiting for years the day when they will be brought before a judge.* There may be one or two occasional exceptions to this rule; some condemned prisoner may be kept there for a few months after his condemnation, either for some supplementary information, or for some special cause; but, as a rule, the inmates of the Troubetskoy bastion are prisoners waiting for their trial. Half of them even will not be brought before a court, as it will be discovered after one or two years of inquiries, that there are no charges sufficient to bring them before a court, even before a packed court pronouncing its sentences in absolute secrecy. In all civilised countries the men who are not yet condemned are treated as innocent; they are never put in irons. But what does it matter to Mr. Lansdell? He exclaims: 'He (the prisoner not yet judged) was not in irons (!); he appeared to be in good health, and showed not the least tendency to insanity.' The clemency of the Russian Tsar becomes thus obvious, and all that was written about the treatment of prisoners in Russia is false! Mr. Lansdell saw no insane in the Troubetskoy bastion, and therefore all that was written about the frequent cases of insanity in the fortress is exaggerated. No wonder that the *Uperiod* and the *Will of the People* accurately published the names of those who became insane and were transferred to lunatic asylums!

But let us look into the cells of the Troubetskoy bastion. It is true that they are large, each of them being a vaulted casemate

destined to shelter a big fortress gun. They measure eleven paces (about twenty-five feet) on the diagonal, and so I could regularly walk every day seven versts (about five miles) in my cell, until my strength was broken down by the long imprisonment.

There is not much light in them. The window, which is an embrasure, is nearly of the same size as the windows in other prisons. But the cells occupy the interior enclosure of the bastion (that is, the *reduct*), and the high wall of the bastion faces the windows of the cells at a distance of fifteen to twenty feet. Besides, the walls of the *reduct*, which have to resist shells, are nearly five feet thick, and the light is intercepted by a double frame with small apertures, and by an iron grating. Finally, everybody knows that the St. Petersburg sky is anything but bright. Dark they are; ² still, it was in such a cell—the brightest of the whole building—that I wrote my two volumes on the Glacial Period, and, taking advantage of brighter summer days, I prepared there the maps that accompany the work and made drawings. The lower story is very dark, even in summer. The outer wall intercepts all the light, and I remember that even during bright days writing was very difficult. In fact, it was possible only when the sun's rays were reflected by the upper part of both walls. All the northern face of the *reduct* is very dark in both stories.

The floor of the cells is covered with a painted felt, and the walls are double, so to say; that is, they are covered also with a felt, and, at a distance of five inches from the wall, there is an iron-wire net, covered with a rough linen and with yellow painted paper. This arrangement is made to prevent the prisoners from speaking with one another by means of taps on the wall. The silence in these felt-covered cells is that of a grave. I am just now in a cell. But the exterior life and the life of the prison reaches one by thousands of sounds and words exchanged here and there. Although in a cell I still feel myself a part of the world. The fortress is a grave. You never hear a sound, excepting that of a sentry continually creeping like a hunter from one door to another, to look through the 'Judas' into the cells. You are never alone, as an eye is continually kept upon you, and still you are always alone. If you address a word to the warder who brings you your dress for walking in the yard, if you ask him what is the weather, he never answers. The only human being with whom I exchanged a few words every morning was the Colonel who came to write down what I wanted to buy.—tobacco or paper. But he never dared to enter into any conversation, as himself was always surveyed by some of the warders. The absolute silence is interrupted only by the bells of the clock which play every quarter of an hour a *Gospodi ponrilui*, each hour the canticle *Kol slaven nash Gospod v Sionye*, and each twelve hours a *God save the Tsar* in addition

² The cell I occupy now has a window with four panes, nine inches by eight inches each. It cannot be compared with the fortress cells for its brightness.

to all this. The cacophony of the discordant bells is horrible during rapid changes of temperature, and I do not wonder that nervous persons consider these bells as one of the plagues of the fortress.

The cells are heated by means of large stoves from the corridor outside, and the temperature in the cells is kept exceedingly high, in order to prevent moisture from appearing on the walls. To keep such a temperature, the stoves are shut up very soon, with burning coals, so that the prisoner is usually asphyxiated with oxide of carbon. Like all Russians, I was accustomed to keep a high temperature, of 61 to 64° Fahrenheit, in my room. But I could not support the high temperature of the fortress, and still less the asphyxiating gases; and, after a long struggle, I obtained the concession that the stoves should not be shut up very hot. I was warned that the walls would be immediately covered with moisture; and, indeed, they soon were dripping in the corners of the vault; even the painted paper of the front wall was as wet as if water were continually poured on it. But, as there was no choice but between dripping walls and exhaustion by a bath-like temperature, I chose the former, not without some inconvenience for the lungs, and not without acquiring rheumatism. I afterwards learned that several of my friends who were kept in the same bastion expressed the firm conviction that some mephitic gas was sent into their cells. This rumour is widely spread, and has also reached Mr. Lansdell; and it is the more remarkable as nobody has expressed the suspicion of having been poisoned otherwise; for instance, by means of the food. I think that what I have just said explains the origin of this rumour; in order to keep the stoves very hot for twenty-four hours, they are shut up very soon, and so the prisoners are asphyxiated every day, to some extent, by oxide of carbon. Such was, at least, my explanation of the suffocation which I experienced nearly every day, followed by a complete prostration and debility. I did not notice it after I had succeeded, by ceaseless efforts, in getting the hot-air conduit leading into my cell shut up altogether.

The food, when General Korsakoff was Commandant of the fortress, was good; not so substantial as Mr. Lansdell says, but very well cooked; afterwards it became much worse. No provisions from without are allowed, not even fruits—nothing but the *calatchi* (white bread) which compassionate merchants distribute in the prisons at Christmas and Easter—an old Russian custom existing until now. Our friends could bring us only books. Those who had no friends were compelled to read over and over again the same books of the fortress library, which contains the odd volumes left there by several generations since 1826. As to breathing fresh air, it is obvious that it could not be allowed to the amount mentioned by Mr. Lansdell. During the first year of my confinement I walked half-an-hour or forty minutes every day; but during the second year, as we were nearly sixty on the bastion, and as there is but one yard for

walking, and the darkness, under the sixtieth degree of latitude, comes at 4 P.M. in the winter, we walked but twenty minutes every other day in the summer, and twenty minutes twice a week during the winter. I must add also that, owing to the heavy white smoke discharged by the chimney of the Mint which dominates the yard, this walk was completely poisoned during the east winds. I could not support on such occasions the continual coughing of the soldiers, exposed all the day to these gases, and asked to be brought back to my cell.

But all these are mere details, and none of us complained much about them. We know perfectly well that a prison is a prison, and that the Russian Government was never gentle with those who attempted to shake off its iron rule. We know, moreover, that the Troubetskoy bastion is a palace—a true palace—in comparison with those prisons where a hundred thousand of our people are locked up every year, and submitted to the treatment I have described in this Review.

Of course, to deal fairly with the subject, a well-informed visitor to the fortress would have said this:—‘The material conditions of detention in the Troubetskoy bastion are not exceedingly bad; in any case they are open to improvement. But half of the prisoners kept there were arrested on a simple denunciation of a spy, or as acquaintances of revolutionists; and half of them, after having been kept for two or three years, will not even be brought before a court; or, if brought, will be acquitted—as was the case in the trial of the hundred and ninety-three—and thereupon sent to Siberia or Mezen by a simple order of the administration. The inquiry is pursued in secrecy, and nobody knows how long it will last; which law will be applied (the common or the martial); what may be the fate of the prisoner;—he may be acquitted, but also he may be hanged. No counsel is allowed during the inquiry; no conversation nor correspondence with friends about the circumstances which led to the arrest. During all this exceedingly long time, no occupation is allowed to prisoners. Pen, ink, and lead-pencils are strictly prohibited on the bastion.’³ As to working-men and peasants, who cannot read throughout the day, to keep them for years without any occupation is merely to bring them to despair. Hence the large proportion of cases of insanity.⁴

³ When the Council of the Geographical Society asked for me the permission of finishing a scientific work, it had to obtain it from the Emperor himself.

⁴ It is known that a recent French law allows convicts to take their penalty in cellular confinement, and that three years of cellular confinement are reckoned as four years of imprisonment. When we were condemned at Lyons, several of my comrades expressed the wish to take their punishment in cells, in order to abridge their imprisonment by one year or more. But the prison authorities said that, if their opinion were asked, they would earnestly advise them not to do this, two or three years of cellular confinement being too much, and there being a great danger of falling

Further, a well-informed visitor would have mentioned how the few liberties given as to the visits of friends were acquired. Formerly, the visit of a friend was considered as a great favour, and not as a right. It happened to me once, after the arrest of my brother, to see none of my kinsfolk for three months. I knew that my brother, with whom I was more closely connected than is usually the case between two brothers, was arrested: a letter of a few lines announced to me that on all matters concerning the publication of my work I was to address another person, and I guessed the cause. But during three months I knew not why he was arrested, of what he was accused, what would be his fate. And I certainly wish nobody in the world such three months in his life as these three which I passed without having any news from the outside. When I was allowed to see my sister, she was severely admonished that if she said anything to me about my brother, she would never be allowed to see me more. As to my comrades, very many saw nobody during the whole two or three years of their detention. Many had no near relations in St. Petersburg, and friends were not admitted; others had kinsfolk, but these last were suspected of having themselves acquaintances with Socialist or Liberal circles, and that was sufficient for refusing them the favour of seeing their arrested brother or sister. At present—at least Mr. Lansdell was told so—the visits of friends are allowed each fortnight. But it ought to be mentioned how an extension of the right of visiting was acquired. It was won, so to say, by fight; that is, by the famous famine strike, during which a number of prisoners in the Troubetskoy bastion refused to take any food for five or six days, and resisted by force the attempts to feed by means of injections and the blows of the warders by which this operation was accompanied.

Further, the same visitor would have mentioned also the means and ways in which the secret inquiry is conducted, and the shameful proceedings by which avowals have been extorted, or rather tried to be extorted, from all who have shown a nervous temper. He would have mentioned, for instance, the lady who went mad when her new-born child was taken away from her, and refused to be given back until the lady was 'more sincere' in her testimonies, that is, merely betrayed her friends. He would have mentioned, too, the numerous attempts at suicide made in this pleasant place, the Troubetskoy bastion, by means of a piece of glass taken from a

insane. But in France the convict does in his cell the work he likes: not only can he write, but he receives all necessary implements for carrying on his trade. He is not reduced to live exclusively on the activity of his own imagination; the body, the muscles, are also occupied. And yet competent persons are compelled, by a painful experience, to consider two or three years of cellular confinement as too dangerous. In the Troubetskoy bastion the only occupation allowed is reading; and even this occupation is refused to convicts who are kept in another part of the fortress.

broken window, or by means of matches carefully concealed piece by piece during several months, or by means of strangulation with a towel.⁵ And he would have found also a word of sympathy for the friends and kinsfolk of the prisoners, who are kept for several years between black despair and faint hopes as to the fate of their arrested sons, daughters, or husbands.⁶

A well-informed visitor to the fortress would have told all this, and much more, without going as far back as 1866 to revive the stories about the salted herrings of Mouravioff the hangman. Perhaps I ought to have told this in my paper on Prisons. But I repeat, that when I remembered the streams of tears that are shed throughout Russia, in each remotest village, in connection with our prisons; when I remembered the horrors of our *ostrogs* and central prisons; when I remembered the salt-works at Ust-Kut, or the gold-mines of Siberia, the pen stayed in my hands to write about *our* sufferings—so small in comparison with these,—and I hastened to tell my English readers what is the real state of those prisons where thousands of people are groaning every day in the hands of omnipotent wild beasts. I mentioned the treatment of political prisoners (in a paper on the Russian Revolutionary Party) only as far as it was necessary to show the development of the struggle that is going on now in Russia; and in a paper on Russian Prisons I spared only five lines to mention the fate of my political friends.

But what I stigmatised as it deserves, what I have brought to the knowledge of public opinion in England, in order to show the hypocrisy of our Government, was the treatment to which were submitted the *condemned* revolutionists, who, instead of being sent to Siberia, according to law, were kept in the fortress, in dark cells, without any occupation, and were brought to madness, or on the edge of the grave, in the proportion of five to ten in less than one year. This I wrote, according to a description published in the *Will of the People* and in the pamphlet *Na Rodinye*, as I knew that each word of this description was absolutely exact.

This part of the fortress (where Shiriaeff, Okladsky, Tikhonoff, Martynovsky, Tsukerman, &c., were kept) was not shown to Mr. Lansdell, and he knows nothing about it; so that the only account

⁵ I have the pleasure of numbering among my best friends a person who made at least half-a-dozen such attempts. He is now at liberty, and I have seen him since.

⁶ I could quote scores of examples of the most shameful intimidation used on the kinsfolk of prisoners. But one will do. I had refused to answer any questions during the secret inquiry. To induce me to change my opinion, my kinsfolk were informed by a person of high standing in the law,* that the Tsar had resolved to hang three of us—Voynarsky, Kovalik, and myself—and that the only means of saving me would be 'to tell everything.' Of course, my kinsfolk told me nothing of that, but one can easily imagine their despair. Intimidation of this kind is quite usual, and still worse instances could be quoted, if it were not dangerous to compromise people living in Russia.

which, in my opinion, he was entitled to give, was the following:—
 ‘Although Count Tolstoy had promised me that *I should see everything* (he might say), I was shown only that building where prisoners are kept when waiting for trial, and the Courtine, where I found no political prisoners. I was not shown any building where the above-named convicts were kept, and I do not remember any of the names mentioned in this Review being named to me in the Troubetsky bastion. So I can say nothing about the fate of Shiriaeff, Okladsky, and their comrades. In fact, I visited only one bastion out of eight or ten, and have no idea about what the extensive fortifications in the north of the fortress may contain.’ That would have been, I think, the only correct way to give an account of his visit to the fortress, and this the more so as, out of two of Mr. Lansdell’s informants—both belonging to the State’s secret police—one (who belongs to the third section) said that he once visited a building with cells underground which were ‘lighted from the corridor above, hardly enough,’ he said, ‘to read by,’ which cells are probably the same that I have mentioned, where lamps are lighted for twenty-two hours out of twenty-four; and the other informant (‘a chief of the gendarmerie’) mentioned a more comfortable building, three stories high, in the Alexis Ravelin, where prisoners were also kept. There are thus at least two prisons, or two suites of cells, which were not shown to Mr. Lansdell. But, notwithstanding that, Mr. Lansdell tries to cast a doubt upon the just-mentioned description of the shameful treatment to which Shiriaeff, Okladsky, and their comrades were submitted, and, in order to show its inaccuracy, tells us a long story about a Russian, Mr. Robinson, who was kept, twenty years ago, for three years (without being brought before a court) in the Alexis Ravelin, and was treated there as in a good hotel. Everybody will understand, however, that Mr. Robinson’s case has absolutely nothing to do with that of Shiriaeff and Okladsky, and that the well-lighted room where he was kept (like hundreds of students and young men arrested at the same epoch) has nothing to do with the suite of dark cells mentioned not only by ‘vindictive writers,’ but even by a third informant of Mr. Lansdell. The fortress covers nearly a square mile, and it contains all kinds of buildings, from the palace of the Commandant to the cells where people are brought to death, or madness, in the course of a few months. Everybody knows that Tchernyshersky wrote in the fortress, and that our brilliant literary critic and populariser of Darwin’s works, Pisareff, who was kept in the fortress for two years or more, and was set at liberty only when already becoming insane, wrote his remarkable essays on Darwinism in the fortress. But what has that to do with the treatment of Shiriaeff, Okladsky, and their comrades?

There is, however, one point upon which Mr. Lansdell’s doubts are quite legitimate. It is when he doubts about torture having been

applied to Ryssakoff and Adrian Mikhailoff. I doubted it myself, nay, I said it was impossible, until I was convinced by facts. It is quite natural, therefore, that he wishes more details about torture before believing in it. But I know also that the Russian Government would be only too glad if, provoked by polemics, I should say something more about the subject. I merely say, therefore, that when bringing forward this terrible charge against the Russian Government, I was fully aware of the responsibility I took upon myself, and therefore brought forward only what I was certain of. If I were reporting mere rumours and town-talk, I surely would have added the name of Goldenberg to those of Ryssakoff and Mikhailoff. The Russian Government was loudly accused at St. Petersburg of having put Goldenberg to torture, in order to extort from him the avowals which served to condemn to death so many of his acquaintances, and this rumour was telegraphed at that time to the best informed London papers. Besides, the accusation received a horrible stamp of reality when it was announced that Goldenberg had hanged himself in the fortress, whilst it is known that there is nothing in the cells on which to hang even a towel. But I did not mention Goldenberg's name, as I knew nothing *exact* about him. And I published that torture was applied to Ryssakoff and Mikhailoff, because I considered the facts brought before me with regard to them as indubitable. None of those who have read the minutes of the last trials will doubt that the Russian Revolutionary party, which finds sympathisers—passive if not active—everywhere, from the Winter Palace to the last *ostrog*, from the Ministries to the barracks of soldiers, has more means for penetrating into the secrets of the jails, than those who simply visit them with permission of Government. Who will be convinced, indeed, of the contrary by such arguments of Mr. Lansdell as these:—'Nobody was tortured in his presence, and Mr. Jones, a British subject, who was arrested once, and set at liberty after an examination which lasted for a quarter of an hour, was not put to torture!' Everybody understands that torture would not be applied in the fortress under the eyes of Mr. Lansdell, and still less to Mr. Jones.

But Mr. Lansdell made up his mind that, after having seen a corner of the fortress, one would know everything about it; and he goes still further, he victoriously exclaims—'What, then, have become of the *cachots*, *oubliettes*, and dismal chambers which have been connected with the Peter and Paul by so many?' Well, I also know the Troubetskoy bastion; I know also the rooms of the Courtine; still I should never permit myself, on the ground of this limited knowledge, either to affirm or to deny the existence of *oubliettes* in the fortress. I should not affirm their existence, as I know that *oubliettes* are usually discovered only after a 14th of July; and I

* *Contemporary Review*, p. 285.

should not deny it, as I know that the Troubetskoï bastion does not embody even a tenth part of the fortifications of the fortress.

Again, I should not deny the existence of *oubliettes*, as I know that even in our times people disappear in Russia without anybody knowing where they are concealed. I take one instance, Netchaïeff. He killed a spy at Moscow, fled to Switzerland, and was extradited by the Federal Council on the solemn promise of the Russian Government to treat him as a common-law prisoner, and not as a political adversary. He was condemned by a jury at Moscow to hard labour, and, after having been ill-treated there in the way I have described elsewhere, he disappeared. According to law he ought to be now at Kara, or at Sakhalin, or at any hard-labour colony in Siberia. But we know that in 1881 he was at none of these places. Where is he then? Last year the rumour was current that he had managed to make his escape from the fortress, but it has not been confirmed since; and I have some reasons to suppose that he was, two years ago, and may be still, in some part of the fortress. I do not say he is ill-treated there: I suppose, on the contrary, that, like all other political prisoners, he won at last the sympathies of his jailors, and I hope that he is kept in a decent cell. But he has the right to be now in Siberia, and to be enjoying a relative liberty in the Kara village, close by the mines. He has also kinsfolk and friends, who surely would be happy to learn at least if he is in life, and where he is. Does Mr. Lansdell's personal experience of the fortress go so far as to entitle him to affirm, on his conscience, that Netchaïeff is no longer kept somewhere in the fortress? Is he sufficiently sure of his informants to authorise us to write to Netchaïeff's friends that there are no *oubliettes* in the fortress, and that they must search for their friend elsewhere?

Again, I should not deny the existence of *oubliettes* in the St. Petersburg fortress, as it is notorious that there are *oubliettes* with men therein in other Russian fortresses; for instance, in the old fortress of the Solovetsky monastery. Last year (1882) we read with immense pleasure in our newspapers that one of those who were kept in such an *oubliette* for fifteen years was at last set at liberty. I mean Pushkin. In 1858 he came to the conclusion that the orthodox religion is not in accordance with truth. He explained his ideas in a work and in schemes, went to St. Petersburg in 1861 and 1863, and asked the Church authorities to publish his work. The world, he said, is rotten in its sins; Christ has not saved it completely, and a new Messiah will come. For these ideas he was arrested in 1866, and sent, between two gendarmes, to the Solovetsky prison—of course without having been tried. There he was put in a dark and damp cell, and kept therein for fifteen years. He has a wife; she was not admitted to see him during fourteen years, that is, until 1881. Nobody was allowed to enter his cell during all this time, excepting

the archimandrite of the monastery, Mr. H. Dixon, and M. Prougavin, who is an official of the staff of the Governor of Arkhangelsk, and visited him in 1881. Pushkin was *fifty-five years old* when M. Prougavin saw him, and he said: 'I do not know what are my faults; how can I exculpate myself? They say to me, "Go to church, abandon your heresy, and you will be free." But how can I do it? I have sacrificed everything for my convictions—my fortune, the happiness of my own family, my own life. Can I atjure my convictions? Time will show if I am right, and I hope it. But if I am wrong, if it only seems to me to be the truth, let *this prison be my grave!*' In 1881 his wife was admitted to see him, and thence she went directly to St. Petersburg to ask for his release. By this time M. Prougavin had published all this awful story in a review and in newspapers. The press cried for grace, and Pushkin was pardoned; but he had been kept for fifteen years in an *oubliette*.^a

Was Pushkin the sole person who was so kept in an *oubliette*? I do not think so. Some twelve years ago a German geologist, a friend of mine, discovered an artillery officer in the same condition as Pushkin. We made at St. Petersburg all kinds of applications to influential persons, in order to obtain his release. A Grand-Duchess was interested in the fate of this ex-officer. We obtained nothing, and probably he is still in an *oubliette*, if 'the prison has not been his grave.' Before such dreadful examples let us be more cautious in speaking about *oubliettes*, and still more cautious in undertaking the defence of the Russian Government.

And now let me add a few words about the difficulties which beset the way of those who earnestly wish to know the real state of Russian prisons. I shall not follow Mr. Lansdell's example, and accuse him of a want of good faith for holding different views from those of our Russian explorers and myself. I am fully aware of the difficulties one meets with in this matter. I know them from my own experience, and still more from the written experience of those who attempted to make on a larger scale an inquiry into the state of our prisons. Even officials, to whom their official position opened the doors of the jails at any time, and who had plenty of time before them to pursue their inquiry, have openly acknowledged these difficulties. All serious explorers of our penal institutions are unanimous in saying that one learns nothing from a mere inspection of a prison. 'Each prison undergoes a magical change when a visitor is expected,' says one of them. 'I did not recognise the lock-up which I had visited *incognito*, when I went afterwards to the same lock-up.

^a Let those who will not fail to express 'a doubt' about this story, read M. Prougavin's paper in the November number of the Pan Slavist review, *Russkaya Mysl*, for 1881, his papers in the *Golos* of the same epoch, the *Moscow Telegraph* of November 15, 1881, and so on.

in any official capacity,' says another. 'The prisoners never reveal to an inspector the horrors committed in the prison, as they know that the inspector goes away and the jailor remains,' says a third explorer. One must know the prisons beforehand to discover the horrible black-holes, like those described by MM. Nikitin and Yadrinceff, as they obviously will never be shown to a visitor who knows nothing about them; and so on.

Such being the difficulties for Russian officials, they are still greater for a foreigner. He is in the worst imaginable position, on account of the continuous fear of Russian administrators of being treated by the foreign press as barbarians. He has before him this dilemma. Either he determines to thoroughly inquire into the state of the prisons, to go to the bottom, and to discover the bestialities of the Makaroffs, the Trepoffs, and their acolytes; and then he will not receive permission to visit prisons. Or, he will make only an official scamper through the prisons; he will know nothing but what the Government is willing to let him know; and, being unable to check for himself what is reported to him by officials, he will become the vehicle for bringing to public knowledge what his official acquaintances desire to be published. Well enough is it if he has the necessary firmness of character not to come by-and-by, like so many foreigners in Russia, to extenuate the dark features which formerly revolted him.

But the greater the difficulties, the greater must be the efforts of those who are really desirous to know the truth; and we have seen foreigners who have vanquished these difficulties. One might differ in opinion from Mr. Mackenzie Wallace on many points, perhaps he himself would now change his opinion on several subjects; but still his work, although not congratulated by MM. Katkoff and Tolstoy, was recognised unanimously by the independent Russian press as a serious and conscientious work. And as to our prisons, several Russian officials, by displaying much patience and by spending much time, have happened to learn the true state of our penal institutions. The English prisons are not Russian *ostrogs*; the jailors in England are not omnipotent, the inmates are not flogged on a mere caprice of the jailor, and their coppers are not stolen by him; a man would not order a prisoner to be flogged who had not saluted him, and those to be kicked down who protest against this measure. The Trepoffs have disappeared from England. Parliament would be only too glad to know any dark features of English prisons; yet to know their real state is not an easy task. But if a foreigner went to England, without knowing a word of English, without taking the pains to study what was written in England about her penal institutions, and, after having paid a hasty visit to the prisons, were to write that all those who hold different views on prisons from himself are merely inspired with a feeling of vindictiveness, surely he would

be accused of great levity and presumption. But Russia is not England, and to know the truth in Russia is far more difficult.

Levity is always regrettable, but it is the more regrettable in questions like this, and in a country like Russia. For twenty years all honest men in our country have loudly cried out against our prisons, and loudly asked for an immediate reform. For twenty years public opinion has vainly asked for a thorough renewal of the prisons' administration, for more light, for more control in the whole system. And the Government which refuses all that will be only too glad if it can answer them: 'You see, here is a foreigner who knows everything about prisons throughout the world, and who finds that all you say is mere exaggeration; that our prisons are not at all bad in comparison with those of other countries.'

When thousands, nay, a hundred thousand of men, women, and children are groaning under the abominable *régime* of prisons as they are in Russia, one ought to proceed with the greatest caution; and I earnestly invite foreigners who may be tempted to study this question, never to forget that every attempt to extenuate the dark features of our prisons will be a stone brought to consolidate the abominable *régime* we have now.

P. KRAPOTKINE.

Lyon, Prison St. Pau.

THE PAINTED POETRY OF WATTS AND ROSSETTI.

'For I have heard it said,
There is an art which in their piousness shares
With great creating nature.'—'Say, there be;
Yet nature is made better by no mean
But nature makes that mean: so over that art
Which you say adds to nature, is an art
That nature makes.'—*A Winter's Tale.*

WITHIN A YEAR the collected works of these two artists have been exhibited in three galleries. Last year at the Grosvenor Gallery the art which represents, on careful consideration, about half the work of Mr. Watts's life, was exhibited; and this year at the Royal Academy and at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, the chief work of Mr. Rossetti's life has been exhibited.

It is believed the claim of these two artists to rank among the first artists of all times consists in the fact that they both take a very high place among *poet-painters*.

In times that are now long past it was often the province of the painter's art to teach facts as well as to create emotion towards beauty. There was then a scope for much elaborate art to be painted in order that an illiterate public should learn history and '*religion*,' and be impressed by notable passing events. But those times are over. Now photography and cheap engravings portray and endlessly repeat scenes of passing interest, and can procure for thousands the likeness of any place or person of public interest. Besides, every kind of literature is within every one's reach, that describes in words the feelings and facts of life. Now, art should maintain her highest level or cease to expect a distinct place in the world's growing and better interests. Science will probably soon discover a means of photographing colour, and then the realistic school of art which aims only at giving the outward aspect of an object artistically arranged, without any reflection of the artist's nature, will be completely beaten on its own ground. But that art which emanates from a poetic preference, the highest art, in fact, painted and sculptured poetry, will not only retain the interest which it always has inspired, but will be more distinctly recognised as belonging to the same class of intellec-

tual interests as do the best writings in prose and poetry, and will be recognised as demanding the same class of emotional response as that which the best music excites. If the mass of so-called art yearly produced on semi-manufacturing principles ever settles down into its right place, a greater lucidity in the mind of the public as to what makes art *art* might be hoped for. The general intellectual world might learn perhaps how mistaken it is to demand even from the highest art that it should feed the intellect without first touching the emotional qualities and inspiring a satisfaction in true beauty of line and colour; and on the other hand the so-called artistic world might well cease from demanding and desiring solely that a limited kind of emotional pleasure should be excited by art, without insisting that such emotion should lead to a satisfaction also of the intellectual and higher faculties. If such a reform in art feeling ever came about, then painted and sculptured poetry would probably be recognised as the art which alone justified the immense and difficult toil which any painting and sculpture of a really finished and complete character necessitates.

How to describe in writing the element that makes the work of Mr. Watts and Mr. Rossetti painted poetry? Perhaps only by going through rather an elementary kind of argument. In the earliest drawings by students of art there is in those of any promise always an individual character. Go into any art school, and you will see how different in character are the drawings by every separate student of the same model. Probably, as the students advance, their work will have more the character of the teaching of the school in which they study; but again as they emerge into the freer atmosphere of their own studios the work of any student who is really going to do anything is stamped strongly with his own individuality, which develops more and more distinctly as he 'finds himself in his art.' If Watts, Leighton, Burne Jones, Millais, and any correspondingly famous French painter, were to paint a study from the same model, we should have five drawings as distinctly different in character as it would be possible to see. Add to these a photograph of the same model, and you get a sixth perfectly different rendering of the subject. Had Michael Angelo, Titian, Raphael, and Botticelli attempted to draw the same model, having only in view to make an exact likeness, we should in the same way find perfectly distinct individualities evinced in the sketches. The fact is that not only do no two artists see nature the same, however highly trained their eye may be, but that the unconscious preferences of a nature's whole condition dictates in each individual case the treatment, accentuating one side or the other of nature's complete truth. There is no such thing as positively provable *rightness* after the teachable qualities in art are once satisfied. The whole nature, not only the eye, is the tablet on which the facts of 'sight' are reflected; and if spiritual and

intellectual powers are prominent elements in the artist's nature, as well as emotional sympathy towards form and colour, the artist's gift reflects such elements as part of nature's truth, affecting its aspect as necessarily as does the sunlight or the moonlight. The motive power of the art emanating from such natures springs from a richer well, including human powers of a higher order than those of mere sense and emotion. The core of the truth of nature is revealed to the poet-painter, not merely the truth of her aspect. This is unquestionably obvious, but does not answer the whole question. Not only is there in really great painted poetry a power in the purely artistic gifts rightly to translate in the language of art emotional, spiritual, and intellectual truths, but there is genius in the touch which makes such art not only a right rendering of such elements in nature, but a happy rendering. There is to be found in it an inspiration in the handicraft as well as in the mind. For instance, in the quality of the flesh-painting in Mr. Watts's work, and in the quality of the jewel and flower painting in Mr. Rossetti's work, there is a poetry which is different and more impressive than in the poetry of real flesh, flowers, and jewels, not only because there is a human interest of happy choice about it, but because there is also a loveliness of inspired touch which caressingly beautifies the painting itself independently of the aspect of the original. The greatest delight of the artist's craft is to see the poetic preference of his own nature carried out by a happy touch which adds something to nature and makes her his very own. Such a gift is almost unconsciously possessed, proceeding rather from the general condition of the artist's nature and the habitual tone of his sensibilities and character than from any conscious effort.

To quote from Sir Frederick Leighton, who, in ending his last discourse to the students of the Royal Academy, said eloquently:—

Believe me, whatever of dignity, whatever of strength, we have within us, will dignify and will make strong the labours of our hands; whatever littleness degrades our spirit will lessen them and drag them down. Whatever noble fire is in our hearts will burn also in our work; whatever purity is ours will chasten and exalt it. For as we are so our work is, and what we sow in our lives, that beyond a doubt we shall reap for good or for ill in the strengthening or defacing of whatever gifts have fallen to our lot.

The value of this individuality which stamps all work, noticeable for any power whatsoever from the earliest student studies, is to be gauged by the character of the unconscious no less than the conscious preference of the artist. The greater his powers as a poet, the subtler, the more elevated, the more extended will be his sympathies with nature; and if he be a born artist as well as a poet, that sense of the inner as well as the outer aspect of nature's truth will inspire his touch as a painter or a sculptor, and complete his work with the beauty which belongs to art as art, and not to art as a copy of nature only. But, like the poetry of motion and sound, this poetry of sight

and feeling directing touch is too subtle a thing for words to analyse or describe. How to put into words the excitement, like that of a magnetic influence, which is created by music; or, again, the charm of motion that, for instance, we feel as we watch the flight of a bird, swaying and balancing on its outstretched wings, then sweeping a long swift curve in the air. Such delicate impressions on the senses are too subtle for words. Beauty in the quality of great poetic art creates a very positive emotion in many, though not by any means in all; but it is quite beyond words to explain. Those who do not feel emotion at the sight of such poetry are, as regards the works of genius, outsiders; they fail in possessing the right data on which to found theories or criticism. There are many, it must be remembered, whose natures do not respond to the poetry in sound, in motion, or in what is seen, and who have notwithstanding what are called correct eyes and correct ears. There are also many who make themselves into partisans, and, because they see and feel poetry in art carried out according to one school of art-ideas, refuse any belief in its existence carried out in any other. There is a genuine difference in natural taste, the result of associations and the native tendencies of character and mind, and there is a theoretic difference, based chiefly on a combative spirit—the genuine ‘I do not like you, Dr. Fell’ argument, and the far less intelligent and more intricate argument, ‘This is right, every one allows; so this must be wrong because it is unlike what every one knows is right.’ As if Nature ever repeated herself in genius!

When it is asserted that Mr. Watts and Mr. Rossetti are great poet-painters, such an assertion is not based merely on individual sympathy with their work, but on the fact that the enthusiasm of a very large majority of the public has been excited by the beauty in it. Nothing but the element of poetry in art can excite such enthusiasm. It vouches for its existence. Genuine enthusiasm excited by art is the public recognition made to the poetical element in it, not to the cleverness, the science, or the industry.

Mr. Watts's and Mr. Rossetti's painted poetry could hardly be more unlike in the chief characteristics. It is desired here not so much to criticise as to describe their work. The year that includes these remarkable exhibitions includes also the death of Mr. Rossetti. Regret at the comparatively early death of so great a genius is still too keen for any who have long cared for his genius to wish to dwell on any signs of unfulfilled promise to be found in the work. Sufficient is to say it stands victoriously the ordeal of being collected and exhibited together. That the work of Mr. Watts stood the test last year is unnecessary to add; so unanimous was the verdict. It is, of course, only the sifted few of many generations that give the final verdict which places the great where they are eventually to stand among the great. In the course of time, even

when the absence of true instinct and fine taste fails to supply the public with a genuine appreciation of true genius in art, fame and the halo which shines round a great name all the brighter the further history puts it back into the mystery of the past, will attract the imagination even of the dullest; for we all more or less take genius for granted, and approach its work with foregone conclusions as to its merit, when the opinion of a few centuries has guaranteed it. But till then there will always be found many who prefer putting to them any unexplained individuality in the work under a microscope, and analysing any points which do not fit into preconceived necessities in art, than revelling in the chief characteristic of the work, namely, that it is the work of genius, of gifts most rarely bestowed on humanity, and still more rarely worked out in any complete form. The many '*buts*' which invariably follow the statement that a man of our own time is a genius prove how chary are the public in their enthusiasm for the quality, how little genuine love and sympathy it creates. Genius startles, it excites attention, but only slowly does it wield its real power, and only time can place it on its right pedestal.

It may be asked what is the use of connecting so as to compare the art of Mr. Watts and that of Mr. Rossetti, when they are so different that the only point in common is that both are poet-painters, and have each produced examples of the highest expressional art to be found in the work of our day.

In the present case there is a desire to protest alike for the special virtues in both poet-painters. It is felt that in Mr. Watts's art there is a perfection in the poetry of form which has never been surpassed, and in Mr. Rossetti's art a vividness of beauty in the poetry of colour equally pre-eminent. Perhaps it may be said with truth that our emotions are more elevated by Mr. Watts's poetic art and rendered more vivid by Mr. Rossetti's. It must be felt, however, by any who seriously study their work, that both artists are steeped not only with 'sincerity of emotion,' but by worship of emotion for beauty. It is to both a sacred flame, though one may worship at the wider freer light of the sun itself, and the other at the flame on an enshrined altar: the poetry of both emanates from a sense of awe and mystery; though to the one the poetic impulse of his art is like the mystery of dawn when clear rays shoot up into infinite wide-spreading space, giving promise of a yet fuller light. It suggests the mysteries of all spheres and of all times, of the largest conditions of creation. To the other it is more the mystery of a lamp-lit shrine, not of the well of light itself; the mystery of pent-up fervency, of

Infinite passion, and the pain
Of finite hearts that yearn.

It is more human, less divine. It is not so free to soar up into

pure æther; still, through its passionately human qualities, it yearns upwards, and to be at rest, and worships devoutly at the human shrines which suggest such rest. Both these poets are great enough to be reverent; to worship and fully to realise how much bigger is the thing they worship than are the worshippers. Both are immeasurably outside and beyond all vanity or the desire to appear clever or produce an effect in their work.

Both are great colourists, both great masters of the beauty of tone and design of line, but Mr. Watts has as much the power of a sculptor as of a painter. Mr. Rossetti has, comparatively speaking, nothing of the sculptor in him. In Mr. Watts's painting there is invariably the poetry of atmosphere, often of sea and sky space; in Mr. Rossetti's work the designs are treated as almost on one plane. If any distance comes into the design, it is coloured so as to bring it close upon the foreground, as in the 'Hesterna Rosa' and 'Dr. Johnson and the Methodists.'

In Mr. Watts's colour and tone there is exquisite poetry in the suggestion of atmosphere and in the veil of mystery which distance gives, whilst there is in Mr. Rossetti's work a greater power in the beauty of the thing itself. Perhaps in no painting ever before seen have the concentrated rays of a brain on fire with colour-worship glowed with such fervent strength or such peremptory individuality as in Mr. Rossetti's; nor has any artist ever more completely conquered the stubbornness of the pigment in oil painting nor made colour burn with more vivid jewel-like intensity, like the brilliancy of stained glass through which light is glowing. In his art there is a sense of richness and decorative splendour which has a distinct poetry of its own. Not the tiniest space is left vaguely to chance; every smallest detail is designed in harmony and tone with the whole. Never have draperies, jewels, or flowers been treated with more freedom, richness, and grandeur of design, or with more completeness and reverence for their beauty.

Needless to say both are artists whose real power is inborn, depending on no other artist-individuality, living or dead. Both have evinced a singular power of *detachment*, but Mr. Watts has as yet inspired no school of followers, though he has shown special power and individuality by being influenced by no contemporary mind.

Mr. Rossetti's genius was the real motive power that welded into form a new and very real enthusiasm on art matters. It was his magnetic power as an individual no less than as an artist that inspired in others a devotion to the views in art which resulted in the so-called Pre-Raphaelite movement. His power of influencing others as an artist was, is, and probably always will be, immense. Still it is not at all surprising that in judging of his art the 'buts' are very loud. Frankly it must be owned he never took the trouble to grind at that side of art which was a dull difficulty to him; and the side

which was a dull difficulty to him was naturally where his sensibilities were least keenly alive to beauty. Admirers should not shunt the difficulty by ignoring the importance of the beauty he does not give, and which is as much one of nature's precious beauties as are those which Mr. Rossetti gave us in such splendid power and abundance. He had not clearly the same fine perception with regard to structural proportion and to right quantities as he had for beauty of design in line, tone, and colour, and he did not bend his neck under the yoke and learn the teachable part of that side of art; so his work in the above respects is often assailable to the adverse criticism of students in the most elementary stage of their art.

The *science* of drawing, though not always very intelligently, is very indefatigably taught in these days. A certain standard, is created of what correctness in the teachable qualities of drawing should be in most of those who labour and look at art. Against this standard of correctness Mr. Rossetti's art often transgresses. Even more must be owned. In certain instances it transgresses against a much more necessary virtue in art. In the drawing of the mouth often, in the drawing of the arms and hands sometimes, and in the painting of the flesh of his later works, it is felt that there is a positive element of ugliness such as is almost incomprehensible in one whose senses were so keenly and powerfully alive to beauty as a rule. He paints the lips of a mouth too often with a metallic hardness, and omits any suggestion of one of the loveliest bits in all nature—namely, the expressive sensitive variety in the curve of the upper lip, that line which trembles between light and shade, colour and tone. In the painting of the flesh of some of his later works there is a livid lilac hue in the shadows, and a streaky coarse texture in the painting which is all the more noticeable because of the perfect quality of the painting of flowers and draperies in the same pictures. But such criticism as the above would not only be unfair and inadequate but unintelligent, were not much greater stress laid on the extremely rare and noble beauty of much of Mr. Rossetti's drawing and the unsurpassed splendour and richness in his power of designing line. His power as a colourist is universally admitted, but it must be remembered that his chalk drawings, in which such power is only evinced so far as that the sensibility creating it enriches the feeling for tone, are fully as interesting as the painted works. The virtues and the faults are perhaps both more striking in Mr. Rossetti's art than in Mr. Watts's. The colour is more vivid and the faults bolder. The marvellous and rare sense of balance in the very essence of Mr. Watts's art produces a strong influence, but cause and effect are not so traceable as they are in Mr. Rossetti's art. Nobility and dignity are felt as inherent, but the manner in which such qualities are translated by art is too foreign to modern schools of art, and indeed to modern modes of life, to make such a recognition easy. It

is commonly asserted, with respect to art teaching and study, that drawing can be taught, but colour must be nature's inborn gift. This surely is only true if we regard the sense of colour alone as synonymous with an emotional delight, and a feeling for form alone the result of acquired knowledge of proportion, quantity, structure, and foreshortening. But no teaching can inspire a passionate sympathy with beauty of line, rightness in quantity, precision in rendering the exact character of undulating surfaces and curves, straightnesses and distances, which is evident in Mr. Watts's genius and was also noticeable in Turner's, and which is quite as native a gift as any sensitiveness to beauty of colour could be. Though complete knowledge of structural form and correctness in drawing is there, the beauty of Mr. Watts's drawing does not lie alone in there being in it an extreme perfection of correctness. It is the poetry in line and form which his genius seizes and delights in, and which makes him use line and proportion as expressional exponents in his painted poems. In the genius of Mr. Rossetti there is much of that emotional feeling towards the beauty of form, and his very remarkable power in design gives us endless ingenious varieties in the composition of line, but the teachable correctness is often wanting. There is a rightness in art qualities which can be proved by the science of art, and there is a rightness which is beyond all theories to explain and all teachings to inspire, and which can only be proved by the power in it of inspiring emotion and delight. This is the only rightness which is fervently true and perfectly beautiful, and can be seized and pictured alone by nature's gift of genius and appreciated alone by a natural instinct of delight in beauty. This is the rightness of a Giotto, and it is here maintained that as a rule this is a rightness to be found in Rossetti's work. But to be quite impartial it is only fair to allude to the difference of the opportunities of learning completely the science of his art possessed by Giotto and that possessed by Rossetti. The last could distinctly have learned what it was impossible for the former to learn. Still it must not also for a moment be forgotten that Mr. Rossetti worked at the qualities of his art which were sympathetic to his own vein of thought and feeling with a moral conscientiousness and intensity of labour which few artists have ever shown to the same degree.

The exhibition of Mr. Watts's work inspired but one verdict as far as certain qualities in it went. There was not one dissentient voice as to the qualities of dignity and nobility being inherent in his work. He appears, in working at his art, to have had constantly in view a feeling which is to him inseparable from all true art. It seems not merely to be the poet's longing to give a form to his inventive imaginings, or expression in art to a mental vision; but it seems to be a certain craving to reach a high and very extended level in poetry; to express a very sincere and passionate reverence for the

beauty of nature's nobility; to disentangle it from the narrowness, smallness, and meanness to which the ugly mistakes in human nature have reduced so much of our existence. It is a natural and unconscious preference for a high level of thought and feeling which must have been the indigenous soil in which Mr. Watts's art has grown and flourished. The poetry of his designs echoes little of the sentiment of any other painted poems, old or new, unless it be sometimes a design by William Blake, but we are often reminded by them of a strain of music by Beethoven, or of a wide-reaching, sustained phrase by Handel, and lines of written poetry by Milton. Perhaps the two poetic creations which strike the same chord to our imaginations more exactly than do any others we know of in the whole range of poetry are Beethoven's 'Creation Hymn' and Mr. Watts's 'Newly Created Eve.'

One very distinct aim to be traced in Mr. Watts's art is that only through beauty should art attempt to express any other emotion. Beauty of form, colour, quality, tone of surface and texture, must be there, or the language of art ceases to be the legitimate medium through which ideas and feelings ought to be expressed. Also, that in treating the grave and sad side of life, beauty can still be the chief element, not only in the form but in the feeling of the work. The heroic element in life, the friendly attitude towards death, can still be the prominent feeling in works which treat of the unpitiful inevitable mysteries none of us can either solve or avoid. In his collected work no thoughtful student could fail to trace evidences of the manner of life of an artist who has been able to produce such a number of ideal works of a character which necessitates the lengthiest process of painting. He cannot fail to discern evidences of strength of purpose, brave will, and lofty aim, which has never allowed itself to relax, however difficult the strain and the struggle, however little sympathy the public showed towards the art most really his own; of the balance and sobriety of judgment which has guided the fine artistic sensibilities in this work, and which has never allowed a natural strong dislike of publicity to grow into a morbid seclusion of such art from public criticism. A single aim of doing justice to nature's gift of the genius for beauty, a worthy purpose of devoting such an aim to a patriotic feeling of wishing to make English art worthy of English deeds and English literature, such an aim and such a purpose have alone made such efforts possible. Such single purpose and pure intention have overcome, as far as it can be overcome, the difficulty, enormous in the case of an artist, of continual want of health. That Mr. Watts's art might have had the advantage of a robust quality had he had better health, is probably true, but also would it not have lost something which is as interesting as it is rare?

When the temperament is melancholic, we find a deeper source of interest is required in order that the necessary excitement should be

stirred which shall result in action. The mere half-animal pleasure of using natural powers, which we see often evincing itself where genius is allied to robustness of constitution, naturally does not exist where the health and temperament are such as to make all work a labour. But in the case of a melancholy temperament where a fervent intensity of nature and a spiritual yearning are united to great natural artistic gifts, the sufficient exciting power is there to necessitate expression. But such expression will be used as a means and not as an end only. The further excitement of aiming to express abstract ideas which will embody the essential interests of life will be required, or at all events perpetual change of key in the pictorial motive of the work, the excitement of freshly rendering new conditions of effects. We trace, as in the case of Michael Angelo, a yearning for something more complete than artistic completeness, a yearning to express in the language of art not only the inventive imaginings of the poet, but a sympathy with the wider outside conditions of all life and its puzzles. The very nature of the aspiration excludes completion in a contracted and finite sense. The aim of the subject passes out of conditions which can be complete as far as realistic rendering can make them so. The poet-painter, in order to translate into a form such inventive imaginings, has to fall back on the consistency in the invariable laws of nature viewed from the comprehension of the poet, the comprehension which includes the imagination. In this larger area he has to keep the balance between nature's obvious invariable facts and nature's ideality. It is the existence of this sense of balance in his art which is the sign of the greatest power in Mr. Watts's genius. He has spared no labour in acquiring a mastery of those general truths of form and colour which are inherent in nature's laws, but he has used such a mastery to express the further suggestions of nature which affect not only our eyes and our minds, but the no less real because less obvious part of us, our hearts and better emotions. This it is which, from an intellectual and moral point of view, makes his art *great art*, which establishes it on the same level as the noblest poetry, and which ought to win the gratitude of all who are capable of discerning self-forgetting, single-aimed, patriotic labour—labour that has resulted in this case in works of art which we English should do well to recognise as a legitimate source of national pride.

Mr. Watts's work, in some very important respects, is also the finest echo of our own times that exists. All really good work, the result of original genius, must of necessity echo back the feeling of its own time in one respect or another. Instead of narrowing all the interests of art into the aim of displaying a technical expertness, as in the case of much of the popular work now painted, Mr. Watts uses his knowledge and artistic sensibilities in a wider field—a field which embraces a poetic vision and an intellectual sympathy—and in this lies one resemblance between his art and that of the old masters.

When a passion for art is ingrained in the very essence of a superior nature, it is developed by the artist to express something beyond its own cleverness. When we can walk with ease, we use our walking powers to go somewhere; when we have learned to write, we use our power of writing to say something. It is only the baby who has a difficulty in walking, and the child who is learning to write, who have no further aim but to walk and to write. Even to the most gifted the art of painting is, and always has been, a most difficult language to acquire any proficiency in; and modern conditions seem to have extinguished in a degree certain influences favourable to the growth and expansion of those finer sensibilities which in waves have been granted to civilisations of the past. And yet a great desire and ambition to be artistic has become the fashion, and with a great strain and a great fuss we are all trying to learn the language. Exhibitions every year are crowded with conscientious and laboured work, and show—as far as learning the language goes—that our studies are encouraging. Yet, strange to say, every year's exhibitions seem to prove that what our modern art-language has to say is becoming less and less interesting: less and less is it used to interpret the serious and earnest elements in modern society, or the complete and earnest nature of the artist as an individual who produces it.

Undoubtedly much of our modern art does not justify its existence. But, in leaving the last winter's exhibition at the Grosvenor Gallery, the feeling which was generally and publicly expressed was that, though the work was not invariably sympathetic to the understanding or to the taste of every visitor, still it was a *power*; it carried with it a dignifying, elevating influence; it was the expression of a peremptory native instinct used to noble aims. In some of even the remarkable modern work we cannot help feeling that the amount of labour and exercise of will expended on it might have been more usefully employed had the painter been an explorer in science, the teacher of some handicraft, the head or organiser of bodies of men. But in Mr. Watts's art we feel that the right temperament has governed the particular kind of expression; the sensibilities have been excited in the direction which best fulfils the claims of art. Art is his natural language—difficult, most difficult, in these times, when native art instinct is so insufficiently fed by modern conditions; still, it is evident, Nature is for ever weaving itself into a form of art in his brain, for ever demanding a translation from him of her meanings and of her beauties. In his art there is the treble nature of the Greek character and feeling for form and sense of restrained balance in beauty, combined with a Hebraic solidity on the moral side, and a Gothic imperative impetus of imagination and aspiration towards a spiritual beauty. These combined powers carry his feeling for beauty into a rare and very vital atmosphere. The doctrine of 'art for art's sake' is often propped up by a reference to Greek perfection in art.

But the really important question with regard to following the Greeks is, What would their fine sensibilities have aimed at expressing in art had they had to face present conditions? Assuredly they would not have ignored any side of life out of which beauty might be extracted. If in our meaning of beauty we include beauty expressing the highest, tenderest sensibilities, the noblest, largest thoughts, then *beauty for beauty's sake* might not inaptly be used as the text most appropriate to use with reference to Mr. Watts's art. No Gothic artist ever loved to face the beauty of mystery more than does Mr. Watts—mystery in every quality. Never does his genius flourish more happily than when his imagination reaches that borderland where thought and spirit half lift the curtain that divides this world's tangible certainties from those powers which Nature shows us as existing, but which she does not explain. Yet in working into a form of art immaterial realities, his genius is guided by his native instinct for those principles which made Greek art at once so direct, so restrained, so subtle, and so dignified. The many-sided nature in Mr. Watts's art makes it more completely true to the thought and culture of his own time than could any single-sided genius be.

Mr. Watts has shown throughout his career a very marked power of detachment. Though evidently always in the mental attitude of a student, and showing the most genuine and admiring sympathy towards the work of some of his fellow artists, he has nevertheless retained his self-centred individuality in a most remarkable degree. Both the conscious and unconscious parts of his genius have remained completely uninfluenced by his sympathy or his admiration for any modern work. No artist has ever worked in a more isolated way, on ground which he shared less with any contemporary artist. Absolute knowledge and certainty in the drawing, and a loose, but invariably purposeful, touch of the brush, are perhaps as near a true description of the method of his manipulation as can be given. In every picture he ever painted it is clear that the mind has worked before the hand was indulged in the pleasure of an effect—that every emotional delight in form and colour has paid its toll of thought and reflection before it has been allowed to translate itself on his canvas. One of the most striking evidences of power in Mr. Watts's genius is the great variety and range of subject to be found in his work. As before mentioned, the works exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery represented about half his labours as an artist. Among the many pictures which remained in his studio during the exhibition are some which are quite among his finest works. This variety is probably owing chiefly to his having such a very strong sense of the *nature* of, and consequently sympathy with, a great variety of conditions—a *nature* which has less to do with the realistic aspect of an object at any given moment than with its lasting and essentially distinctive characteristics. In

the painting of sea and sky, for instance, there is that peculiar charm and truth rendered of the wide, far-stretching space, the same quality of texture played on by the variety which distance and atmosphere alone produce. It is in this quality wherein lies chiefly the poetry of one of his most popular pictures, 'The Return of the Dove.' The monotony of the heavy swollen tides receding away to the horizon is only varied by the changes which distance gives to the wide spaces of the water, and to the grey of a sullen, hopeless sky. In the companion picture, 'And the Dove returned no more,' a very different effect of distance is suggested. The cloudy vapours have lifted, there is an awakening of colour and light, still misty and young, like the blue eye of a child, when it first wakes into the life and movement of the day. There is the exact nature of that condition of the atmosphere which we see when the dark, heavy, ominous weather clears off and the birds begin to sing again, and Nature readjusts herself to a brighter, happier mood. But most of all in the human face and figure does he give us *Nature* in the widest, truest sense of her meaning. The important reality impressed upon us about the people he paints is not, as in the case of so much of the realistic work so popular at present, how the light struck on certain forms and colours at a given moment in the steady north light of a studio, producing patches of light and shade, colour and tone, of certain forms and tints; but Mr. Watts gives us the very nature of his people absorbed into the one aspect in the portrait, always generously rendered, every trace of nobility enforced, every hint of intellect and refinement done fullest justice to. The nature of the man, the nature of his employment, whether he be poet, artist, statesman, musician, ecclesiastic, or soldier, suggested by a certain atmosphere, through which the individuality is also strongly traceable. It is not only the man but his life which is included in these presentments. Perhaps in portraits more than in any other of Mr. Watts's pictures the conscious and the unconscious power is evinced in almost an equal degree. Beside the sitter seems to have stood another subject from which Mr. Watts painted quite as much as from the man himself. This was a mental vision of his sitter, the impression which his life and work, nature and position, have created in the painter's imagination. Consciously he strives to impersonate this impression in his painting, but at the same time his native art instinct renders subtle truths almost unconsciously from the aspect of the real sitter.

Mr. Watts is greatest as a colourist where he is greatest in all qualities of his art, where he uses colour to express and carry out the imaginative meaning of his subject. The mere material beauty of colour and tone never satisfies him unless it enters fitly into the scheme of the sentiment of the work, unless it adds a meaning as well as a beauty. Over and over again he alters the colour and tone of a work which to

others may seem beautiful till he gets tone and colour appropriate to the scheme of the whole intention, to do their full service in not only charming the eye, but impressing the higher sensibilities and satisfying his own intellectual judgment. It is obviously a native instinct which impels the choice and creates the finely-poised sense of selection in the first instance, but in the creation of art fine instincts are turned into permanent and useful principles by the presence of a superior intellectual judgment. It is by having developed instincts into principles by thoughtful labour and experiments that all great artists have acquired knowledge and power necessary to work out an ideal art, which contains at the same time nature's essential truths of form and colour and the value of a poet's creation.

One truth, invariable in the aspect of nature, but most rarely seen in art, is that of the atmosphere which plays round all objects, softening and mellowing all forms, tones, and colours. In Mr. Watts's work between the picture-plane and the subject the existence of space is always suggested. He never brings even a life-sized head exactly in the same plane as the frame. He does not focus his subject so that it seems to start out of the frame towards you, but he leads the eye within the frame into a toned atmosphere of repose and quiet. This harmonising all objects within a general atmosphere is one chief point in which Mr. Watts's work reminds us of the old masters' work. There is the same absence of any microscopic searching out for facts and details which are within and beyond the aspect of his subject focused as a whole, and yet there are true suggestions of every visible variety in the textures and surfaces of nature. The true and separate character is given to each kind of surface, but over the separateness he spreads a bloom of atmosphere, the indefiniteness of air which hangs like a veil, and softens with a filmy texture the forms of everything in nature when even only a few yards distant from the eye. Not that there is any smearing, or that Mr. Watts ever excludes any individuality or precision there may be in the true aspect of detail, but he adds a further truth, and one very rarely found in modern art, the mystery of atmosphere. The mystery, or rather uncertainty disguised, arising from a want of knowledge and precision in drawing, is, we all know, but too common; but when supplanted by clearness and definite knowledge there is very rarely added the charm and beauty of atmosphere. In this, as in the fine sensitiveness to the delicate feeling in the drawing of the varied character of surface and relation of distances, we are reminded of Turner's genius. In this he enters into new fields of difficulty. Nothing is so untangible, so difficult to represent, as atmosphere; and to include it without sacrificing unduly other truths in the aspect of nature, such as precision of form, brilliancy of colour, and depth of tone, necessitates the existence of the finest sense of balance and power of scaling rightly the distinct ingredients of an effect. In Mr. Watts's

art. But besides these feelings more particularly belonging to our own times, Mr. Rossetti's art echoes back a sentiment which was the mental atmosphere of his youth and early intellectual training, the spirit of the age of Dante. Unlike Mr. Watts's genius, Mr. Rossetti's painted poetry recalls little of the Greek or Gothic imagination—too individually and assertingly original to be Greek, too measured and definite to be Gothic. It recalls, however, a sentiment of mediæval Italian feeling, to which are added a fervency and jewel-like brilliancy and depth alone equalled in art-history by the early German school. Dante, however, was the earliest and chief inspirer of his poetic feeling, and the spirit of the age of Dante governs the attitude of his mind towards his artistic conceptions: that age when a romantic element appropriated religion as its field, when saints and angels were very real heroes and heroines, and *Paradiso*, *Purgatorio*, and the *Inferno* were very definite scenery in which they moved. In a certain way every poet may be said to live more *really* in his artistic life than in the life that is going on about him; but probably no mediæval mind ever had a greater power of living its strongest life in a land of dreams created by a powerful imagination than had Mr. Rossetti, and most readily did he give up living in the atmosphere of the real world for this land of dreams. But what a sense of power and reality he gives us in this land of dreams! what a force of grasp and tangibility in his imaginative creations! With the incense of their beauty and their strength they almost turn our own real life into a shadow. After an hour with the Rossettis they seem reality, the rest of life a dream. He is a true echo of his poet-namesake in that he is so definite in his self-created worlds, and peremptory in his hold on the details of imagined creations. There is a sense in two or three of his earlier designs of actual life forcing its presence and contesting the ground with that world of his imagination, but as he grew older it appears from his work that more and more he shunned that presence; more and more does the work seem to say, 'My world shall be the world I choose it to be; no foreign influence shall interfere.' Assuredly if seclusion was the price to be paid for an absence of influences disturbing and irritating to that mental absorption in the excitement of brain-weavings, it was not only paid but courted. His poetic imaginings were perhaps too entirely fed from his own brain-weaving; and notwithstanding the fibrous, intense character of his genius and his intellect, this continual feeding on himself, this letting no daylight in save through the prism of his own poetical preferences, certainly narrowed the character of his inventions and restrained his poetry within distinct limitations. As far as the intellectual qualities in his work are concerned, we feel a cessation of growth in the intention of the works dated after the year 1870 or thereabout. Never do we lose in any of the work the sense that it is the work of a poet possessed with a rare intellect; but

after the work of that time, though the manipulation is to the end earnest labour, we feel that more or less the intellect was at play, not striving to reach higher levels, but revelling in the power it had readily at command. Some few years before his death, owing to want of health, there is distinctly a waning in the power itself, and the reason for painting seems to have ceased to be an imperative desire to describe the beauty which touched him vividly.

The subject-pictures of earlier days have a strong dramatic interest that results from an earnest moral questioning attitude of mind which allowed of influences outside his own land of poetic dreams to touch him strongly; but these, unfortunately, were never carried out—except in the case of Dante's dream—on a large scale, or when his powers as a painter were most magnificent. Mr. Rossetti's views in art matters were remarkable for originality, and he had the power to impress on others his original views—even more, he had the power of inspiring others with poetical feeling. He had the most kindly, but not the most godlike, of poetic gifts. He did not throw his bread upon the waters, leaving it to a higher fate to decide how it was to benefit mankind. He peremptorily insisted that in his way, and his way only, mankind should see and feel. The consequence was that, sooner than meet the results of insubordination, he preferred to have little to do with his own generation, feeling that his best duty was to perfect his own work without allowing any foreign influences to weaken or frustrate its power. The feeling of super-sensitiveness to criticism was constitutional; and when such feelings are matters of health, there remains but one fair course to be taken by the public with regard to such a state of things—to regret it. Had Mr. Rossetti struggled with every fibre of his will, and exposed his work to public criticism, it is believed he would never have become sufficiently insensitive to adverse criticism to have made it possible for his mind to have calmed down to its best work after having been exposed to it. Unquestionably, the first duty of any nature gifted with creative genius is to do full justice to such genius. If a nature is constitutionally weighted with a sensitiveness which makes it impossible for the poet to work out his best power under the conditions of ordinary contact with society, there can be no doubt that such contact should be eschewed. The result in the work of a poet's life should be the only test as to whether he has wisely or unwisely chosen his manner of life, as far as the public is concerned. Most striking is the same in Mr. Rossetti's work of direct impetus in the genius. There is little or none of the weakening effect of anxiety to be found in his art. What he wished to say he said in a language which he learned with comparative ease—certainly, as far as colour was concerned—and therefore his art has the power and force that great work done easily from natural instinct alone can have. Where Mr. Rossetti found a difficulty it was not always overcome; as, for

instance, in the flesh-painting of many of the pictures, where the drapery, jewels, and flowers are all marvels of beauty. The colour of the flesh was a failure, and apparently he was content to leave it as a failure. But in his finest work there is a splendour throughout of inspired touch. His colour positively burns with fervent purity and intensity. There is little reticence in its vividness; but there is no need of reticence. His power as a colourist is equal to the want of it. Like an Oriental colourist, he can use the brightest colours and the brightest contrasts, and get the work harmonious and right as a whole. Though this poetic art of Rossetti's is laden with the perfumes of incense rather than of flowers, and burns like the rays of the setting sun, reflected within closed walls, rather than the rays of light which freely illumine the air-spaces of the heavens, it burns too purely from a genuine inborn love to be otherwise than wholesome. Though on the brain of any one keenly sensitive to the power of colour it has an effect almost entrancing (to use the word literally), assuredly there is no poison in it. It is most certain that Mr. Rossetti's art is saved from an over-balance of the sensuous qualities by the steadying influence of intellectual strength; an intellectual intention sustains and purifies its vivid intensity. Without ostentatiously raising any moral question, it might be interesting to pause for a moment, and ask, Should we be the better, as human beings, for falling powerfully under the influence of Mr. Rossetti's painted poetry? Distinctly it is felt we should be the better. Inherent in the very nature of all expressions of true greatness is a reason for their existence; and if for their existence, consequently also for their influence. Mr. Rossetti's painted poetry possesses certain inherent qualities of greatness to which no one can be sensitive without being the better. All natures must be the better for an appreciation of beauty in art, which enriches the sensibilities and widens the sympathies towards various phases of nature. But in the atmosphere of Mr. Rossetti's art there is likewise a strong and weird sense of the *daemon*. The exciting effect which his work produces on many flavours rather of the fire that was lawlessly stolen from heaven than of the rays of the sun that are freely showered on us to refresh and sustain us. The particular kind of excitement produced in many natures is similar to that which Wagner's music creates. Mr. Rossetti takes us into an atmosphere of enchantment and mystery, and we are left trying hopelessly to unravel those mysteries of fate which have always stirred the human brain with the deepest questionings. He loved to paint the beauty in a woman's face which holds in a sphinx-like gaze a secret—the pent-up mystery of fate; but he cared little to link such beauty to any crises in any individual fate. There is a nobility in his painted heroines which is of no date, and would outlast, it is believed, and predominate over, any changes in race, custom, or fashion. What a contrast to the sweet refinement of the English

gentlewomen by Sir Joshua Reynolds we saw on other walls of the Royal Academy last winter! The purity and grace of these, however limited and conventional according to the widest intellectual sympathies, have a delicate loveliness which we do not look for in the Rossettis. But these have a greatness of their own, belonging to no special date. A thousand years hence the beauty, such as it is, will appeal as directly as it does now. So far, the intense individuality in Mr. Rossetti's taste, and his antagonism to custom and conventional standards, such as they exist in our modern days, are strengthening elements in his genius. Still, perhaps it is the power in the poetry of actual expression, the fervency and concentration, which make the colour and design so impressive as an actual space of beauty, which are the qualities, more than any directly intellectual choice or sentiment in the work, which will secure a lasting and high interest in Mr. Rossetti's painted poetry.

In conclusion, the strongest impression which the works of Mr. Watts and Mr. Rossetti leave on the mind is that they are both most deeply interesting as expressions of our own times on a high level of art most rarely reached in these days. Cleverness, and the scientific side of art, even genius, so far as accuracy of eye and feeling for the aspect of the outside of nature go, govern the popular appreciation of art; but such qualities do little in adding to real culture. But in Mr. Watts and Mr. Rossetti we have poet-painters who, like Tennyson in verse, Ruskin in prose, and George Eliot in fiction, are exponents of the complicated but highest sensibilities of our own inner lives. In both we have the echoes of spiritual and intellectual yearnings, and in both we have a protest against materialism and against the creed that physical beauty can be severed from mind and spirit, and treated by art in that denuded condition to any good purpose. Once for all, would it not be better to realise how futile it is for us to try and be pagans of the Greek type? We cannot be, we are not, entirely sincere if we pretend that beauty, unassociated with our own modern moral and spiritual aims, can satisfy us. We can be materialists, many of us are materialists; but pagans we cannot be in that we cannot refine our higher sensibilities to their full nobility as did the Greeks, and omit the influence that Christian spirituality and morality have had on so many past centuries, and on the mental atmosphere that has surrounded us from our infancy. If we allow our taste to become that of materialists, we must give up all hope of any great national art. Never, in any country, at any time, has art sprung into real vitality, except through the serious religious side of a nation's thought. Assuredly the genuine English temperament is not one which can be satisfied with the surface in things. We are slow, but we are constant. If our modern intellectual vein of thought has no very definite dogmatic religion, there is certainly no lack of serious moral fibre, such as is shown, for instance,

in our best literature. If we had had the same native instinct and opportunity for rightly judging questions of art that we have for judging questions of literature, we should never have been influenced by foreign standards of taste in art as we are allowing ourselves at present to be influenced. In Mr. Watts's and Mr. Rossetti's art we have everything that is most opposed in feeling to modern French art. We have a profound reverence for noble beauty, and an earnestness in the worship of it which is as religious in its way as was the worship of a Fra Angelico or a Botticelli. Even without any distinct religious creed, it seems a law of human nature that we should try and justify our noblest natural emotions by legalising them and aiming at putting into their expression something of prayer and praise. In the painted poetry we have been considering the prayer may be addressed to a somewhat undefined power, and the praise to beauty which is not hallowed as a personal deity; yet it remains true that a sense of an aspiration towards a higher level of thought and feeling was the inspiring motive, and that in such poetry there is to be found the strength which emanates alone from some of the noblest of human impulses.

EMILIE ISABEL BARRINGTON

FALLING TRADE AND FACTORY LEGISLATION.

STATESMEN of various politics concur that *more sun* is the cure for depression in agriculture. All admit depression in trade, but do not unite in advising a remedy. Mr. Gladstone, at Leeds, said our exports of manufactured goods had declined 161 millions in the three years ending 1880 when compared with the year 1872, but he neither stated the cause of this nor suggested a cure.

Many affirm hostile tariffs to be the cause, and recommend *protection* as the only feasible means to restore our trade. We must, however, bear in mind that with the exception of Germany no European State has raised its tariff against us for twenty years.

Hostile tariffs we have always had, and have contended with successfully till recent years; now, however, the development of manufacturing abroad, aided by paternal factory legislation at home, is seriously embarrassing this country.

The last Factory Act, which from 1875 reduced the working time of factories to fifty-six hours per week, may not have affected all industries to the same extent. Many clearly saw that flax and woollen industries would be the first to feel the blow, and their fears have been fully realised.

For some years prior to the passing of the last Act, France and Belgium were making such rapid strides in flax and woollen spinning that it was evident that British spinners would have hard enough work, even with sixty hours, to hold their own against the seventy-two hours worked on the Continent. In 1874 the late Mr. John Crossley, M.P., stated that on account of the difference in hours the Belgians and French

could purchase the wool in London, take it abroad, spin it and send it into the Bradford market as yarn cheaper by 3d. or 4d. a lb. than the Bradford manufacturers could afford to sell it. They also competed in piece goods. The result was that there were now no less than twenty thousand looms idle in Bradford and the district. Formerly in the district from which he came, there existed a large loom trade, which supplied yarns to the manufacturers of fancy goods in Glasgow and other parts of Scotland, but that trade had now become unprofitable in consequence of Belgium having entered into competition with it, and having succeeded in transferring the whole of the trade in that article to itself.

Thirty-five years ago Great Britain and Ireland possessed 850,000 flax-spinning spindles, or four and a half times more than the Continent, which owned 190,000. At present the United Kingdom has 1,292,000 spindles, but Continental competitors now possess 1,705,600, or 32 per cent. more than Britain.

Since 1861, 153,500 spindles have been stopped in England, 52,000 have been stopped in Scotland since 1871, and during the last six years 85,000 have been stopped in Ireland, a decrease of 290,500 flax-spinning spindles, or $18\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The stoppage of these factories has thrown 20,000 hands out of employment. The shares of the twelve leading Belfast flax-spinning companies quoted in the market, with the exception of two, average 58 per cent. under par. With equal hours to the Continent all these would be flourishing concerns.

British spinners are rapidly losing ground in home, as well as in Continental, markets. The following table clearly shows that the exports of linen yarn are steadily decreasing, while the imports are as steadily increasing :—

Linen Yarns in lbs.

	Exports	Imports
1869	34,570,316	2,018,363
1870	37,239,314	3,081,597
1871	36,235,625	4,913,697
1872	31,187,051	3,723,260
1873	28,734,212	1,603,286
1874	27,154,906	1,875,640
1875	27,887,681	3,336,874
1876	22,278,259	3,414,205
1877	19,216,061	5,308,395
1878	18,473,800	5,969,434
1879	17,428,800	6,384,798
1880	16,437,200	5,953,731

The exports for the six years before the Factory Act of 1874 came into operation averaged 32,520,237 lbs., but for the six years after the Act they averaged only 20,286,957 lbs., or a decline of 37·6 per cent. The year 1880 shows a decline of more than 53 per cent. on 1870 (the highest point reached), and also shows about 50 per cent. less than the average of six years before the Act passed.

The exports of linens which for the five years ending 1869 amounted to 1,113,000,000 of yards, and for the five years ending 1874 were 1,074,000,000 of yards, have fallen in the five years ending 1880 to 808,000,000 of yards, or a decline of upwards of 26 per cent. when compared with the ten years before the Act was passed.

In the woollen trade figures tell a similar tale.

The exports of woollen manufactures which for the five years ending 1869 were 104,272,500*l.*, and for the five years ending 1874

were 129,381,441*l.*, have fallen in the five years ending 1880 to 85,800,289*l.*, a decrease of 26½ per cent. from the ten years preceding the passing of the Factory Act; while the imports of these goods have risen from 1,141,590*l.* in 1860 and 3,362,656*l.* in 1870 to 7,747,444*l.* in 1880.

The exports of woollen and worsted yarns, which for the five years ending 1869 were 176,491,329 lbs., and for the five years ending 1874 amounted to 188,722,864 lbs., have declined in the five years ending 1880 to 148,859,096 lbs., or a reduction of 18½ per cent. when compared with the ten years prior to the passing of the Act. The imports of these yarns, on the other hand, are rapidly increasing, having risen from 1,577,091 lbs. in 1861 and 10,294,415 lbs. in 1870 to 15,069,831 lbs. in 1880.

From the large quantity of manufactured goods we have always been obliged to export, it is evident that we require the foreign, as well as the home, trade to keep our factories going. The dangers arising from foreign competition, therefore, do not consist wholly in the sending of goods into our *home* markets, but in preventing us exporting to Continental and other markets we formerly supplied.

A Manchester merchant recently showed me an invoice for 500*l.* worth of goods for shipment to the East, and said, 'Formerly I gave all such orders to English manufacturers, now I order all in Belgium on account of price. These goods are shipped direct from Belgium, and of course are not heard of in this country.'

Fifeshire manufacturers recently, in one week, placed additional orders for 50,000 bundles of linen yarn with French spinners.

It is certainly very galling for Bradford and Belfast spinners to be compelled by Act of Parliament to stand at the doors of their half-closed factories, and see foreign agents picking up the orders they formerly got.

Educational enthusiasts insist that foreign spinners are beating us on account of their superior technical knowledge. The Royal Technical Commissioners must, however, bear in mind that the spinning of flax and woollen yarns is so plain and simple a process that there is really not much technical knowledge required. Taste and technical knowledge are required in *designing* and *finishing* the fabrics manufactured from these yarns, but the *mere spinning* of yarns in which foreigners are now beating Belfast and Bradford is entirely a question of cost of production. The Royal Technical Commissioners should note the significant fact that foreign spinners always back up their *superior* technical knowledge with about 30 per cent. more working hours per week, with English machinery, and frequently with English managers. If foreign spinners were working *shorter* hours than English and beating us in price, then some weight might be attached to the technical knowledge theory.

About nine years ago certain parties, either to gain popularity

or actuated by philanthropic but misguided motives, proposed a Nine Hours Bill. In 1874 the late Government took up the question and passed an Act for 'Improving the Health of Women and Children in Factories.' Operatives were by no means unanimous in supporting the measure, as we read in the Commissioners' Report to the Local Government Board that 'among the women especially there is a considerable amount of apathy;' and Mr. Baker, Inspector of Factories, in his report said: 'Very few women, comparatively, appear to want it. The originators of the movement are men.'

This Act reduced the hours of labour in factories from sixty to fifty-six hours per week, and thus struck one-fifteenth part off the entire manufacturing power of the country, as it stopped spinning, the *producer* of all the yarn from which textile fabrics are made, and speeds of spinning could not be increased to make up for the loss of four hours per week. Foreigners buy the same machinery from our best makers, drive as fast, and work seventy-two hours against our fifty-six hours per week. Many say an English operative can turn off more than a foreign one. I can easily understand that a mason, a mechanic, a farmer hoeing potatoes, or any one engaged in manual labour, may, by pushing, do as much in nine as in ten hours; but, in spinning, machinery does the work, the operative merely attends to the machine, and it makes no difference whether she has an English or French tongue—she cannot control the turn off.

In the debate on this Bill, Mr. Mundella stated that a firm of flax spinners in Ireland had written him that the proposed reduction in hours would make no difference in their production; certainly it did make no difference to their turn off, as they failed, and closed their mills before the Act came into operation.

Mr. Hugh Mason's opinion was also quoted by Lord Shaftesbury as a '*quietus*' to alarms about foreign competition; but three years later Mr. Mason *changed his views*, and published a strong letter against the reduction of hours, and stated: 'The French capitalist would make good profits when the English capitalist would be ruined.'

Mr. Tennant, late M.P. for Leeds, also derided foreign competition in the debate of 1874, but seven years afterwards he closed his large flax mills in Leeds, giving foreign competition as his principal reason for doing so, thus throwing 1,600 hands out of employment.

This last Factory Act also struck one-fifteenth part off the entire value of all mill property and machinery, involving manufacturers in a loss of several millions. Had it been proved that the health of operatives was endangered, no manufacturer would have objected, but the measure was not supported by medical testimony.

Of the factory doctors examined, 70·14 per cent. said 'factory labour as carried on had not any deleterious influence on the health of the operatives;' 81 per cent. said 'sixty hours per week were not

too long for women; and 72 per cent. stated the same in regard to young persons, while 75 per cent. 'declared that the existing hours were not too long for half-timers.'

In the debate on the Bill especial stress was laid on the fact that infant mortality was greatly increased by mothers working in factories, and neglecting their offspring. The Home Secretary (Sir R. Cross), said: 'There could not be a stronger case for interference as far as actual injury to the woman herself and to her child was concerned, than work at the mill two or three days after her confinement; yet he did not introduce a single clause on this subject either into his 1874 Bill, or into his 1878 measure, although he said, 'the difficulties of Parliament intervening in such cases were not insuperable;' and this was the only grievance supported by a preponderance of medical testimony.

In the Report of Mr. Baker, Chief Inspector of Factories, from which Sir Richard Cross quoted so largely in support of his 1874 Bill, it is stated that 'the medical commissioners have summarised the present grievances of the cotton workers as follows:—

'1. High temperatures; 2. ventilation; 3. dust; 4. bad sanitary arrangements; and 5, in the weaving departments from the effects of oversized yarn.'

Yet the Act of Parliament as passed has not a single clause in addition to those which were already in existence, either to mitigate or remove any of the above, which were the real and only grievances.

The Act simply removed the operative *one half-hour* earlier each day from amongst the dust, whereas the more sensible plan would have been to have *removed the dust* and *left the operative*. It would trouble a medical practitioner to define the difference in the effect on the system between working ten hours and working ten hours and a half amongst dust.

Mr. Baker's Report also stated: 'The Commissioners have shown that the processes of reeling, doubling, winding, warping, and weaving have in themselves no debilitating tendency.' Employers replied 'that of the 450,000 persons employed in the cotton manufacture, 300,000 were to be found in these branches of labour.' Yet the Act shortened the working day for these 300,000 without a single argument to support such a step, thus involving these operatives in a loss of wages estimated at 760,000*l.* per annum.

Reductions in factory hours have hitherto been brought about by agitation in *busy times*. Parliament has never been guided by any *definite principle*; and I now venture to suggest a system which would stop this spasmodic haphazard legislation.

First, the existing restrictions on the labour of adults should be reconsidered, and Parliament should fix, say, 60 hours per week, or any other time based on medical testimony, as the maximum working hours of women; after that legislative interference should stop.

Further changes should be left to be brought about by ordinary economic and proper causes.

Second, I would classify factories, the same as we classify ships, and make medical inspectors affix bills on the door of each room, stating whether it is First, Second, or Third Class. This would warn operatives what rooms to avoid, or to demand higher wages^a for working in inferior rooms. It would stimulate mill-owners to employ fans for the removal of dust, to ventilate, and otherwise improve their factories in order to secure the highest certificate.

The present system, or rather want of system, of legislation has the very opposite effect. A manufacturer has no encouragement to erect a fine, well-aired factory, and no inducement is given to him to improve his works, as he knows not the day when a Government may pass an Act reducing hours to such an extent as to render his business, however healthy, wholly unremunerative; and perhaps compel him to close his works altogether, and throw him on the world without compensation.

It is manifestly unfair to reduce the hours of labour in palatial works such as those at Saltaire, with arguments founded on evils existing in wretched hovels of workshops in Black Country towns.

After English manufacturers have been so heavily handicapped, it is rather tantalising for them to be told by Mr. Mundella that other countries 'had sent goods to neutral markets which England could have supplied if she had only been wide awake;' when he surely knows that at no time in commercial history have English manufacturers been more wide awake, and making more strenuous efforts to push sales in every corner of the globe.

Instead of increasing our factory hours I would, of course, much rather see foreigners reducing theirs; but it would be more difficult to induce them to do so than to arrange a French Commercial Treaty.

It is shallow conceit on our part to continue pooh-poohing foreign competition, and to imagine that we can safely continue to work shorter hours than any country in the world. We have committed a great mistake in enacting laws that raise our cost of production, tie our hands, and prevent us competing in every branch of trade.

The Union of the engineers of Scotland resolved that overtime rates must be paid for all hours worked after fifty-one hours per week; but, finding after a year or two that trade was going elsewhere, it decided that the engineers should return to the former rule and work fifty-four hours before demanding overtime. With an Act of Parliament, however, there is no such elasticity; in good times or bad times, textile manufacturers and operatives are fixed down.

To regain our position we must increase hours of labour in our factories, to enable us, as formerly, to supply the *cheaper* as well as the *better* qualities of goods, otherwise we shall merely retain our trade in specialties. This means stoppage of mills, lower wages, and

general depression affecting railway and numerous other interests, and lessening the demand for agricultural produce. Employers and employed sail in the same boat, both have the same interests at stake, but the cry for increased hours must come from the operatives, and I urge them to consider this question calmly and dispassionately.

These Acts are insinuating, eating like a canker at the vitals of our industries, on which the greatness of England depends; and if the operatives do not take up the question at once, they may discover their error when too late, and find that they have sucked out the yolk and left nothing but the shell.

ARCHIBALD W. FINLAYSON.

FOX-HUNTING.

PERHAPS no greater anomaly—no more palpable anachronism—exists than fox-hunting in England. Yet it has been called, and is, the ‘national sport.’ Why? Population increases; the island is filling up fast. The limited area unoccupied by human dwellings, machineries, and locomotive facilities of all kinds is still, in spite of bad seasons, as a rule fertile enough to supply some considerable proportion of the increasing wants of the nation. Every acre worth cultivating, let waste land reclaimers say what they will, is cultivated; and impoverished landlords and tenants alike are less than ever able to bear the losses inflicted by broken fences, unhinged gates, and overridden wheat, which are the result of the inroads of constantly increasing multitudes of ignorant riders unable to distinguish seeds from squitch or turnips from tares, and which have already caused the masters of several packs of hounds to discontinue the public advertisement of their meets. Why, then, is fox-hunting, which is generally regarded as the rich man’s or country squire’s (by no means synonymous terms) amusement, still the popular sport of the nation?

The reason is to be found, first, in the manly predilection inherent to our Anglo-Saxon nature for a sport into which the element of *danger* conspicuously enters; and, secondly, in that it is essentially a democratic sport, wherein the favourite socialistic ideal, ‘The greatest happiness for the greatest number,’ is in some sort realised. The red coat—and not it alone, but the top-boot, or any outward and visible sign of a fox-hunter—covers a multitude of sins. The law of trespass is abolished for the day. The lands of the most exclusive aristocrat are open to the public, whether mounted or pedestrian; and the latter have for some years past shown a keenness for and appreciation of the sport which, though it sometimes does not conduce to its advancement or consummation, is not only remarkable, but also a healthy sign of its continuance in the future.

But the fact is that fox-hunting—from the cream of the cream of sportsmen described by ‘Nimrod,’ to the humbler class immortalised by ‘Jorrocks’—spreads a vast amount of pleasure, satisfaction

with self and goodwill towards others over a wide surface of humanity. All classes enjoy it. The 'good man across country,' proud of his skill—prouder still of his reputation, and anxious, sometimes too anxious, to retain it—perhaps derives the keenest enjoyment of all, so long as all goes well; but this important proviso shows that his position is not so secure, as regards happiness, as that of his humbler, less ambitious, or less proficient brethren. A slight accident, a bad start, a sudden turn of the hounds—especially if in favour of some distinguished rival on the other flank—will send him home with a bitterness of soul unknown to and incapable of realisation by those whose hopes are centred on a lesser pinnacle of fame or bliss, with whom to be absolutely first is not a *sine qua non* for the enjoyment of a run.

But supposing all does go well. There is a burning scent, a good fox, a good country; he is on a good horse, and has got a good start; then for the next twenty or thirty minutes (Elysium on earth can scarcely ever last longer) he absorbs as much happiness into his mental and physical organisation as human nature is capable of containing at one time. Such a man, so launched on his career, is difficult to catch, impossible to lead, and not very safe to follow; but I will try to do the latter for a page or two on paper. He is riding on the left or right of the hounds (say the left for present purposes), about parallel with their centre, or a little [in rear of them, if they run evenly and do not *tail*, and about fifty yards wide of them. The fields are chiefly grass, and of good size. The hounds are 'racing,' heads up and sterns down, with very little cry or music—indicative of a scent rarely bequeathed by modern foxes. The fences are, as a rule, strong, but not high—the 'stake and bound' of the grazing countries; but ever and anon a low but strong rail on the nearer, or the glimmer of a post on the further side, makes our friend communicate silently and mysteriously with his horse—a fine-shouldered, strong-quartered animal, almost, if not quite, thoroughbred—as he approaches the obstacle, on the necessity of extra care or increased exertion. It is, as the rider knows, an 'oxer,' i.e. a strongly-laid fence, a wide ditch, and at an interval of about three or four feet from the latter a strong single oak rail secured between stout oak posts. Better for him if the ditch is on the nearer and this rail on the further side, as, if his horse jumps short, his descending impetus will probably break it, provided it is not very strong and new, in which case a calamity will probably occur; but a collision with such a rail on the nearer side may lead to risky complications of horse and rider in the wide ditch and fence above alluded to.

Our friend, however, has an electric or telephonic system of intercourse with his horse (no whip or spur, mind you) which secures him from such disasters, and he sails onwards smoothly—his gallant horse taking the fences in his stride—and now, the crowd being long ago

disposed of, and his course truly laid for two or three fields ahead, he has leisure to inspect his company. Right and left of him (no true sportsman ever looks back) are some half-a-dozen good men and true going their own line; those on the right perhaps two hundred yards wide of him, as none but a tailor will ride the line of the hounds, and they on their side allow the same lateral space or interval that he does on his. Those on his left are nearer to him, and so far have done their *devoir* gallantly in the front with himself; but this cannot last. His is the post of advantage as well as of honour, and a slight turn to the right occurring simultaneously with the apparition of a strong 'bullfinch,' or grown-up unpleached thorn fence, black as Erebus, with only one weak place possible to bore through, which is luckily just in his line, turns these left hand competitors into humble followers, for at the pace hounds are going they cannot regain their parallel positions. As time goes on, similar accidents occur to the riders on the right, and these, with a fall or two and a refusal, reduce the front line to two men only, our friend on the left and one rival on the right. A ploughed field, followed by a grass one, ridge-and-furrow and uphill, makes our friend take a pull at his horse, for the ridges are 'against' or across him; they are high and old-fashioned, and covered with molehills, while the furrows are very deep and 'sticky,' causing even our skilled friend to roll about rather like a ship at sea, and less practised riders to broach-to altogether. As he labours across this trying ground, 'hugging the wind,' so to speak, as closely as he can, keeping the sails of his equine craft just full and no more—with a tight hold of his head, his anxious eye earnestly scans the sky line, where looms out an obstacle, the most formidable yet encountered—a strong staken-bound fence *leaning towards him*, which he instinctively knows to be garnished on the other side with a very wide ditch, whether or not further provided with an ox-rail beyond that, he cannot tell. What he sees is enough—considering the ground he has just traversed, and that he must go at the fence uphill—to wish himself safe over. However, with a sense of relief, he sees a gleam of daylight in it, which he at first half hopes is a gap, but which turns out to be a good stiff bit of timber nailed between two ash trees. It is strong and high, but lower than the fence; the 'take off' is good, and there is apparently no width of ditch beyond. So, thanking his stars or favourite saint that 'timber' is his horse's special accomplishment, he 'goes for it.' It don't improve on acquaintance. Now is the time for hands. Often—oh, how often!—have hands saved the head or the neck! and fortunately his are faultless. Without hurry, just restraining his impatience (he has the eagerness of youth), yet leaving him much to himself, he puts his horse at it in a steady hand canter, dropping his hand at the instant the sensible beast takes off to an inch in the right place, and he is safe over without even a rap.

A glorious sea of grass is now before him.

Quocunque adspicias, nihil est nisi *gramen* et ær !

A smooth and gradual slope with comparatively small fences leads down to the conventional line of willows which foreshadows the inevitable brook, without which neither in fact nor story can a good run with hounds occur. Now it is that our hero shows himself a consummate master of his art. The ploughed and ridge-and-furrow fields, above alluded to, followed by the extra exertion of the timber jump at the top of the hill, have rather taken the 'puff' out of his gallant young horse, and besides from the same causes the hounds by this time have got rather the better of him. In short, they are a good field ahead of him, and going as fast as ever. This would the eager and excitable novice—aye, not only he, but some who ought to know better—think the right time to recover the lost ground, and 'put the steam on' down the hill. O fool! Does the engine-driver 'put the steam on' at the top of Shap Fell? He shuts it off—saves it: the incline does the work for him without it. Our friend does the same; pulls his horse together, and for some distance goes no faster than the natural stride of his horse takes him down the hill. Consequently the lungs, with nothing to do, refill with air, and the horse is himself again; whereas, if he had been hurried just at that moment, he would have 'gone to pieces' in two fields. Half a mile or so further on, having by increase of pace and careful observation of the leading hounds, resulting in judicious nicks, recovered his position on the flank of the pack, he finds himself approaching the brook. He may know it to be a big place, or be ignorant of its proportions; but, in either case, his tactics are the same. He picks out a spot where no broken banks appear, and the grass is visible on the other side, and where, if any, there may be a stunted bush or two on his side of it; there he knows the bank is sound, for there is nothing more depressing than what may happen, though mounted on the best water jumper in your stable, to find yourself and him, through the breaking down of a treacherous undermined bank in the very act of jumping the brook, subsiding quietly into the water. The bush at least secures him from such a fate. About one hundred yards from the place he 'steadies' his horse almost to a hand canter till within half-a-dozen strides of the brook, when he sits down in his saddle, and lets him go at it full speed. The gallant beast knows what this means, and also by cocking his ears, snatching at the bridle, and snorting impatiently, shows his master that he is aware of what is before him. Through the combination of his own accurate judgment and his master's fine handling, he takes off exactly at the right distance, describes an entrancing parabola in the air, communicating to his rider as near an approach to the sensation of flying as mortal man can experience, and lands

with a foot to spare on the other side of the most dreaded and historically disastrous impediment in the whole country—a good eighteen feet of open water.

And now, perhaps, our friend realises the full measure of his condensed happiness, not unmingled with selfishness; as, perhaps he would own, while he gallops along the flat meadow, not forgetting to pat his horse, especially as he hears a faint 'swish' from the water, already one hundred yards in his rear; the result, as he knows, of the total immersion of his nearest follower, which, as he also knows, will probably bar the way to many more, for a 'brook with a man in it' is a frightful example, an objectionable and fear-inspiring spectacle to men and horses alike, and there is not a bridge for miles. As for proffering assistance, I fear it never enters his head. He don't know who it is, and mortal and imminent peril on the part of a dear friend would alone induce him to forego the advantage of his present position, and he knows there are plenty behind too glad of the opportunity, as occasionally with soldiers in a battle, of retiring from the fray in aid of a disabled comrade. So he sails on in glory, the hounds running, if anything, straighter and faster than ever. That very morning, perchance, he was full of care, worried by letters from lawyers and stewards, duns, announcements of farms thrown upon his hands; and, if an M.P., of a certain contest at the coming election. Where are all these now? Ask of the winds! They are vanished. His whole system is steeped in delight; there is not space in it for the absorption of another sensation. Talk of opium? of hatchis? they cannot supply such voluptuous entrancement as a run like this!

'Taking stock' again of his company, he is rather glad to see (for he is not an utterly selfish fellow) that the man on the right has also got safely over the big brook, and is going well; but there is absolutely no one else in sight. It is clear that unless a 'check' of some duration occurs, or the scent should die away, or the fox should deviate from his hitherto straight course, these two cannot be overtaken, or even approached. No such calamity—for in this case it *would* be a calamity—takes place; and the hounds, now evincing that peculiar savage eagerness which denotes the vindictive mood known as 'running for blood,' hold on their way across a splendid grass country for some two miles further with undiminished speed. Then an excited rustic is seen waving his hat as he runs to open a gate for our friend on the left, exclaiming, as the latter gallops through with hurried but sincere thanks, 'He's close afore 'em: they'll have him soon!' And sure enough, a field or two further the sight of a dark brown object slowly toiling up a long pasture-field by the side of a high straggling thorn fence causes our now beaming rider to rise in his stirrups and shout, for the information and encouragement of his companion on the right, 'Yonder be

goes !' The hounds, though apparently too intent on their work to notice this ejaculation, seem nevertheless to somewhat appreciate its import, for their leaders appear to press forward with a panting, bloodshot impatience ominous of the end. Yet a few more fields, and over the crown of the hill the dark brown object is to be seen in slow rolling progression close before them. And now 'from scent to view,' with a final crash of hound-clamour followed by dead silence, as fox and hounds together involve themselves in a confused entangled ball or heap in the middle of a splendid pasture only two fields from the wood which had been the fox's point from the first; and many a violated henroost and widowed gander is avenged !

Our friend is off his horse in an instant, and leaving him with outstretched legs and quivering tail (no fear of his running away—he had been jumping the last few fences rather 'short'), is soon occupied in laying about the hounds' backs with his whip gently and judiciously (it don't do for a stranger to be too energetic or disciplinarian on these rare occasions), and with the help of his friend, who arrives only an instant later, and acts with similar promptitude and judgment, succeeds in clearing a small ring round the dead fox. 'Whoohoop !' they both shout alternately, but rather breathlessly, as Ravager and Ruthless make occasional recaptures of the fox, requiring strong coercive measures before they yield possession. 'Who has a knife ?' They can hardly hear themselves speak ; and a fumbling in the pocket, rather than the voice, conveys the inquiry. Our friend has ; and placing his foot on the fox's neck, contrives to circumcise and pull off the brush pretty artistically. He hands it to his companion, and wisely deciding to make no post-mortem surgical efforts on the head, holds the stiff corpse aloft for one moment only—the hounds are bounding and snapping, and the situation is getting serious—and hurls it with a final 'Whoohoop !' and 'Tear him !' which latter exhortation is instantly and literally followed, among the now absolutely uncontrollable canine mob. And now both, rather happy to find themselves unbitten, form themselves on the spot, and deservedly, into a small Mutual Admiration Society, for they are the sole survivors out of perhaps three hundred people, and ecstatically compare notes on this long-to-be-remembered run. Meanwhile the huntsman first, and the rest of the field by degrees and at long intervals, come straggling up from remote bridges and roads. It has not been a run favourable to the 'point rider,' who sometimes arrives at the 'point' before the fox himself, for it has been quite straight, measuring on the map six miles from point to point, and the time, from the 'holloa away' to the kill, exactly thirty minutes.

And here, leaving our two friends to receive the congratulations (not all of them quite sincere) of an admiring and envious field, and to apologise to the huntsman for the hurried obsequies of the fox, whereby

his brush and head—the latter still contended for by some of the more insatiable hounds, and a half-gnawed pad or two—are by this time the only evidence of his past existence, I will leave the record of deeds of high renown, and, having shown the extreme of delight attainable by the first-class men or senior wranglers of fox-hunting, proceed to demonstrate how happiness likewise attends those who don't go in for honours—who are only too happy with a 'pass,' and what endless sources of joy the hunting-field supplies to all classes of riders. In short, to paraphrase a line of Pope, to

See some strange comfort every sort supply.

From the very first I will go to the very last; and among these, strange to say, the very hardest riding often occurs. When I have found myself as I often have—and as may happen through combinations of circumstances to the best of us—among the very last in a gallop, I have observed a touching spectacle. Men, miles in the rear, seeing nothing of the hounds, caring nothing for the hounds, riding possibly in an exactly opposite direction to the hounds, yet with firm determination in their faces, racing at the fences, crossing each other, jostling and cramming in gateways and gaps. These men, I say, are enjoying themselves after their manner, as thoroughly as the front rank. These men neither give nor take quarter, but ride over and are ridden over with equal complacency, without a hound in sight or apparent cause for their violent exertions and daring enterprises. For though the post of honour may be in front, the post of danger is in the *mêlée* of the rear. Honour to the brave, then, here as in the front. Here, as in the front, there is perfect equality. Here, also, as everywhere in the field, there are the self-assertion, independence, communistic contempt for private property, and complete freedom of action which constitute the main charm of the sport. No questions of precedence here; every man is free to ride where he likes. The chimney sweep can go before the duke, and very often does so. Here, as in the front, precedence at a fence, gap, or gate is settled on the lines of the

Good old plan,
That he should take who has the power,
And he should keep who can.

The late Mr. Surtees, whose 'Jorrocks,' 'Sponge,' and 'Facey Romford' are immortal characters, used to say that the tail of a run where he himself almost always rode, was the place for sport; that, in addition to the ludicrous incidents there occurring so frequently for his entertainment, human nature could be studied with the greatest advantage from that position. And indeed he was right, for there is more to study from. And with what varieties; The half hard, the wholly soft, the turbulent, the quiescent, the practical, the geographical and the political or digestion-seeking

rider, these men are to be studied from the rear, because few of them are ever seen in front; and nevertheless they return to their homes justified fully as much in their own opinion as he who has in point of fact, and undoubtedly, 'had the best of it' all through the run. This merciful arrangement or dispensation makes every rider contented and happy in his own way.

Among these is to be found the 'hard' rider who devotes his attention entirely to fences, and never looks at the hounds at all. Consequently, he never sees a run, but is quite satisfied if he jumps a certain number of large fences, and gets a corresponding average of falls in the day. The late Lord Alvanley, seeing one of these gentlemen riding furiously at a fence not in the direction of the hounds, shouted to him 'Hi! hi!' and when the surprised and somewhat indignant sportsman stopped his horse, and turned to know what was the matter, pointed to another part of the fence and added calmly, 'There's a much bigger place here!' This man, too, thoroughly enjoys himself, gets plenty of exercise, and at the same time provides good means of livelihood for the local surgeon. Then there is the violent rider, who would be annoyed if he knew that he was generally called the 'Squitter,' who gallops, but doesn't jump; though from his severely cut order of clothing, general horsiness of appearance, and energetic behaviour in the saddle, he is apt to impose on those who don't know how quiescent and harmless the first fence will immediately render him. His favourite field of operations is a muddy lane, where he gallops past with squared elbows and defiant aspect, scattering more mud behind him than any one horse and man ever before projected or cast back upon an astonished and angered public. Through the gate, if any, at the end he crams his way, regardless alike of such expressions as 'Take care!' 'Where are you coming to?'—an absurd question, decidedly, the object being evident—and also very properly disregarding and treating with utter contempt the man (always to be found in a gateway) who says 'There is no hurry!' a gratuitous falsehood, as his own conduct sufficiently proves. In the open field beyond he rushes like a whirlwind past any one who may be in front, and, so long as gates or only small gaps are in his line, pursues a triumphant course. But he has no root, and in time of temptation is apt to fall away: that is, the moment a fence of the slightest magnitude presents itself. Then he fades away—disappears, and is no more seen; yet he, like the ephemera, has had his day, though a short one, and returns to his well-earned rest contented and happy.

Then there is a character for whom I have always had a sincere respect and sympathy—the 'hard funkier.' Than he no man has a more cruel lot. He is the victim of a reputation. On some occasion his horse ran away with him, or some combination of circumstances occurred, resulting in his 'going' brilliantly in a run, or being carried

safety over some impossible place which, though he subsequently, like Mr. Winkle in his duel, had presence of mind enough to speak of and treat as nothing out of the way, and to have jumped which was to him an ordinary occurrence, he could not in any unguarded moment contemplate, allude to, or even think of without shuddering. By nature nervous and timid—weaknesses reacted upon as a sort of antidote by a love of notoriety and a secret craving for admiration and applause—this heavy calamity had occurred to him, from which he could never shake himself free.

The burden of an honour
Unto which he was not born,

clung to him wheresoever he went. Greatness was thrust upon him. He must ride; it was expected from him. '*Noblesse oblige!*' he hates it, but he must do it. It embitters his life, but he dare not sacrifice the reputation. The eyes of Europe are upon him, as he thinks; and so, though in mortal fear during the most part of every hunting day, he endures it. He suffers, and is strong. Each day requires from him some feat of daring for the edification of the field; and he does it, usually executing it in sight of the whole field, when hounds are running slowly, charging some big fence, which there is no real necessity for jumping, at full speed, and shutting his eyes as he goes over. The county analyst, if called upon to examine the contents of the various flasks carried by the field, would pronounce this gentleman's sherry or brandy to be less diluted with water than any one else's. Honour to him! If you feel no fear, what credit to ride boldly? But if you really 'funk,' and ride boldly, this is to be brave indeed.

Then among the more passive class of riders comes the man who goes in entirely for 'a sporting get-up,' especially for a faultless boot, which is generally regarded as a sure indication of riding power. The old Sir Richard Sutton, when asked, during his mastership of the Quorn Hounds, whether So-and-so, recently arrived from the country, could ride, replied: 'I don't know—I have not seen him go; but I should think he could, for he *hangs a good boot*.' To arrive, however, at this rarely attained perfection of sporting exterior, I grieve to say that an almost total absence of calf is indispensable; but with this physical advantage in his favour, if he can otherwise 'dress up to it,' very little more is required from him. He expends all his energies on his 'get-up,' and when he is 'got-up' he is done and exhausted for the day, and is seldom seen out of a trot or a lane. Then there is the man 'who can tell you all about it.' He will describe the whole run, with fervent and florid descriptions of this awkward fence, or that wide brook, not positively asserting, but leaving you to infer, that he was in the front rank all the way; but somehow no one else will have ever seen him in any part

of the run. This rider is gifted with a vivid imagination and vast powers of invention, and, as a rule, never leaves the road. Then there is the politician who button-holes you at every possible opportunity on the subject of the Affirmation Bill, extracting from you probably, as your attention is most likely not intent on this matter just then, some 'oaths' not required by the statute. Then there is, finally, the honest man who comes out, without disguise or pretence, solely for the benefit of his digestion; who never intends to jump, and never does jump.

All these varied classes are happy, and not a few of them go home under the firm impression that they have distinguished themselves; and some even comfort themselves with the reflection that they have 'cut down' certain persons, who are probably quite unaware of this operation having been performed upon them, or may possibly be of opinion that they themselves have performed it on the very individuals who are thus rejoicing in this reversed belief.

With all this there is throughout these varied classes of riders, although occasional bickerings may arise, a general tone of good humour and tolerance rarely to be found in other congregations of mankind. Landlords and tenant farmers—whose natural relation to each other has recently been described by political agitators (with their usual accuracy) as one of mutual coldness, distrust, and antagonism—here meet with smiling countenances and jovial greetings, and the only question of 'tenant right' here is the right of the tenant to ride over his landlord, or of the landlord to take a similar liberty with his tenant. Rivals in business, opponents in politics, debtors and creditors—all by common consent seem to wipe off old scores, and, for the day at least, to be at peace and charity with their neighbours.

One man only may perhaps be sometimes excluded from the benefits arising out of this approximation to the millennium, and he, to whom I have not yet alluded, is the most important of all—the master. No position, except perhaps a member of Parliament's, entails so much hard work, accompanied with so little thanks, as that of a master of fox-hounds. A 'fierce light,' inseparable from his semi-regality, beats on him; his every act is scrutinised and discussed by eyes and tongues ever ready to mark and proclaim what is done amiss. Very difficult is it for him to do right. There are many people to please, and often what pleases one offends another. Anything going wrong, any small annoyance, arriving too late at the meet, getting a bad start, drawing away from, and not towards, the grumbler's home (and grumblers, like the poor, must always be among us)—all these things are apt to be somehow visited on the unhappy master.

Upon the King! let us our lives—our souls,
Our debts, . . . our sins, lay on the King!

Then there is the anxiety for his hounds' safety among wild riders and kicking three-year-olds. He knows each hound, and has a special affection for some, which makes him in gateways or narrow passes, as they thread their way among the horses' feet, shudder to his inmost core. Sir Richard Sutton was once overheard, when arriving at the meet, putting the following questions to his second-horse man: 'Many people out?' 'A great many, Sir Richard.' 'Ugh!' 'Is Colonel F. out?' 'Yes, Sir Richard.' 'Ugh, ugh!' 'Is Mr. B. out?' 'Yes, Sir Richard.' 'Ugh, ugh, ugh!' Then couple up 'Valiant' and 'Dauntless,' and send them both home in the brougham!

This same master in my hearing called aside at one of his meets a gentleman, who was supposed by him to be not very particular as to how near he rode to the hounds, and, pointing out one particular hound, said: 'Please kindly take notice of that hound. He is the most valuable animal in the pack, and I would not have him ridden over for anything.' The gentleman promptly and courteously replied: 'I would do anything to oblige you, Sir Richard; but I have a shocking bad memory for hounds, and I'm afraid he will have to take his chance with the rest!' All these things are agonising to a master, and other anxieties perplex him. He knows how much of his sport depends on the good will of the tenant farmers, and he sees with pain rails needlessly broken, crops needlessly ridden over, gates unhinged or left open, perhaps fronting a road, along which the liberated cattle or horses may stray for miles, giving their angry proprietors possibly days of trouble to recover them. Second-horse men too are often careless in this respect. But I must here remark as to the tenant farmers, that, as a rule, their tolerance is beyond all praise, especially when, as unfortunately is the case in many countries, the mischievous trespassers above alluded to have no connection with the county or hunt, do not subscribe to the hounds, or spend a shilling directly or indirectly in the neighbourhood.

Time was when the oats, the straw, and the hay were bought and consumed by the stranger in the land, who thus brought some advantage to the farmer, and in other matters to the small trader. But now he arrives by train and so departs, leaving broken fences and damaged crops as the only trace of his visit. These are the evils which may lead to the decadence of fox-hunting. But Mr. Oakeley, master of the Atherstone, an especially and deservedly popular man, it is true, had a magnificent proof of an opposite conclusion the other day, when over a thousand tenant farmers, on the bare rumour of the hounds being given up, got up, and signed in a few days, a testimonial or memorial to beg him to continue them, and pledging themselves to do all they could to promote the sport in every way. This is the bright side of a 'master's' life.

But not to all is it given to bask in such sunshine. Earnest labour is required to attain this or any other success. And the following rules, I believe, always guided Mr. Oakeley's conduct as a master :—

1. To buy his horses as much as possible from the farmers themselves—not from dealers.

2. To buy his forage in the country.

3. To keep stallions for use of farmers at a low fee, and to give prizes for young horses bred in the district. (In both these objects many are of opinion that the master ought to be helped by the State, as nothing would encourage the breeding of horses so much, or at such small cost.)

4. To give prizes, create rivalry as to the 'walked' puppies, by asking the farmers over to see them when they return to headquarters, and giving them *luncheon*.

5. To draw all coverts in their turn, and not to cut up any particular portion unduly because it may be a better country with more favourite coverts.

Lastly. To get farmers to act for themselves as much as possible in the management of poultry claims, &c., which they will then have a pride in keeping low. And above all ever to recognise and acknowledge that tenant farmers have, to say the least, an equal voice with the landowners as to the general management of the hunting.

But I have done. I have shown, I hope, that, on the whole, fox-hunting brings happiness to all—the fox, when killed or hard run excepted—but I cannot go into the larger question of humanitarian sentiment; he is often *not* killed; and, till he is, leads a jovial life, feasting on the best, and thief, villain, and murderer as he is, protected even by the ruthless gamekeeper. In return for this his day of atonement must come. But for the sport, he would not have existed; and when he dies gallantly in the open, as in the run above depicted, his sufferings are short. I myself like not the last scene of some hunts, when, his limbs having failed him, the poor fox is driven to depend on the resources of his vulpine brain alone. Often have I turned aside, declining to witness the little stratagems of his then piteous cunning; nay, more, I confess, when I alone have come across the hiding-place of a 'beaten fox,' and he has, so to speak, confided his secret to me with his upturned and indescribably appealing eye, it has been sacred with me; I have retired softly, and rejoiced with huge joy when the huntsman at last calls away his baffled pack.

Altogether, I maintain that, with such exceptions, at small cost of animal suffering, great enjoyment is compassed by all. There are miseries of course even out hunting; there are rainy days, bad scenting days, and inconvenient mounts. The celebrated Jem Mason,

a splendid rider and quaint compounder of expressions, used to say that the height of human misery was to be out hunting on an 'ewe-necked horse, galloping over a molehilly field, down hill, with bad shoulders, a snaffle bridle, one foot out of the stirrup, and a fly in your eye.' But he dealt in figurative extremes. He replied to some one who asked him as to the nature of a big-looking fence in front: 'Certain death on this side, my lord, and eternal misery on the other!' Such sorrows as these are not much to balance against the weight of happiness in the other scale. So I myself in my old age still preserve the follies of my youth, and counsel others to do the same. 'Laugh and be fat,' says some modern advertisement. 'Hunt and be happy,' say I still. But who shall pierce the veil of the future? As with the individual so I think it is with nations. They too when they grow old should preserve, or at least, not too remorselessly extinguish their follies. I fear lest in grasping at the shadow of national perfection we only attain the reality of a saturnalia of prigs—an apotheosis of claptrap. Legislation has performed such queer antics lately that the angels must be beginning to weep. And ugly visions sometimes haunt me of a time coming, which shall be a good time to no man, at least to no Englishman, when an impossible standard of pseudo-philanthropy and humanitarian morality shall be attempted; when the butcher shall lie down with the lamb, the alderman with the turtle, and the oyster shall not be eaten without anæsthetics; when nature itself shall be under the eye of the police, and detectives watch the stoat's pursuit of the rabbit and keep guard over spider's webs; when all property (and not in land alone, my advanced friend!) save that of Hardware magnates, who have made a monopoly and called it peace, shall be confiscated as an 'unearned increment' to the State; when we have by legislative enactment forbidden the prevention and sanctioned the admission of loathsome diseases, and anti-fox-hunting may be as loud a cry as anti-vaccination; when there is a Parliament on College Green; when the 'languishing nobleman' of Dartmoor is free, and repossessed of his broad acres, which, in his case alone, because they so clearly belong to some one else, shall escape confiscation; when, as a final climax to our national madness, we have employed science to dig a hole under the sea, and, by connecting us with the Continent, deprive us of the grand advantage which nature has given us, and which has conferred on us centuries of envied stability, while thrones were rocking and constitutions sinking all around us; when, having already passed laws not only to prohibit our children being educated with the knowledge and fear of God before their eyes, but even to forbid His very name to be mentioned in our schools, we deliberately and scornfully abandon our ancient religion and admit proclaimed infidelity, and public blasphemy to the sanction, recognition, and approval of Parliament;—then indeed we need not wonder if we lose not only

our national sports, but our national existence; and if Divine Providence, giving practical effect to the old quotation,

Quos Deus vult perdere prius dementat,

allows England, after passing through the phases of insanity which she has already begun to display, to be blotted out from the nations of the world.

W. BROMLEY DAVENPORT.

THE DWELLINGS OF THE POOR.

THERE has been no lack of legislation with respect to the dwellings of the working classes during the last thirty years. The statutes passed within the period mentioned have been numerous enough, in all conscience, and the objects of the Legislature, as expressed in those enactments, appear to have been well intentioned in all their main provisions. But whether from a want of adequate knowledge of the subject on the part of the legislators and their advisers, especially as to the condition and requirements of the poor; or by reason of the inaptitude of those responsible for the drafting of the Bills, as shown by the want of grasp and far-reaching prevision in the construction of the provisions in the several measures passed for securing the objects intended; or on account of the feebleness of the enforcing clauses and penalties attached for a breach thereof in the Acts as passed; or because of the defective administration of the law by the local authorities by whom they were, and have to be, administered; or some deficiency in the powers conferred upon the local authorities to whose jurisdiction the enforcement of the law was committed; or other and extraneous difficulties connected with and inseparable from the subject-matter itself—the Acts have hitherto been a decided and disastrous failure, in so far as their ostensible purpose is concerned. That they have done some good all will admit, and that they are capable of conferring still greater advantages upon the classes for whose especial benefit they were passed, few will deny; but, considering the express object of the statutes, they have done comparatively little, as yet, towards providing cheap, convenient, cleanly, and healthy dwellings for the masses of the poor.

The failure of the Acts is, indeed, conspicuous, not in London only, but in all our large towns throughout the kingdom. It is in the Metropolis, however, that the failure is most felt, because the need for action was greater, and the consequences resulting from the non-execution of the Acts, or abortive attempts to carry them out, were and are calamitous, both to the poor and to the general com-

munty. Recent investigations by the Select Committee of the House of Commons, by the Dwellings Committee of the Charity Organisation Society, 1881, by commissioners either sent out by newspaper proprietors, or by other agencies, show that the present condition of things, in some districts more especially, is intolerable, and most dangerous to the public health. Reference is frequently made to Drury Lane and its vicinity, and to parts of Whitechapel, as though these localities were in a more deplorable state than any other parts of the Metropolis. But this is not the case. Numerous neighbourhoods could be mentioned where the foul condition of the dwellings is equally bad, and overcrowding quite as great, as in those districts. Parts of Westminster, portions of the Holborn district in the vicinity of Gray's Inn Lane, Bloomsbury, and St. Giles; Lambeth, Southwark, Bethnal Green, Shoreditch, and many other districts, both north and south of the Thames, may be named as claimants for the questionable honour of being the greatest sinner against the laws of decency and health in the matter of housing the poor. In all these districts (sanitary, they are called in Acts of Parliament relating to public health, though in a most insanitary condition as regards their actual state) there are 'narrow streets and courts down which no wind blows, and upon which the sun seldom shines,' to use Dr. Farr's words; and in which the dwellings are tenanted, from cellar to garret, with a teeming mass of sickly, decrepid, diseased, and poverty-stricken humanity, many persons among whom cannot obtain better accommodation, if they desire it ever so much, and in some of whom even the desire to do so seems utterly extinguished. In many such localities owners of much of the property are almost as powerless, in so far as their individual ability goes, as the tenants are helpless, in the matter of improvements and rebuilding. The law helps them not; on the contrary, it hampers them.

The causes of failure are many and various, above and beyond the defects in the Acts themselves, before alluded to. One of the reasons why private owners have done so little is because they have only a partial and, it may be, a brief, limited interest in point of time in the property. For the most part it is leasehold, and the freeholder will not contribute to the outlay necessary for making extended alterations and improvements. Sooner or later some of the principles of the Irish Land Act, or other similar provisions for attaining a like object, will have to be enacted for the protection of leaseholders, so as to enable them to obtain compensation for unexhausted improvements on expiry of lease, or an extension of the period for determining such lease in lieu of compensation. Moreover, the leases are often in many hands, all under one and the same freeholder; and one, or even a few of the lessees combined, can do little or nothing effectual towards abating the nuisance or reconstructing

the premises. It is here that the local authority can come in, under the Acts, with their compulsory powers of purchase, a privilege not enjoyed by private owners, [except under special Acts. Another reason is the cost. Taking down and rebuilding in the more crowded parts of the Metropolis is a very different thing to erecting a house in the suburbs, on a clear site, with a fixed ground rent extending over a lengthened period. In the former case numerous contingencies have to be provided for, and it is seldom that the new building can be erected without incurring liability for damage to adjoining property. Then the ground rents are higher, and not infrequently there is a second charge upon the land and buildings in the shape of 'an improved ground-rent,' which means that a house is resold subject to a higher annual rent-charge, often double, sometimes more than double, the original ground rent. But there is yet another reason why the Acts have failed. Owners of property, and a large proportion of the representatives—so called—on vestries, local boards, city and town councils, boards of works, and other urban authorities, are themselves owners of or traffickers in house property, and dislike blocks of workmen's dwellings in close proximity to 'improved sites.' Hence it was that an effort was made, and made successfully, as the latest enactment shows, no longer to make it obligatory to erect the whole of the new buildings on or near the sites cleared under the Acts or any Improvement Act. But the greatest obstacle to the working of the Acts was the defects in the Acts themselves, in not having sufficiently stringent enforcing clauses, compelling the proper authorities to carry out the law. It is only by slow degrees that the Public Health Acts, Nuisances Removal Acts, and other statutes of a like character, have been brought into a state of comparative efficiency, and their provisions administered in accordance with their spirit and intention. The administration of the law is still far from effectual, even under the best of inspection, as is well known to all who take the slightest interest in the question, and care to inform themselves as to the true state of the case.

The supervision and inspection of common lodging-houses, notwithstanding the fact of registration, appear to be very defective, if we may judge by the recent report of a case where a woman known as 'Maria the flower-seller' was found dead on the floor of a common lodging-house, in Brick Lane, Spitalfields, perfectly naked. A sergeant of police who attended the inquiry stated that there were at least fifty women, besides men and children, at the house in question; the person in charge as night-watchman, who was described as a wretched-looking object, had to attend to the women as well as to the men. The filthy condition of the dead woman, and the statements of the 'wretched-looking object,' whose duty it was to look after this particular lodging-house, show that the system of inspection and supervision is little better than a farce. As a matter of mere

police, apart from sanitary considerations, these registered dens of wretchedness, infamy, vice, and crime ought to be more carefully and constantly inspected, not only for the sake of those who abide in them, from choice or necessity, but in the interest of the ratepayers generally, as a measure of precaution against the filth and pestilence and crime generated therein to the detriment of the community.

It is difficult to compute the exact number of persons displaced in the Metropolis, under various Improvement Acts, Railway Acts, and other schemes, Parliamentary and otherwise, during the period covered by the Acts relating to workmen's dwellings, as no authentic particulars are available for the earlier portion of the time, and only a meagre record exists as to later years. The clearance of two extensive sites alone—the vast space on either side of Farringdon Road, and the whole, or nearly the whole, of Somers Town—for the Midland Railway, displaced thousands of families; besides which, many other extensive 'clearances' will be recollected, in Finsbury, Shoreditch, and elsewhere, since that date. Some idea of the extent of demolition of dwellings may be gained from the evidence of Mr. Walker, the District Surveyor of the Metropolitan Board of Works, given before the Select Committee of the House of Commons. He had, he said, in the course of a single month, displaced no less than 854 families—equal to a small town—to make way for the New Law Courts. If the total number of persons compelled to remove from their dwellings in consequence of 'improvements' during the whole of this period could be accurately ascertained, it would astonish one; and if the actual accommodation provided for those displaced was put in juxtaposition therewith, it would awaken serious reflections, for the inadequacy of the latter would be painfully apparent. Overcrowding is not much lessened, it is simply disposed over a wider area—the evil still exists. Small houses of six, seven, or eight rooms have, in many places, a family to each room. The use of cellars as habitations is supposed to be prohibited, but 'underground kitchens' are utilised for that purpose extensively; and even little 'back kitchens,' also underground, are so used, and that, too, in neighbourhoods regarded, in a limited sense, as 'respectable.' Personal investigation enables me to vouch for the accuracy of this statement. The total number of families living in a single room—in which they cook, eat, sleep, wash linen as well as person, and often do their work for maintenance—is enormous. A hideous fact, certainly.

One of the reasons alleged by local authorities for not promptly and widely putting in force the provisions of the Artisans and Labourers' Dwellings Improvement Acts, was and is the cost of sites. A few figures will show that there are substantial grounds for such plea. The outlay of the Metropolitan Board of Works, under the provisions of those Acts, during a period of less than five years, for area and

clearance only, was 751,416*l*. This amount included the following sums:—Whitechapel and Limehouse, 138,155*l*.; Goulston Street, Whitechapel, 60,385*l*.; St. George the Martyr, Southwark, 8,174*l*.; Bedfordbury, 57,803*l*.; Great Wild Street, 102,024*l*.; Pear Tree Court, 44,824*l*.; Whitecross Street, 219,966*l*.; High Street, Islington, 18,012*l*.; Old Pye Street, Westminster, 56,132*l*.; Essex Road, Islington, 12,915*l*.; Bowman's Buildings, 8,307*l*.; Little Coram Street, 714*l*.; Wells Street, Poplar, 458*l*.; Great Peter Street, Westminster, 56*l*.; and on schemes generally, the expenses of which were apportionable, 23,088*l*. The total includes cost of area, buildings, demolition, and compensation. So vast an expenditure on sites alone is conclusive as to the impossibility of private enterprise being able to cope with the practical difficulties which beset undertakings on a large scale, having for their object the providing of sufficient and convenient accommodation for the working classes, under these Acts. Special powers of sale and purchase must be given to the body or authority proposing to undertake the gigantic task; and the most fitting corporate body for possessing such compulsory powers, for the purposes named, is the properly constituted local authority for the district.

Compensation to owners of property and residents absorbs a very considerable proportion of the entire cost in nearly all cases; and no doubt the question is a most difficult and delicate one, and not altogether free from the danger of abuse. Exorbitant claims, based on fictitious values, are put forward with all the effrontery imaginable; and acute lawyers, valuers, and accountants are ever ready to press such claims, and submit evidence in proof of their reasonableness. The cost of disputing and fighting such claims is a large item in connection with nearly every scheme. It is said that the Board of Works have been obliged in some cases to resort to the expedient of hiring a room and employing an agent for the purpose of watching and testing the takings of a tradesman, whose claim they had reason to believe was exorbitant. So profitable has this system of compensation become that it has developed quite a professional class, who devote themselves almost wholly to such cases; a proof in itself that the 'system' pays. Persons to be compensated are of various descriptions. First of all there is the freeholder, who always comes in for the lion's share. Then there is the leaseholder; his vested interest, however, as a rule, is more easily calculated, and his claim is soon determined. Tenancy is not so summarily disposed of, if a business is attached thereto. If the income-tax could only be based upon the alleged takings of persons claiming compensation, supposing all tradesmen to be in a position to prefer such claim, there would be no need for any other kind of tax whatever, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have a good time of it. However, the Board of Works takes care, no doubt, to ascertain as accurately as possible the exact value of

every individual interest disturbed. The poorer tenants are not so fortunate, generally speaking. In compensation cases the rich are filled with good things, while the hungry are sent empty away. But in some instances the poor and almost destitute tenants have come in for a share of compensation, although Sir Henry Hunt expressed himself as doubtful whether, under the Acts, the arbitrator was 'legally justified' in awarding compensation. If any such doubt exists, it ought to be removed instantaneously. The families turned out to make way for the New Law Courts were compensated in sums varying from 1*l.* to 10*l.*, costing in the aggregate 3,249*l.*; but this amount only averaged about 3*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.* for each family evicted. Sir Henry Hunt said that he had awarded as much as 5*l.* to tenants of single rooms in the neighbourhood of Petticoat Lane, and he thought it right to do so, leaving it to the local authorities to dispute it and fight it out if they thought fit. Mr. Walker, the Surveyor of the Board of Works, does not appear to have much compunction about the matter of unhousing the poor. He says: 'Hard as it may seem to turn out hundreds of poor families to make room for business premises, there is really little hardship in it to complain of, for due notice is given, and compensation to a limited extent is afforded.' He thinks that driving them into the suburbs, where rents are cheaper, and the fares to which are about a shilling a week, will counterbalance the cost and inconvenience of compulsory removal. This is questionable, and will be referred to further on; for the present it is sufficient to say that the poor do not see it, and consequently do not welcome the alternative.

There are several points, all of more or less importance, to be considered in connection with this matter. In the first place, it will be asked, What kind of accommodation is required, and where? In reply it might be said, generally, that the primary requirements are tenements suitable to the class to be accommodated. These must fulfil several essential conditions:—(1) they must be cheap, suitable to the means of those who have to inhabit them; (2) they must be cleanly, and conducive to cleanliness; (3) they must contain a sufficiency of space to ensure healthful breathing-room, according to some fixed standard, and (4) they ought to have sleeping accommodation in addition to and separated from the living room, for the sake of common decency and health; (5) the external sanitary conditions should be as complete and perfect as it is possible to make them, especially as to drainage and the plentiful supply of water; ventilation ought also to be provided for, so that pure air should, sometimes at least, have a chance of penetrating into the rooms to cleanse and refresh them. In the crowded parts of the Metropolis, and other large towns, those conditions can only be secured by the erection of buildings, in blocks or otherwise, on a large scale.

In order to meet the requirements of different sections of the

working classes, the dwellings to be erected must necessarily be of different grades, or the prices must vary according to the accommodation provided, the position of the rooms on the several floors, and other circumstances. With regard to rent, a man's income, taking the average the year through, must be taken as the measure of his ability to pay, after allowing for food for himself and his dependents. The proportion available for rent must be governed by his actual earnings. Persons of the labouring class, and those dependent upon small and precarious weekly incomes, cannot afford to pay more than one-eighth of their average weekly wages as rent; if they do, they must stint themselves and families in other matters. Artisans and mechanics might expend one-seventh in rent, and perhaps to advantage. Clerks and others, having a little larger and more regular income, might venture to lay aside one-sixth for house rent, and add thereby to their health and comfort. But in all cases the cost of transit to and from their work or occupation must be taken into account. Applying these rules, the question is, whether dwellings specially constructed for the classes intended to be provided for under the Artisans and Labourers' Dwellings Improvement Acts will pay, as a commercial speculation, or whether it is necessary that a portion of the first cost should be met by the rates.

Broadly speaking, artisans and labourers' dwellings, constructed under fairly advantageous conditions, will pay interest ranging from the dividends derivable from Consols and other Government Funds to a maximum of 5 per cent. per annum, which amount might be taken perhaps as about the normal rate, taking one investment with another, all round. The erection of dwellings for the very poor can scarcely be expected to pay a dividend on capital equal to Consols; in some cases the income will perhaps barely cover the expenditure, taking one year with another, unless the conditions under which the sites are acquired and the buildings erected are exceptionally favourable. But this fact ought not to deter local authorities from taking action; it ought rather to stimulate them, seeing that private enterprise can hardly be expected to embark in the undertaking. It is probable, however, that, by a judicious use of the powers under the Acts, and by capable management and well-arranged contracts, such dwellings will not only cover the outlay but return a percentage on the capital expended of from 1 to 2½ per annum. But even should they fail in this particular, the losses will be apparent rather than real, for they will be more than recouped by savings and advantages in other directions. Destroy the fever dens in a locality, and all other property will increase in value, and the assessments for rating purposes will be augmented. Improved dwellings will diminish disease, so that a portion of what we now pay to the Asylums Board might be saved, or could be transferred to the dwellings fund. Increased supervision would also diminish crime, for its commission would become more difficult in proportion to the completeness of local inspection.

As previously stated, the Acts, judged by the high standard of the object and intention of the measures, and tested by what has been actually accomplished by the local authorities entrusted with their administration towards the realisation thereof, have been a conspicuous failure. The principal thing done by such local authorities as are empowered to apply the Acts in the urban districts coming within their provisions, has been the clearance of certain areas, by ousting the inhabitants residing in the locality covered by the scheme, and the demolition of the houses in which they dwelt—a very useful and necessary, but still only preliminary, work, and involving great hardships in the majority of instances. In a great number of cases where clearances have been effected, no steps whatever have been taken towards providing accommodation for the families displaced. No comparison, that will help us in this matter, can be instituted between London and the other towns to which the Acts are applicable, because few of them have thought fit to adopt them and apply their provisions. The largest area dealt with outside the Metropolis was in Birmingham, where ninety-three acres were included in the improvement scheme, the estimated cost of which was 1,310,000*l*. But the urgency of the case is less even in the largest and most densely populated provincial towns than it is in London, because of the ease with which the poor can walk, if need be, to and from the outskirts, where rents are low and the accommodation fairly good, to the centre of the town, in which they have to labour. In the Metropolis this is not the case. It not unfrequently happens that mechanics and labourers have to walk a distance of five, six, or seven miles in the morning, before the clock strikes six, to their work. A great deal of energy is expended in this way ere the day's work is commenced—energy that ought to have been husbanded for the performance of the task in hand. To a person following a sedentary occupation an hour's walk would be an advantage; not so to the majority of those comprehended under the general term working classes—building operatives, labourers, and those engaged in the mechanical and other trades followed by those termed artisans.

Indirectly, however, the series of Acts before referred to have had a beneficial effect. The discussions on the subject of workmen's dwellings, partly caused by the demands for further legislation, and the result also of philanthropic movements promoted in various ways, have drawn attention to the condition of the homes of the poor, and to the difficulties which they have to encounter in seeking other and better dwellings than those to which for generations they have been accustomed. Private voluntary effort has tried to improve the state of things in crowded courts and alleys in certain districts; and much has been done in this way, by an earnest few. The names of Lord Shaftesbury and Miss Octavia Hill have been prominent in connection with this work, their plan being mainly the improvement of existing

dwellings rather than the erection of buildings. The rents of the tenements under the three associations connected with this group of societies—the Marylebone Association for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrious Classes, founded in 1854; the Central London Dwellings Improvement Company, 1861; and the London Labourers' Dwellings Society, 1861—appear to have realised a profit of from 2 to 5 per cent.; but the rents vary from 1*s.* 6*d.* to as much as 14*s.* 6*d.* per week, in some instances. The numerous dwellings conducted under Miss Hill's plan of supervision appear to have realised from 3½ to 5 per cent.; the latter being the more general percentage. The rents vary considerably, 2*s.* 6*d.* and 3*s.* 6*d.* for single rooms, and 5*s.* to 6*s.* for two rooms, being the more usual prices paid by the tenants. Admirable as the work done in this way is, and nobly as the ladies and others labour in their chosen field of operations, the results are infinitesimal compared with the enormous needs of the vast area to be covered and the stupendous population to be dealt with.

The one private effort—and a gigantic one it was for a single individual to make—that has eclipsed all others, is the Peabody Trust. The devotion by that great public benefactor of 500,000*l.* towards providing suitable dwellings for the poor of London, has shown what may be accomplished when the work is taken in hand in real earnest, with large means at command and under efficient management. The total amount added to the several sums given by the late George Peabody, from rents and interest, has been 304,610*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.*, making a total capital fund, to the end of last year, of 804,610*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* In addition to which, the Trustees have borrowed from the Public Works Loan Commissioners a further sum of 265,000*l.* under section 5 of 42 and 43 Vict. cap. 77, the conditions being specially favourable in consideration of the object and the purposes to which the money was to be applied. The total amount expended by the Trustees upon land and buildings, up to the close of the year, was 970,500*l.* 14*s.* 1*d.*, and they have on hand a large area to be covered, in and near Whitecross Street, one of the most central and crowded parts of London. The 'Peabody Blocks' are growing in number and extent, so much so that, in the course of another twenty years, if they go on increasing in anything like the same ratio, they will be regarded as one of the sights of London by the 'intelligent foreigner,' and by all American visitors to this country. Up to the end of last year the Trustees had provided for the artisan and labouring poor of London 7,829 rooms, exclusive of bath-rooms, laundries, and washhouses, the number of separate dwellings being 3,533, and which were occupied by 14,604 persons.

The subjoined table will show the locality, number, extent, and other particulars, of the buildings belonging to this beneficent Trust. They are arranged in order of date according to priority of erection :—

Where situate	Number of tenements	Number of rooms	Total number of persons accommodated		Amount expended
			Families	Individuals	
Spitalfields . . .	63	186	63	278	£27,448
Islington . . .	163	343	163	684	40,875
Shadwell . . .	200	416	200	773	43,101
Westminster . . .	146	350	146	632	45,904
Chelsea . . .	68	132	68	230	14,762
Bromondsey . . .	72	144	72	333	12,390
Old Pye Street . .	177	361	177	727	25,466
Blackfriars Road .	367	772	367	1,416	70,661
Stamford Street .	352	736	352	1,408	77,139
Southwark Street .	264	600	264	1,135	65,600
Pimlico . . .	470	1,150	470	2,063	116,892
Whitechapel . . .	286	628	286	1,220	67,970
Bedfordbury . . .	146	362	146	655	41,772
Great Wild Street .	347	808	347	1,515	89,632
Old Pye Street (2).	396	861	396	1,541	100,771
Totals, 15 . . .	3,517	7,808	3,517	14,604	£840,302

In addition to the preceding list, the buildings to be erected on the sites acquired in and near Whitecross Street and Golden Lane will contain from 1,200 to 1,300 rooms, a portion of which is already completed, having 630 rooms, and capable of accommodating a considerable number of individuals or families. The class of persons occupying the tenements before mentioned may be judged by the following, taken according to the ratio of numbers, the highest standing first:—labourers, 504; porters, 389; needle-women, 230; police constables, 228; carmen, 129; charwomen, 129; warehouse labourers, 126; messengers, 123; various handicrafts, 110; printers, 98; letter carriers, 78; tailors, 70; waiters, 70. The smaller numbers in the printed list belong to a similar class, of both sexes, but some are artisans of a higher grade. The rents vary somewhat in different localities per room, or sets of rooms. In Shadwell they range from 2s. to 2s. 3d. for a single room; from 3s. to 3s. 6d. for two rooms; and from 4s. to 4s. 6d. for three rooms. In Westminster they range from 2s. 6d. to 3s. 3d. for a single room; from 3s. 6d. to 5s. 6d. for two rooms; and from 5s. 3d. to 7s. 3d. for three rooms. The highest rents charged are, single room, 3s. 6d.; two rooms, 5s. 6d.; three rooms, 7s. 3d.; and four rooms, in three localities only, 7s. 6d. the set. The returns all round show a net profit of from 3½ to 3¼ per cent. per annum; the property being, in all cases, freehold.

The other chief agencies at work in the Metropolis in an analogous manner, and for the same objects, may be summarised as in table on next page.

Besides these, a few other associations exist which are working in the same direction, mostly on a commercial basis, or as commercial speculations. The largest speculative scheme of the kind is the

Name of association	Number of buildings or estates	Number of tenements	Number of rooms	Number of persons accommodated		Amount expended
				Families	Persons	
Metropolitan Association for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrious Classes—1841 to 1882	13	1,184	4,243	1,184	5,651	£217,212
Improved Industrial Dwellings Company, Limited—1863 to 1882	32	4,492	15,330	4,492	20,950	870,429
Victoria Dwellings Association—1875 to 1882	2	666	1,281	666	3,350	112,758
The Artisans and Labourers' General Dwellings Company—1867 to 1882	3 Estates	2,200 houses	13,200 (about)	2,700	15,400	1,090,000 (about)
Columbia Square Model Dwellings	1	190	423	190	646	—
Society for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes—1844 to 1882	8	570	653	332	1,577	37,415
Queen's Buildings, Southwark	5	456	1,196	456	1,824	—

Palatinate and adjacent buildings in the New Kent Road, and whole streets of houses on the site of the old Surrey Gardens, by the same firm of builders, Messrs. Sutton & Dudley. Those in the Kent Road and streets adjoining are immense blocks, after the style of the 'model dwellings'; in many of the other streets they are simply large houses, built for the accommodation of several families, each having their own key to the front door or common entrance. Large numbers of the smaller houses in the suburbs are now constructed for two families, each having a cooking range, but with a scullery in common. The houses on the Shaftesbury Park, Queen's Park, and Battersea Estates are, to all intents and purposes, separate dwellings; and facilities are offered to the tenants for the purchase of such dwellings. The tenants on those estates have not, however, up to the present time, largely availed themselves of the purchasing powers conferred; and it has been found necessary to convert some of the small houses into two tenements to suit the convenience and meet the requirements of those who reside on the estates. As a rule, the artisan classes prefer the small or separate house system to tenements in the huge buildings before referred to—even those of the Peabody class; though it is an undeniable fact that, once installed in one of those commodious blocks, they seldom care to vacate their tenancies and go

back to the inconvenient houses in crowded streets, where they formerly lived. If they improve their position in life, they seem to prefer to exchange one room for two, or two for three, in the same building, or one of the same kind elsewhere, if equally convenient in point of distance as regards their work.

We have not as yet reached the ideal of tenantability in the construction of large residential dwellings for separate families under one and the same roof. The 'flat system' in Paris, and in many towns in Scotland, is more private, or appears so, than in many of the model dwellings erected in the Metropolis, though some of the Peabody dwellings approximate very nearly to that privacy of domestic life which is so desirable, for many reasons, and especially among the poor. For there are some social dangers in the massing of a large number of families in one immense building, even under the best of supervision, which have to be considered and, as far as practicable, avoided. These are inevitable, however, and can only be guarded against indirectly, by such precautionary measures as may seem fit according to circumstances, and without unnecessary meddling with private affairs.

The only direct actual outcome of the Dwellings Acts in London, by the efforts of the constituted local authorities, apart from clearances, inspection, closing of dilapidated tenements, and the like, are the Corporation Buildings in Farringdon Road and the Viaduct Buildings. The former contains some 183 tenements, and the latter forty, besides a few shops. These pay from 4 to 5 per cent. on the capital invested, the tenants being artisans and labourers. In nearly all cases the returns show a percentage equal to the interest paid by corporations for the loans they have contracted for the general purposes of the municipality. But if the realised profit were less, there are compensating advantages to be taken into account that could not accrue to an individual speculator, nor to an association or company. In the first place, the assessments are increased by every improvement scheme, although in some instances, often in consequence of the conditions imposed as to tenure, nature of buildings to be erected, high ground rents, length of lease, &c. &c., the land remains unoccupied for several years, the losses through which would be nearly sufficient to cover the interest on the capital expended in the erection of buildings for a period of twenty years. But the local authority can afford to wait a longer time than a capitalist or company for a profitable return on the outlay. The 'unearned increment' goes on increasing year by year, and will increase with population, so that the rateable value is augmenting, whatever happens.

They possess other advantages, not to be lightly passed over. Local inspection is established for sanitary purposes under the Public Health Acts, Nuisances Removal Acts, and other statutes, and also as regards the construction of buildings under the Metropolis Build-

ing Acts, and for numerous other purposes under other Acts. Consequently, inspection and supervision being one of their principal duties, it is by no means difficult, and certainly not dangerous, to extend those official functions, in cases of an almost identical character, some of which are now performed by the medical officer of health, the sanitary inspector, and the district surveyor. It might mean a more perfect arrangement of administrative duty and responsibility than obtains at present; but this is just the thing that is needed, and that must come under the new Municipal Act for London. As a mere matter of police, the saving to the ratepayers would be enormous. The Peabody Trustees so construct their huge blocks of buildings that supervision is easy and effective, without being felt as a restraint to liberty and freedom. It is, so to speak, regulation without direct control: it is unseen, but for all practical purposes sufficient. This fact explains the reason why the frontages of the buildings are in the 'squares' mostly, instead of facing the main streets—a prudent provision on the whole, and very beneficial in its general results.

Municipal and other local authorities are better able to carry out the Acts also, because the law confers upon them exceptional powers, or at least powers that are only conferred on other public bodies under exceptional circumstances. The power of compulsory purchase and sale, before referred to, is of such a character that it ought only to be granted sparingly, and subject to rather stringent conditions. In the case of local authorities its use is, or can be, restrained by popular periodical election, which is not the case with railway companies and other similar bodies. There is, of course, a danger in the matter of compensation, for not a few think that fleecing a corporate body is no crime, only a bit of sharp practice, scarcely even open to condemnation. The system has not only developed quite a new profession—a class of persons who do little else—but it has led to property jobbing on a large scale, a practice from which a minority of the individual members of corporate bodies are not altogether free, although it is contrary to the law. Instances could be given of property purchased specially with a view of its being pulled down under an improvement scheme, and of obtaining 'reasonable' compensation therefor. But there need be no surprise if heavy claims are sometimes made, for the official valuers have been known to differ in their estimates of the value of the condemned property to the extent of 100 per cent.—a difference which, to say the least of it, is inexcusable.

The inadequacy of the efforts already made, and the insufficiency of the agencies which are at work, to grapple with the serious question of workmen's dwellings, are incontestable. The fact is patent to all who have investigated the subject for themselves, and it is daily impressing itself upon the minds of philanthropists and statesmen as one of urgent importance, and needing instant attention.

The questions recently put by Sir Richard Cross to the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works, as to the action of the Board with respect to their four new schemes under the Artisans and Labourers' Dwellings Acts, 1875-82, and to the Home Secretary with reference to the action of the Commissioners of Sewers under the Artisans and Labourers' Dwellings Act, 1882, towards ensuring the building of suitable accommodation on the ground cleared under the Act of 1875, show that the author of the Acts, of 1875 and 1879 is by no means satisfied with the dilatory course which is being pursued by those bodies as to providing further accommodation under the Acts. Mr. Broadhurst's notice of motion strikes a higher note, and indicates a much wider application of the principles embodied in those Acts, and possibly of renewed legislation with the view of putting them in force on a more extended scale than heretofore, or than is now contemplated. In this matter he may be taken as representing the opinions and feelings of the industrial population of the Metropolis and of the country generally. Bearing this in mind, it is well to examine a little more closely the chief argument urged against the further extension of the provisions of the Acts, and, indeed, against their being put in force at all by local authorities.

It is alleged that such legislation is contrary to the sound principles of economic science, and that making provision for carrying out the Acts by local authorities by means of the rates is inexpedient, and even dangerous in its nature and consequences. It is nothing less than a species of socialism, say some, and will inevitably lead to communism. Socialism, as understood by many people, is no doubt a very 'dangerous thing,' and some aspects of it, as preached by its apostles, are very questionable as mere theories, while as practical schemes they are delusive, and to some repulsive. But the mere charge of communism is hardly a sufficient answer to the plea for workmen's dwellings, albeit that a demand is made for their erection by municipal authorities. It is, indeed, difficult to understand precisely what is meant by the term communistic, as some use it, or to what extent their objection applies. Very often it is employed as though it simply signified associative effort. Yet, surely all will admit that this form of socialism is not antagonistic to the welfare of society, but the reverse. By co-operative effort alone could those things have been done that are done, either under the series of Acts referred to, the Joint Stock Companies Acts, or other statutes empowering societies or associations to deal with these and similar matters.

If the term is only used in its repugnant sense when the principle it is supposed to embody is applied by local authorities for the common good, evidence must be furnished of the application of that principle in various ways, both by local bodies, and by the Imperial Government. The construction of docks and harbours, works for

improving the navigation of rivers, the building of bridges, making roads, drainage schemes, and many other undertakings, are instances of the application of the self-same principle. National education, the promotion of science and art, the administration of justice, our system of police, the Post Office, and many other Departments of the State, afford further examples of Government interference and control. Our poor-law system is at once the most costly and unsatisfactory experiment ever made in socialistic legislation and 'reform.' There is, however, another branch of administrative polity which is almost identical, in all its main features, with that now urged, namely, sanitary legislation in the interest of the health of the community. The Public Health Acts are based upon precisely the same principles as the Artisans and Labourers' Dwellings Acts, the latter forming part of the same series, and having exactly the same objects in view.

But it may be urged that in the one case the application of these principles is general, whereas in the other it is partial only, the benefits being conferred upon a class at the expense of the whole community. There is some truth in this, but only half the truth. Primarily a particular section will be benefited, and perhaps more largely than the general public; but they belong to the poorest class, those least able to help themselves, and the entire body of the people will share the advantages conferred, in the long run. Much of the legislation of the past fifty years is based upon the same principle, and it is a policy that has paid. The Factory and Workshops Acts, Mines Regulation Acts, and the whole body of protective and enabling law, is a result of such policy, and it constitutes the greatest and noblest legislative achievement of the present century.

Better homes for the people will do more than Public-house Closing Acts to improve the condition of the masses, and stimulate them to make an endeavour to lead nobler lives. The surroundings of a large proportion of the labouring population are such that the higher aspirations of a man's nature are deadened from his birth: there is no chance of their development, no room for their growth. Some may never have felt a desire for a purer atmosphere, and would not embrace the opportunity, possibly, if they could. Yet, there is little doubt but that the poorest girl that grew to womanhood would, if she could, make one spot in the wide world pleasant—her home. That is woman's natural ambition, and thousands of filthy dens wherein such now dwell might have been healthier and happier, if at the outset they had an opportunity of showing their true womanly instincts, and indulging their fondest hopes. If helping the poor in this way, doing for them what they cannot do for themselves, or aiding them to do what they cannot accomplish alone, be socialism or communism, the more we have of it the better, when wisely and judiciously administered. It is not wise, however, to fling these epithets at every bit of legislation, or attempted legislation, intended for their special benefit. If on

those grounds such action is opposed and resisted, they will come to regard socialism as the instrument of their salvation, and they may embrace the more pernicious theories in connection with it, and by extensive organisation urge their adoption as the only true solution of the difficulties which beset them, and as the readiest means for improving their status in society. Much has been done for trade and commerce, and more still in the interest of landownership, that equally deserves to be stigmatised as socialism; but the term in its reproachful sense is usually reserved for movements aiming at the amelioration of the condition of the masses of the people. The Municipal Council of Paris are about to engage in an undertaking of the kind, by guaranteeing the interest upon the money laid out in the construction of workmen's dwellings, the rentals of which shall not exceed a given fixed amount per annum. Whatever the method adopted, there are cases where municipalities or local bodies alone can cope with the difficulties of the situation, and provide adequate remedies. In such cases it is their bounden duty to undertake the task, even at the risk of failing to realise a profitable return, calculated as a mere commercial investment. But there is no reason why such dwellings, even of the poorest class, should not pay a small interest on capital, ranging from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. annually, in addition to the incidental pecuniary advantages arising from augmented rentals, the result of improvement schemes in the immediate neighbourhood. In Germany it is probable that we shall see the development and application of those principles on a scale that will surprise the political economists of the old school, for the Emperor and Prince Bismarck regard such measures as in the highest degree conservative in their influence and results, and their enactment consequently as the best guarantee for the peace, prosperity, and solidarity of the empire. In England there is no need of political promptings as motives for engaging in the work, for the social and moral reasons are strong enough, if duly weighed. And, fortunately, it is not a subject likely to arouse party animosities, or evoke organised obstruction for the purposes of delay and defeat in the legislature.

GEORGE HOWELL.

THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE 'CAMPAGNA ROMANA.'

THE amelioration of the Roman territory is a question full of present interest in Italy, and many projects have been formed for the purpose of rendering more salubrious that country, the most part of which is feverish and nearly uninhabitable for many months of the year. The stranger who comes to spend a few weeks of the winter in Rome and enjoys its delightful climate, making excursions *en touriste* in the environs of the town, cannot conceive the desolation of the country when the season of fever begins. Unfortunately, in many parts of the Roman territory this season lasts nearly the whole summer and autumn, so that the day-labourers who come from the neighbouring provinces, especially for the corn harvest and for the hay-time, suffer very much, and some of them die of the consequences of the fever. This state of things began to draw the Government's attention to the question, and in the last ten years many remedies have been proposed; but, as generally happens in such circumstances, when theoretic agriculturists are called to solve such an intricate problem, the improvements which have been suggested, though excellent in themselves, are not to the purpose, because the particular conditions of the country have not been taken into consideration. Some persons think it would be very profitable to introduce in the Roman territory the systems of cultivation adopted in other parts of Italy, and to have a good number of peasant families settled down on it. Their favourite dream is to see the vast meadows changed into fields where all sorts of crops should be cultivated. But, if even this change were possible, would it be desirable at present? Those who have thorough practical knowledge of the situation would immediately answer that it would not, and that the only way of obtaining a good result is to improve the actual system of cultivation. I am certainly not one of those who think that the general state of the Roman territory can be easily changed, but we must acknowledge that in many parts of it a great improvement has taken place, as we may ascertain without going very far from Rome.

We shall find, at ten or twelve kilometers distance from the Capital, in one of the most unhealthy places of the country, a luminous

example of improvement obtained by a skilful application of the principles of agriculture and rural economy. But we will first give a general idea of the conditions of the 'Campagna Romana,' on which so many illusory theories have been published without any practical result.

The Roman territory has not always been in the state in which it is at present. If we read the Latin authors we are astonished to find that it was not unhealthy, and that some parts of it, where it would now be impossible to live without catching fever, were considered by the Romans as delightful country places. Besides this, both history and archæology let us know that a great number of large and populous towns existed in Latium. Ostia had about eighty thousand inhabitants; Ardea, Stabia, Cere, Fidenæ, twenty or twenty-five thousand. It is not easy to conceive how such towns should have been founded in places where the 'malaria' was as strong as it is at present. But Strabo tells us it was not so: 'Totum Latium felix est, et omnium rerum ferax, demptis paucis locis maritimis, quæ palustria sunt, et morbosa' (lib. v.). Under the reign of Septimius Severus, Minucius Felix tells us that Ostia was a capital place for sea-bathing, and the most remarkable thing is that autumn was considered as the best season for going to Ostia, whereas now it is extremely dangerous. Pliny, who was such an accurate observer, never speaks of 'malaria;' on the contrary, he lets us know that he had a villa, the 'Villa Laurentina,' in a place called Tor Paterno, where he generally lived in summer, because, as he says, it was very pleasant in winter, but more in summer: 'hæc jucunditas ejus in hieme, major æstate.' Now, Tor Paterno is abandoned, and the fever forces everybody to leave the place during the summer. But at that time thick forests were to be seen not only near the sea-shore but on nearly all the hills of the 'Campagna Romana,' and these forests have been cut down in the last three or four centuries, so that it is at present impossible to find one single tree in those regions. Time and man have destroyed that vegetation with which nature preserved the country from miasmatic exhalations: and this is certainly one of the principal reasons of the great change which has taken place. We are now using every endeavour to restore those places and make them wholesome by planting trees of rapid growth, as the Eucalyptus are; but it is easy to see that a long time is required for such an undertaking.

However, I have the fullest conviction that the first thing to do is to promote the restoration of the forests, especially on the sea-shore, because this is the only way of sheltering the country from the parching south winds which carry deleterious materials from the African deserts. The forests of half-grown trees which are to be found in many places of the 'Campagna' cannot have any good influence on the salubrity of the air; far from that, they intercept the sun's beams, and prevent the soil from drying, so that the putrefac-

tion of vegetable detritus takes place more easily. For these reasons, forests of lofty trees are the only useful ones.

Rome itself was full of sacred woods (*luci*) which had been planted evidently for reasons of public health, and it is very interesting to take an accurate note of the places where these woods were to be found. We will only mention the principal ones, but there is a plan of ancient Rome, taken by an engineer from Perugia, whose name was Agretti, from which we may learn that there were not less than forty-four 'luci' in the interior of the town. A copy of this plan is to be seen in Perugia, and it is considered one of the most remarkable works on the subject. These 'luci' are: the Vatican 'lucus,' of which Pliny speaks; the Aventine 'lucus;' the 'lucus' of Vesta, on both sides of the Velabrian Marsh; the Mavortian 'lucus,' around the 'Palus Capræa,' near the Pantheon; the Esquilian 'lucus,' near the Flavian amphitheatre; the 'lucus' of Bellona; and the 'lucus Tarpeius' on the Capitol; and many others, which are to be seen in the above-mentioned plan.

All these woods, of a religious character, had been certainly planted in order to render more healthy the different parts of the town. We must notice that the Romans, instead of draining the marshes, surrounded them with trees, because they thought that vegetation would absorb every miasma. The fact proved they were right; and we really do not know of any Latin author speaking about 'malaria' in Rome.

The plantation of trees is, as we may infer from all the arguments we have given, the most efficacious remedy to the insalubrity of the Roman territory; so that, if even it alone were applied, without draining the soil, and without drying up the marshes, the most salutary effects would certainly be obtained. But we must avail ourselves of all the resources of modern science taken together, to get on more rapidly. Some of the marshes which exist in the 'Campagna' are very difficult to dry up; others, on the contrary, are not deep, and the draining of them can be performed very easily. As regards the first of these marshes, it is well known that enormous sums have been thrown into them without any results; so that we really could not encourage Government to spend more money in such an undertaking; and, in our opinion, it would be better to leave those marshes as they are now, and as they have always been, only surrounding them with vast plantations of forest trees, as the Romans had done. As for those marshes which are not very deep, they certainly can be dried up; but it is necessary to secure the course of water by a regular system of ditches and canals, otherwise no durable effect could be obtained.

By a sagacious application of the three methods we have spoken of—that is, before all, large plantations of trees, and, after this, a general drainage of the soil, and particularly of the marshes, we may

well hope that those who live in the twentieth century will be able to say with Strabo, that the 'Campagna Romana' 'felix est, et omnium rerum ferax.' It is said that the twentieth century will be the century of electricity; may it be also that of the regeneration of that desolated territory! But, in its present state, it is quite useless to spend time and money in improved ploughs and new systems of cultivation. It is very easy indeed for a theoretic agriculturist, sitting at his writing-table, to imagine a new distribution of crops, and to say that Roman farmers ought to sow trefoil and other plants fit for making artificial meadows; that they ought to spread on their farms the enormous quantity of manure that is produced by the Capital and lost in the Tiber; that the old Virgilian ploughs ought to disappear before the modern ploughs; that to let land lie fallow is against agricultural progress; and that the surface of the fields ought to be arranged in a regular way, so as to prevent the stagnation of waters on one side, and their too rapid course on the other. We advise these persons, who are full of good intentions, to leave off writing for a few weeks, and before resuming their work, make some excursions in the 'Campagna Romana.' They will see what it really is, and when they go back to their writing-table, we are sure they will change what they have written before.

Now, while these authors find nothing easier than to introduce new systems of agriculture without sufficient preparation, there are still many agriculturists and economists who do not think a thorough change in the conditions of the Roman territory possible. As generally happens, both these opinions are exaggerated, because the principles of rural economy show on one side that every country must follow agricultural improvements, and that there is no place where a perpetual *status quo* can be admitted; on the other side, that every system of farming practised in a country for many centuries has always its reason for existence, and is so intimately connected with the general conditions of soil, climate, and population, that it cannot be changed without time and capital. Capital alone would do nothing, and would be lost without bringing any interest. An example of this occurred a few years ago in the 'Campagna Romana,' and proved that the laws of rural economy cannot be transgressed without disadvantage. One of the richest landowners of the 'Campagna,' after having travelled much through Italy and foreign countries, and having examined the agricultural systems of the most fertile parts of the Peninsula, thought it possible to introduce the same systems all at once in the Roman territory, and that the only thing to do was to employ a sufficient amount of capital. Accordingly, houses for peasants were built; entire families of labourers were imported from Tuscany and Umbria; the fields were cultivated with improved ploughs, the stables were filled with oxen, and the intensive culture applied to the whole property. But, after two or three

years, the impossibility of going on came out very clearly, so that the new system was given up, and the buildings were abandoned by the peasants, who could not stand the unwholesome climate, and were decimated by the 'malaria.'

The extensive culture is the only one that can be practised in the 'Campagna Romana' in its present state; immense fields cultivated with corn, sown without any manure and with a rough dressing, and pasture lands, are the only things to be seen in the Roman system of agriculture. The principal reason is that in summer, especially in the months of August and September, the *malaria* fevers are very dangerous; so that, after thrashing the corn, every one leaves those unhealthy places and goes up to the mountains, not to come down till the time is come for sowing corn again.

Now, we must say that, however backward and imperfect this cultivation may seem to those who are accustomed to the beauty and opulence of intensive culture, it gives a net rent not inferior to that which is generally allotted to landed property in the rest of Italy, except in those parts where the rearing of manufacturing materials is carried on. The gross product is small, but, as there are very small expenses to take off, the net produce remains high enough.

The reader will now easily understand of what interest it is to show a practical example of what we have so far said; and we have one ready at hand. Every stranger who comes to Rome goes to see the Basilica called 'San Paolo fuori le Mura;' if he goes on a little further, he will find a church called 'San Paolo alle Tre Fontane,' because we may see there three fountains which, according to an old tradition, sprang up at the place where St. Paul's head fell when he was beheaded as a Christian. This was one of the most unhealthy places of the environs of Rome; it could be inhabited only during the winter, because in summer the danger of tertian ague drove away every living soul. In 1866 a few Trappists, with their usual self-denial, went to settle on that place, and began to clear the grounds that had been allotted to them by Government. It is well known that the Trappists are monks who spend their life in praying and tilling the ground. When they first went to the 'Tre Fontane' they could not stand the unhealthiness of the air, and they all died except one; but their labour was not lost, because others immediately took their place and continued the cultivation, though many of them still died of the fever. Little by little a large extent of ground was cleared, till at last, a few years ago, the Agricultural Society of the 'Tre Fontane' was founded, and, under this name, by which they were assured of the protection of the law, the Trappists continue their work of regeneration.

The Italian Government has given to this society four hundred hectares of land in perpetual emphyteutic lease, but on condition of planting a hundred thousand *Eucalyptus* in ten years; besides that,

all the remaining ground was to be cultivated according to the best agricultural systems. The Trappists well understood that the first thing to do was to purify the air, and to defend their plantations from the unwholesome south winds. The Eucalyptus trees are very useful for this object, and accordingly a great number of them was planted in the first year. The Eucalyptus are first sown in a well-prepared soil, and, after two or three years, are planted in regular rows, leaving a distance of ten meters from one plant to the other on every side, so that the interval between them may be cultivated with other crops. The principal varieties of Eucalyptus are: *Eucalyptus globulus*, *Eucalyptus populifolia*, *Eucalyptus viminalis*, *Eucalyptus resinifera*. The first samples of Eucalyptus were brought to Rome in 1854 by an Australian bishop, who very much extolled their regenerating virtue; but, though these samples were planted with some success in one of the principal gardens of Rome, nobody thought they could ever be cultivated on a vast scale, because they were not believed able to stand the Roman climate, although so mild. Experience has shown that this is not so, and that even the *Eucalyptus globulus*, which is certainly more delicate than the others, can live at a temperature of -5° Celsius. We should however think it more advisable to cultivate other varieties of Eucalyptus, especially the 'viminalis' and 'resinifera,' the last of which can bear -9° Celsius. This tree has been a very useful importation for the Roman territory, and, as it is now clearly proved that it may grow rapidly and have a splendid vegetation in our climate, there is nothing to do but to extend its cultivation as much as possible. Moreover, besides its good influence on the healthiness of the air, a plantation of Eucalyptus is a first-rate drainage. Every one knows the good effects of drainage on cultivated land, and this operation is practised to a great extent, especially in England and Belgium; many attempts to drain the soil had been made at the 'Tre Fontane,' but they had not proved very successful, on account of the great tenacity of the soil, which did not allow the water to reach the drains. The Eucalyptus has solved the problem; before they were planted water was to be found at twelve centimeters under the surface of the fields, whereas now it has fallen to the depth of m. 1.95, so that it can have no bad effect upon the vegetation of crops. It seems that by the numerous roots with which it penetrates into the ground, the Eucalyptus absorbs an enormous quantity of humidity which is required for its luxuriant vegetation, and so dries up the soil in a short time. Whatever may be the explanation of this phenomenon, it is certain that at the 'Tre Fontane' the effect has been very remarkable. The greatest number of Eucalyptus has been planted at the south end of the property, so as to shelter the cultivated lands from the 'scirocco' and the miasms it carries over the country.

It will not be difficult, from what we have now said, to foresee what a change will have taken place in a few years in a country where only damp meadows and feverish swamps were to be found. Thousands of Eucalyptus are now growing everywhere, and the neighbouring hills are covered with vines; the ground has been dug up with dynamite at m. 1·10 depth. This operation, which was necessary to the plantation of the vines, has been very helpful to the salubrity of the air; because, in its natural state, the soil, very muddy during the rainy season, breaks during the summer into large and deep crevices, from which miasmatic exhalations of sulphydric acid come forth. This sulphydric acid probably results from the decomposition of the organic substances existing in the ground, but when the ground has been dug up and cleared, these emanations disappear, at least to a great extent.

We have already said that the Roman territory could be improved by large plantations of trees, by the general drainage of the soil and especially of the marshes; two of these methods are connected more particularly with agriculture, the third is connected with hydraulics. At the 'Tre Fontane' the gradual diminution of fever proves that these methods are really efficacious; but if the Agricultural Society has obtained such a good result, the reason, in our opinion, is that they have been employed together; otherwise they might cost enormous sums without improving the state of the country. We saw ourselves at the 'Tre Fontane' with what sagacity the works were directed, and that is why we say that the Agricultural Society has set to work in the right way; and are able to foretell, if we judge from the first trial, that in the lapse of a comparatively short time, the place will be wholesome and well cultivated.

Some years ago, the Italian Government established at the 'Tre Fontane' a penitentiary house, which contains a certain number of convicts. As the work they have to do is not very hard, they are generally sent there after they have passed some years of good behaviour in the galleys; and thus they spend the last years of their penalty under the good influence of the Trappists, who treat them with great kindness, and render them gradually worthy of returning to civil society. The greater part of the works we have spoken of are done by the convicts, and the Agricultural Society pays a fixed sum (eighty centimes a head) to Government for their services. They generally have six hours' work every day: as one sees, this is not very hard, and every convict is happy to be removed from the galleys to this establishment.

In short, a visit to the Abbey of the 'Tre Fontane' leaves a very favourable impression upon those who like to see moral and material improvement go on together. Though the owners of this

1883.

THE 'CAMPAGNA ROMANA.'

1915

property are perhaps in a somewhat different condition from the other landowners in the territory, because they have plenty of workmen, who could not be found for the whole year without great difficulty, we may certainly put them forward as an example to show that the 'Campagna Romana' can and will be improved by time, perseverance, and capital.

COUNT CONESTABILE.

THE FARMERS AND THE TORY PARTY.

THAT a large proportion of the tenant-farmers of England are attached to the Tory party is a fact by no means difficult of explanation. In the first place, the class were for generations trained to habits and sentiments of devotion to the dominant families of their neighbourhood, and individual members were accustomed to wait upon the wishes or whims of the great houses, both in public and in local matters. This territorial influence, which has come down from former times, had its roots in the material self-interest of the vassals in maintaining the power of their lords; and, in spite of all recent enfranchisements of rural opinion, the influence still continues to operate in a manner not readily comprehended by dwellers in towns. Then, a class in which strong political feeling is not easily roused might naturally be expected to gravitate toward that side which embraces the largest proportion of landowners; and that this side is Conservative there can be no question. Indeed, about two-thirds of the county members in the present House of Commons and a majority of the Peers belong to 'Her Majesty's Opposition.'

Apart from the occupiers of great territorial estates, upon which the old-fashioned kindly sympathies are so often found to reign; apart also from the tenants upon numerous recently acquired and other properties where personal influence is directly brought to bear in political and local contests, there has always existed a very large number of farmers who, either from the indifference or the disposition of their landlords, or from other causes, have been free to vote as they please. Of this class it is unquestionable that the bulk of those who up to the great struggle upon the Corn Laws had been Liberals, during that period went over to the Tory party under the belief that their very existence was at stake. And even many tenants who were not free, but were bound to appear at the polling-booths as Liberals, transferred their sympathies to the party whom they had come to regard as 'the farmer's friends.' At that period staunch Dissenters, many belonging to ancient Nonconformist families, forsook their old colours; and after the Corn-Law agitation had subsided, comparatively few of these men returned to the Liberal camp—nor have their sons returned. Why this has been the case, and why the Liberals for so

many years failed to win over reinforcements from the farming class, is not difficult of elucidation. Among other reasons may be mentioned the hostile and bitter feelings engendered between town and country during the fierce controversy over the 'big loaf' question, followed by the absence of sympathy with agriculture, and the disparagement and misrepresentation of its votaries, which characterised some of the Free-trade leaders, whose utterances not unfrequently indicated that lapse of time had failed to purge them of the old prejudices and bitterness of feeling.

During the past few years, however, there have been indications of change. The manufacturers and merchants of the North have shown that they, at length, have come to recognise the vast importance of agriculture and the value of the tenant-farmer class. The more friendly attitude displayed also by the present Government towards the agricultural interest has led many of the more sagacious and less prejudiced among farmers to inquire whether the time has not arrived for reviewing their position, and reconsidering their relations to the two great political parties in the State. Indeed, there can be no doubt that a considerable portion of the farming class is, from a variety of circumstances, in a condition of mind to fairly balance the claims made to their allegiance.

Up to a very recent period the Tories for more than a generation posed as the friends of the farmer, and scarcely an attempt was made to challenge their right to the title. For the purpose of testing the validity of their assumption, I propose in this paper to pass in review the attitude of the Tory party upon the principal legislative measures affecting the interests of the tenant-farmer which have come up for consideration, from the abolition of the Corn Laws down to the period when the party was ejected from power, and their rivals reinstated in 1880.

The subjects which it will be necessary to treat of are: (a) the Malt Tax; (b) the Game Question; (c) Cattle Disease Legislation; (d) Local Taxation and Road Maintenance; (e) County Government; (f) Tenants' Compensation; (g) the Farmers' Political Emancipation.

(a) The repeal of the Malt Tax was a subject for periodical, if not clamorous, agitation among farmers and landowners, from my boyhood to the advent of the present Government to power. The stock arguments for the repeal were (1) that the duty was a tax upon a raw material produced by the farmer, and therefore indefensible on economic grounds; (2) that it lowered the price of an important product of the farm, and was therefore unfair to the farmer, and still more so since he had been exposed to the rigours of unrestricted foreign competition; (3) that it led to beer being brewed from less wholesome ingredients than malt, and was therefore injurious to the health of the community; (4) that malt being a most valuable food

for farm animals, especially in the production of beef and mutton, it was an injustice to the farmer as well as an injury to the public not to allow the farmer to convert his barley into malt for this purpose.

From the palmy days of the agitation when Sir Fitzroy Kelly sat for East Suffolk, down to the last flickering efforts of Sir Walter Barttelot, Bart., and the Chambers of Agriculture, the Tories, when out of office, persistently pressed the repeal upon the Liberals, but when in power themselves as persistently declined to approach the subject. As long ago as 1849, Mr. Bright, in the House of Commons, twitted the Tory party with its inconsistency. He said, 'I own that I am astonished at the conduct of the hon. gentlemen opposite on this question, after hearing them both in this House and at public meetings out of doors advocate the repeal of the Malt Tax. The same parties who on that side the House were its most strenuous advocates have ceased to mention it now they have crossed to the benches opposite (the Ministerial).

Their lips are now forbid to speak
That once familiar word.

Not one voice now calls for that favourite demand, but we are told to wait until the proper time shall arrive.' When at length the Tories succeeded to office in 1874, with an ample Budget surplus at their disposal, the hopes of the Malt Tax repealers were raised to the highest pitch, their expectations were on tip-toe that the long-promised time had finally come. But the Government, nevertheless, threw the question overboard in a manner as cool and shameless as was their 'bowing to the decision of the country' when formerly they had been carried into power on the cry of 'Protection.'

Although there was found in the treasury an available surplus of six millions, the Malt Tax was entirely ignored in the Budget of Sir Stafford Northcote. It is true that in the Budget speech 'difficulties in the way' were alluded to, but there were no 'difficulties in the way' of the abolition of the Sugar Duties at a cost to the revenue of two millions, a reduction in the Income Tax of a million and a half, the sacrifice of half a million, or thereabouts, on horses, and the gift of a million a year to the owners of real property in easement of local rates. Mr. Bright's rebuke in 1849, just quoted, would have applied with equal if not four-fold force to the desertion of the cause in 1874, for there no longer remained any excuse of inopportuneness or impracticability. When Mr. Joshua Fielden, like an honest politician, moved—April 23, 1874—'that, in the opinion of this House, the Malt Tax ought to be reduced,' he found but seventeen supporters; the majority of 244 included the whole strength of the Tory county party. The disgust of the anti-Malt-Tax section of the farmers found expression in terms which shocked the more docile Conservatives. As illustrating the feeling aroused, I will quote a representative man, Mr.

Herman Biddell, a Suffolk tenant-farmer. At a meeting of the Chamber of Agriculture he said:—

I have been a Conservative all my life. I feel deep regret that the Government, whom I have always considered as the farmer's friends, should have appealed to other supporters, and should have considered their own supporters so blindly in love with the name of the party, that they would stand anything which they were called upon to submit to. In 1852, Mr. Disraeli lost office, not by proposing a partial abolition of the Malt Duty, but by proposing other taxes which the country did not like in substitution for it. If he thought it worth while to do that in 1852, he was bound in consistency to deal with the question, now that he has a surplus and need not substitute other taxes. I have been always in the habit of thinking that, in the agricultural counties, the farmers have in a great measure returned the Conservative members to Parliament; and I would like to ask some of the present Conservative members whether, if they had gone before the country with a Budget surplus of 6,000,000*l.* and not a shilling of it devoted to the Repeal of the Malt Tax, they do not think that some of their usual supporters would not have kept quietly at home, instead of going to the ballot-box? I am sorry to have to make such a revelation in regard to the party with whom I am accustomed to act. We, of course, do not expect help from Mr. Gladstone or from Mr. Lowe; but the party now in power, who have had the disposal of 6,000,000*l.*, were committed, both by implication and by words they have uttered, to the repeal or some reduction of the Malt Duties.

Mr. G. Storer, M.P., an ardent Conservative, followed with a speech which included this comment: 'The country hardly expected that when the Government succeeded to office it would begin with a policy totally different from that which it advocated out of office.'

After the defeat of Mr. Fielden's motion in 1874, the subject was allowed to slumber during the remainder of the Tory administration, without an effort to revive it, either in or out of Parliament. Yet no sooner had the present Government acceded to power than the agitation was recommenced.

Since the repeal of the tax Conservative orators have gone about representing that the plan adopted by Mr. Gladstone was a sham, that what had been demanded was abolition of the duty, not its transference to beer. But will such statements bear examination? Let us see. A Select Committee of the House of Commons which sat in 1867-8 recommended that until the amount of the Malt Duty can be spared from the revenue considerable benefit would ensue from repealing the tax on malt and obtaining an equivalent in the least objectionable manner from beer. In May 1869 the Chamber of Agriculture passed a resolution in favour of this recommendation, and in the next session of Parliament the question was brought before the House of Commons. On the 4th of March 1870, the following Resolution was moved by Colonel Barttelot, and seconded by Mr. C. S. Read:—'That it is expedient, in lieu of the present duties on malt, that a reduced charge should be made on the manufactured article, beer; and it appears to this House that a licence imposed in the same way as the commuted Hop Duty should be imposed on public brewers,

and a licence to brew on all private brewers.' Four days later, an influential deputation, at which some forty or fifty Tory county members were present, waited upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Lowe, to urge the adoption of this plan.

Speaking in the House of Commons in July last year, I said that I could 'quote many speeches of honourable members' opposite to show that they had advocated precisely what Mr. Gladstone had done—transferring the tax from malt to beer. But I would quote one only—a speech by the hon. member for Mid-Lincolnshire, Mr. Chaplin. In addressing the Lincolnshire Chamber of Agriculture in the spring of 1880, the honourable gentleman, after dwelling upon the importance of local taxation reform, said, "There was that still more indefensible tax which pressed them heavily and was such a burden and hindrance to agriculture in many parts of the country—the Malt Tax. He had never yet heard any valid reason why half the Malt Tax should not be placed on beer." Again, in the debate on Ways and Means, the 10th of June 1880, Mr. Chaplin made the following admission to Mr. Gladstone: "I placed a motion on the paper last session and the session before, advocating the transference of the duty on malt to a duty on beer."

Thus the clamour for this transference was continued up to the very time when the change was effected by Mr. Gladstone, and whatever may be the result, whether an injury or a benefit to tenant-farmers, must be put down to the credit of the Tory party. The facts given abundantly show that the attempt to make capital out of the asserted failure of Mr. Gladstone's scheme, and the damage said to be inflicted on the farmer, is as discreditable and immoral a specimen of party tactics as history can furnish.

(b) The attitude of the Tory party upon the Game Question has been one of uncompromising hostility and resistance to the deliverance of tenant-farmers from the economical and social oppressiveness of game-preservation; and this notwithstanding the fact that owing to the modern practice of over-preservation the severity of the evil had become intensely aggravated. In a debate raised in 1870, the most powerful champion of the legal barriers surrounding the system was found in the Hon. H. G. Sturt (now Lord Alington), the Tory member for Dorsetshire, who treated as attacks on the country gentlemen all efforts made by English and Scotch members to abolish the injustice, the damage to agriculture and to the public by game-preservation. Mr. Sturt declared that he was in favour of remedying complaints by social and moral means, but not by Act of Parliament. And in this view he was supported in the division by most of the leading Tory members.

On the 2nd of March 1880, on the occasion of Mr. P. A. Taylor's last effort upon the Game Question, Colonel Barttelot and Earl Percy met it with the amendment, 'That it is not now expedient to deal

with the Game Laws.' And in the debate Sir William Harcourt said of Mr. Pell, the Tory member for South Leicestershire—

He is always making speeches against rabbits, but he never votes against rabbits. When the Agricultural Holdings Bill was before the House there was a proposal to give the farmer protection against rabbits, and compensation for the damage they occasioned; but on that occasion the hon. member walked out of the House. That was the way in which the farmer's friends dealt with their grievances. Speeches made at farmers' meetings meant nothing; and when the question of the Game Laws came before the House of Commons, it was met by an amendment of that description that there ought to be no change in the Game Laws.

The Ground Game Bill, which simply gave the tenant a concurrent right with his landlord to keep down the four-footed creatures which prey upon and destroy the crops he has raised at his own expense, was either openly assailed by Tory members, or attacked by insidious amendments which would have utterly destroyed its usefulness. The most mischievous amendment was moved by the Tory member for Haddingtonshire, Lord Elcho. It sought to destroy the compulsory principle of the measure; and would have rendered it as great a sham as the Agricultural Holdings Act, which his Lordship's party had recently passed. Among those who voted for the amendment of Lord Elcho were Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir Walter Bartelot, G. Cavendish Bentinck, Sir John Hay, A. J. B. Beresford Hope, Hon. E. Stanhope, Hon. Wilbraham Egerton, W. H. Fellowes, Lord Henry Lennox, Lord John Manners, and Rowland Winn. But, thanks to the Liberal party, this mischievous amendment was defeated.

A series of amendments were also proposed, having for their object the taking of hares and rabbits out of the game list; but upon a division it became apparent that the Liberals saw through the specious proposal, and were determined that the main provisions of the bill should be passed in their integrity. The Hon. E. Stanhope, the Tory member for Mid-Lincolnshire, attempted to enact that only one other person beside the occupier should be permitted to use a gun for the purpose of destroying ground game. Here, again, the Tories formed the strength of the division list in favour of this limitation. The other Tory member for Mid-Lincolnshire, Mr. Chaplin, also divided the House on an amendment to allow an occupier who is also owner to alienate his right to kill ground game. He tried also another amendment to allow a tenant now possessing the power of letting ground game to contract himself out of the Act. Sir Walter Bartelot proposed that neither the occupier nor any agent of his should be empowered to use a gun in killing game. The Tory member for Maidstone, Capt. Aylmer, endeavoured to prevent shooting by tenants, except in the four and a half months, from the 15th of February to the end of June. Two other Tories, Mr. Tottenham and Colonel Brise, proposed 'a close season' for hares. Another Tory, Mr. Gregory, moved to empower landlords, by agreement with

tenants, to reserve the exclusive right of shooting hares and rabbits on the land for any term not more than eight months in the year. Mr. Newdegate moved to give power to the tenant to let his right to the landlord or any other person for a valuable consideration. A number of other amendments were moved by Tory members, all having for their object the withholding from tenants the power proposed to be given to them by the bill. Indeed, the opposition in Committee and the endeavours to deprive farmers of all real advantage from the Act were carried so far as to call forth a rebuke from the Tory member for South Warwickshire, Sir J. E. Eardley Wilmot, who complained that his honourable friends around him were not treating the tenant-farmers generously.

Finally, upon the third reading, Mr. Chaplin moved an amendment which would have destroyed the bill altogether; and he was supported in his effort, among others, by Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir R. A. Cross, Sir W. Barttelot, G. C. Bentinck, Lord Burghley, Lord Randolph Churchill, H. T. Davenport, W. Bromley Davenport, Hon. W. Egerton, Lord Elcho, Colonel Loyd Lindsay, Lord John Manners, Sir John Mowbray, C. N. Newdegate, Earl Percy, Viscount Sandon, E. Gibson, G. B. Gregory, Sir John Hay, A. J. B. Beresford Hope, J. Hubbard, Sir R. Knightley, Lord H. G. Lennox, W. H. Smith, Hon. E. Stanhope, G. Storer, a whole batch of 'farmer's friends!'

The records of Hansard conclusively show that had not Sir William Harcourt been zealously supported by Liberal members, county and borough, the Tories would have made the Ground Game Act a legislative sham.

(c) The farmers of the kingdom have been led to believe that the Liberal party has, from the outset, been opposed to their views upon Cattle Disease legislation, and that, on the other hand, the Tory party has always been in favour of the more stringent measures which farmers have advocated. County members have on this, as well as on a variety of other topics, availed themselves of the opportunities which the dinners of Agricultural Societies afford to inculcate this view. I propose, however, to turn the light of parliamentary history upon the point.

It is undoubtedly true that, at one period, the representatives of the great centres of population, urged on by their constituents, did strenuously oppose restrictions on the movement of imported animals, under, as I have always maintained, the mistaken idea that, if these proposals were carried, the effect would be a considerable rise in the price of meat; but this opposition, be it remembered, arose from Conservative as well as Liberal members. For instance, Mr. Wheelhouse, the Tory member for Leeds, and Mr. Charley, the Tory member for Salford, were among the most prominent and formidable opponents of the demand for slaughter of foreign animals at the ports of debarkation, and their views were supported by other

Tory members, such as Mr. Hermon, the member for Preston, and Mr. Gorst, member for Chatham.

Strange as at the present day it may appear, the chief disease, foot-and-mouth, from which our live stock are now suffering, was for more than a quarter of a century after its introduction allowed to ravage the flocks and herds of the country unchecked, and without any law being proposed for securing the farmers and the public against the enormous loss and mischief which resulted.

In making the foregoing statement I do not overlook the fact that, during the Liberal administration of Lord John Russell, two important Acts were passed September 4, 1848, one to prohibit or regulate the importation of animals 'from parts beyond the seas,' for the purpose of 'preventing the introduction of contagious or infectious disorders,' the other to make provisions against the spread of sheep pox, 'or any disease of the like nature,' by the exposure of diseased animals at fairs and markets. But, although the Tories were in power several times after that period, no legislative effort was made to deal with either foot-and-mouth disease or pleuro-pneumonia until the administration of Lord Palmerston in 1864. On the 19th of February of that year two very important bills were brought in on behalf of the Liberal Government by Mr. Bruce (the present Lord Aberdare) and the late Sir George Grey; one entitled 'The Cattle Diseases Prevention Bill,' the other 'The Cattle and Meat Importation Bill.' The latter proposed to extend the powers of the Privy Council, and to confer upon this department the very powers which at the present time are being demanded—namely, 'The prohibiting altogether for a limited time the importation of all or any domestic animals, or any parts thereof, from any parts beyond seas where infectious or contagious diseases amongst the said animals are known to prevail.' The former bill contained a number of excellent provisions against the spread of contagious maladies; among which was included, for the first time, 'foot-and-mouth disease.'

Both these well-designed measures met with strenuous opposition, more especially the proposal to include foot-and-mouth among contagious diseases; and, strange as it may now appear, much of the opposition came from Tory county members. The Select Committee to which these bills were referred reported, in respect of the Cattle and Meat Importation Bill, that it was inexpedient to proceed with the measure. In respect of the other bill, the Committee reported that they had 'made amendments thereunto.' The fact is, the measure was so emasculated by the Committee that the Government allowed it to drop. For instance, upon the motion of Sir William Miles, the Tory member for Somersetshire, the Committee resolved 'That the diseases known by the names of aphtha, aphthous fever, murrain, and foot-and-mouth disease, be omitted from the schedule of the Cattle Diseases Prevention Bill; and these dangerous

diseases were excluded by the unanimous vote of the Committee. Colonel Barttelot (Sir W. Barttelot), that staunchest of Tery county members, went so far in his opposition as to support the following motion :—

That your Committee are of opinion that the evidence brought before them shows the difficulty, if not impossibility, of legislating further on this subject of Prevention of Disease in Cattle, without seriously interfering with and hampering the legitimate operations of trade in animals; and your Committee therefore recommend that the House do not proceed further with the Cattle Diseases Prevention Bill.

If these bills, brought in by a Liberal Government, had been allowed to pass, the British farmers would have been saved from the loss of untold millions of their capital, and nothing would have been heard of the present outcry for more restrictive legislation.

After the great outbreak of rinderpest in 1865 had subsided, a deputation from the Farmers' Club on the 3rd of March 1868 had an interview with the Duke of Marlborough, President of the Council, with the object of urging the establishment of separate markets for foreign cattle, and better regulations for the sale and transit of home stock. On this occasion I pointed out the necessity for legislation in respect of foot-and-mouth disease and pleuro-pneumonia; but, although the suggestion for separate waterside markets was favourably received, the proposal to extend some provisions of the Cattle Plague Act to the diseases in question was stated to be 'a matter of great difficulty, and one requiring serious attention.' And nothing was done toward carrying out the suggestion until the accession of the Liberal Government to office in 1869, when one of the earliest measures submitted to Parliament was the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, brought in by Mr. Forster, 'To consolidate, amend, and make perpetual, the Acts for preventing the introduction or spreading of Contagious or Infectious Diseases among Cattle and other Animals.' The Act was passed in August 1869, and was a comprehensive measure aimed at preventing the introduction of contagious diseases and making numerous provisions against the spread of such diseases. But, notwithstanding the care bestowed upon the preparation and in the passing of the Act, it had not been very long in force before some of its shortcomings became apparent. The result was that a demand for its amendment, particularly for compulsory slaughter of all imported animals at the ports of debarkation, assumed formidable dimensions; and early in the session of 1873, upon the motion of Mr. C. S. Read, a Select Committee was appointed 'to inquire into the working of the Act and the constitution and working of the Veterinary Department of the Privy Council,' but no practical result ensued.

Soon after the Tories came into power in 1874, a deputation from the Chamber of Agriculture waited upon the Duke of Richmond to

urge compulsory slaughter of foreign animals at the ports; more effectual steps for dealing with foot-and-mouth disease and pleuropneumonia; uniformity of regulations throughout Great Britain and Ireland, &c. But the reply of his Grace was deemed so unsatisfactory that, in the Report of the Central Chamber, December 1874, it was stated that there was no hope of the Government dealing with the question on the fundamental lines laid down. Although pressed from time to time, the Tory Government remained deaf to all appeals. In April 1875 the Chamber of Agriculture expressed by resolution its 'regret that Her Majesty's Government have shown no disposition to deal adequately with the subject.' And Mr. William Stratton, a Conservative tenant-farmer, subsequently a member of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, denounced in very forcible language the inaction of the Government and their neglect of the farmers' interests. I will not recapitulate further the various steps which were taken to induce the Tory Government to amend the Act of 1869; but would call attention to the striking protest against their inertness and obstinacy in the retirement of Mr. C. S. Read from office. In December 1875 Mr. Read sacrificed his position as Parliamentary Secretary of the Local Government Board, because of the refusal of Government to comply with the demands of the farmers, or even to carry out the recommendations of the Select Committee which reported in 1873 in favour of the regulations in Great Britain and Ireland being made similar, and of other precautionary measures.

Upon the retirement of Mr. Read, the farmers broke out into open rebellion against the Government, a fact recognised by the Duke of Richmond, for, when speaking at Chichester, on the 15th of December, 1875, his Grace said: 'I know it has been said publicly that the Government have betrayed their friends, the agriculturists, and have done nothing toward alleviating the distress which foot-and-mouth disease causes.' During the same month the Chamber of Agriculture rejected a proposal to send a deputation to the Duke of Richmond. Mr. Pell, M.P., said that 'it would be a waste of time to go.' Mr. Stratton declined to go, saying 'he had been twice.' And Mr. Read also remarked: 'I fear we shall get no more attention to our wants than we received in May of last year.'

In February 1876 I read a paper at the Farmers' Club upon 'Our Meat Supply,' in which were set forth twelve distinct proposals for amending the Act of 1860, and the regulations in force. These suggestions met with the almost unanimous approval of the members of the Club and of farmers throughout the country; and the paper, having been extensively noticed and circulated, contributed to ripen opinion and increase the pressure for legislative action.

Notwithstanding the strong feeling which had been evoked, and which increased month by month, it was not until after a second invasion of "rinderpest" in 1877, and the appointment of another Select

Committee, which reported in July 1877, that the Tory Government could be induced to shake off its lethargy and timidity, and attend to this vital question affecting the farmers' interests. At length, in 1878, the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill was brought in.

When before the Royal Commission upon Agriculture, I was pressed by the Duke of Richmond to express a favourable opinion of the Act of 1878, I replied: 'It was an improvement upon the Act passed before it in 1869, but I would remind you that the Government, of which your Grace was a member, did not pass that measure until a very considerable agitation had been raised in the country, and until by your inaction you had driven Mr. Read out of the Government—that must not be forgotten. The Act was passed because of the pressure brought to bear upon the Government.' Perhaps remembrance of the effect of pressure upon himself has led the Duke of Richmond to join the recent movement for putting pressure upon Lord Carlingford, the present holder of his Grace's office.

(d) Immediately after the settlement of the great question of Free-trade, a cry was raised that the burden of local taxation, which had rested upon the owners and occupiers of real property, should be reconsidered; that agriculture must be relieved by transferring a portion of rates from land to other kinds of property. In 1850 a Committee of the House of Lords decided that the relief of the poor is a national object; towards which every description of property ought to contribute. But, perhaps from a general disbelief that any shifting of rates could materially compensate the tenantry for the loss of the protective duties which had enhanced the price of corn several shillings per quarter, it was a long time before farmers could be induced to join in an agitation upon the rating question. Although the Tory party was in power several times after the question was raised in the House of Lords, no important attempt had been made at readjustment or reform of our system of local rating, down to the time when Lord Derby yielded up the reins of Government to Mr. Gladstone in 1868. No sooner, however, had the Tories quitted office than prominent members of the party began to encourage the agitation upon which the newly-formed Chambers of Agriculture had entered. Thus, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach and the late Mr. Ward Hunt moved for and obtained returns upon local taxation; Sir Massey Lopes, in May, brought the question before the House of Commons, and in June Mr. Corrance moved for a Select Committee. In February 1869, a deputation of the Chambers of Agriculture laid their demands before Mr. Gladstone. What were those demands? Having been embodied in two Resolutions, there can be no mistake about their meaning. Their wording is as follows:—

(1) That the unequal pressure of the Poor Rate, as at present imposed, is a grievance which renders necessary the early and serious consideration of Parliament.

(2) That the maintenance of the poor is a national liability to which income from every source should contribute.

A commentary on these Resolutions is to be found in the following petition which was circulated by the Local Taxation Committee of the Central Chamber—of which Committee Sir Massey Lopes was chairman:—

(1) That the direct tax collected under the name of Poor Rate bears exclusively and unjustly on income arising from real property.

(2) That the exemption from the Poor Rate assessment of income arising from personal property is not only unjust, but also impolitic and prejudicial to the public interest.

The Prime Minister's reception of the deputation and his reply, so far as inquiry was concerned, were considered satisfactory. A fortnight later Sir Massey Lopes moved for a Royal Commission 'to inquire into the amount, incidence, and effect of local taxation, with a view to a more equitable readjustment of these burdens.' And upon Mr. Goschen and Mr. Gladstone admitting the importance of the question, declaring that it was now engaging their attention, and undertaking to furnish the requisite information on the subject, Mr. Ward Hunt, the ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer, expressed his satisfaction, and the motion was withdrawn.

In February 1870, Mr. Goschen stated that he had found our system of local taxation 'chaos all round,' and moved for a Select Committee 'to inquire and report whether it be expedient that the charges now imposed on the occupiers of rateable property for various local purposes should be divided between owners and occupiers, and what change in the constitution of local bodies now administering rates should follow such division.' Sir Massey Lopes, Colonel Barttelot, Mr. Gathorne Hardy, Mr. Beach, Mr. Pell, Mr. Corrance, Sir George Jenkinson, and other Tory members expressly condemned and rejected the proposal as to the division of rates—a proposal which the Royal Commission on Agricultural Distress, twelve years after, adopted as one means of relief to tenant-farmers. During the debate it came out that the exemption of personal property from local taxation was regarded by the Tory opponents of Mr. Goschen as the great question at issue.

The Tories acceded to power in February 1874, and continued in office till April 1880, and it may not therefore be unreasonable to ask how far did they themselves proceed in carrying out what they had demanded from the Liberal Government. Did they make any attempt whatever to saddle personal property with local burdens? Although they had alleged in 1869 that it was a grievance which demanded 'the early and serious consideration of Parliament,' they left office, after six years' term of power, with the whole system of local taxation practically untouched, with personal property just about as free from contributing to local rates as before; and the actual change wrought by these clamorous complainers of the unjust

burdens on land was limited to twopenny doles in the shape of subventions towards lunatics and police, of which infinitesimal relief the towns and cities got by far the biggest share. The total lightening of the rating burden, which was the outcome of the Tory contributions from the Imperial Exchequer and the transference of prisons, amounted to the wonderful sum of 3*d.* per acre on the agricultural land of the country!

About the beginning of 1876 an agricultural writer was cruel enough to call to remembrance the statements of Tory leaders on local taxation at different dates. Thus, in 1871, when a Liberal Ministry was in power, Sir Massey Lopes said in the House of Commons:—

Every thoughtful and sensible man will admit that the present system of local taxation is unsound; that it is wholly opposed to every principle of common sense and political economy; that it is unjust in principle and impolitic in practice. I contend that income from whatever source ought to be the test and measure of ability, and ought to form the basis of compulsory contributions towards all national objects. I ask you, not only to extend the present basis and enlarge the present area of assessment for national purposes, but radically to reform, revise, and readjust, on more just and equitable principles, the whole system of our local taxation.

In March 1874, Mr. Disraeli declared that 'a system of raising taxation for general purposes from one particular kind of property involves as great a violation of justice as can well be conceived.' And in April 1874, Sir Stafford Northcote, in his first Budget speech, said: 'It will be anticipated from the proceedings of the late House of Commons, and from the antecedents of those who sit on these benches, that the question of local taxation would naturally engage our early attention.' Then the critic referred to above makes this comment:—

These three statesmen have now for two years been members of a Government with a great majority at its back; but, as far as I am aware, there has been no attempt made 'radically to reform . . . our whole system of local taxation'—the 'system of raising taxation for general purposes,' &c., involving 'the great injustice,' &c., remains unaltered. With the trifling exception of the inclusion of mines, woods, and game, the basis of our rates is precisely the same as it was before. If the basis of rating was unfair and a violation of all justice at the time when these statesmen declared themselves, then it remains so still, and the need of reform is not less urgent. How is it that with that monstrous anomaly, the exemption of all income except income from real property, still continuing unaltered, we never hear a word of remonstrance from Sir Massey Lopes? He has been for years our foremost champion in contending against this injustice. What has come to him that has sealed his lips so completely on this subject with which his name has been so closely connected? Is it possible that he can have changed his opinions? Imagine Cobden in the House of Commons under Protection, and silent on Free-trade! I know that local taxation reform is a very big job. But is it any bigger than when it was vehemently urged upon Mr. Gladstone's Government? any bigger than when Sir M. Lopes and Mr. Disraeli and Sir Stafford Northcote made the declarations I have quoted? Is consistency altogether to disappear from the conduct of our public men in deference to party convenience?

Five years after the Tories had acceded to power, the Chamber of Agriculture, which had remained tolerably quiescent, had again to re-echo the demand that income from all descriptions of property should contribute equally towards the maintenance of burdens of common interest, and to regret that no bill of the first importance had been passed into law during the last session of the Tory Parliament, while the Education Rate, and the charge of disturnpiked roads had obscured the direct relief which had been obtained by the subventions in aid of rates.

At the time the Elementary Education Act was brought in by Mr. Forster, Sir T. D. Acland was desirous of introducing a clause for dividing the School Rate between owners and occupiers; but upon its being named to Sir John Pakington, who represented the Tory party in the House on this subject, he strongly objected to the proposal, on the ground that it would be recognising a new principle in rating, and also that the whole question of local taxation was being considered by a Select Committee. Sir T. D. Acland, therefore, abandoned his idea.

One of the greatest pieces of injustice of which farmers have complained, and still complain, is the charging of ratable property with the whole burden of maintaining disturnpiked and other main roads. On this point the Tories have failed to serve the farmers even by saving them from the increased rate-charge resulting from the abolition of turnpike tolls. Farmers had always objected to the Highway Acts of 1862 and 1864, and they had persistently demanded that Turnpike Trusts should be abolished simultaneously, instead of by the irregular lapsing of Trusts; that debts should be liquidated, and a share of the maintenance of principal thoroughfares borne also out of the Consolidated Fund, or out of certain of the imperial taxes transferred to local authorities towards road maintenance; and that brewers, brickmakers, and various other wearers of the roads by heavy traffic, should be brought under fair contribution. After many years of further effort, farmers obtained from the Tory Government the Act of 1878, which constituted 'main roads,' extended the rating area, without, however, bringing any new properties under assessment, and made no contribution from the imperial taxes in aid of the rates.

This road question had been a real grievance before the reign of the Tories, and remained a soreness during the period of their administration. No sooner had the Liberal Ministry come in than a demand was made for Government aid toward road maintenance, and Mr. Gladstone, feeling the justice of the demand, and being unable to legislate upon the whole question of local taxation, graciously consented to an annual grant of 275,000*l.*

It has been asserted that the local taxation cry had been such a fruitful source of political capital to the Tories that they could not afford to have the question settled. Indeed the topic was regarded as a trump card. But, after doing so little themselves when in office

towards reforming the system, no sooner had the present Government been installed, than they proceeded to badger it by questions, motions, and deputations, and more recently the forces of local taxation reformers have been marshalled for the attack, led by Mr. Pell and supported by Sir Massey Lopes, both of whom during the Tory reign had been so docile upon this their chief subject; for neither of these champions of local taxation reform ever once raised this great question in Parliament during Lord Beaconsfield's administration.

(e) The demand for County Boards may be dated from the time of Joseph Hume, who raised the question of an 'Elective Council' as far back as 1836. He was followed by Mr. Milner Gibson, who brought in bills in 1850 and 1852. Mr. Gibson was succeeded by Mr. Wyld in 1868, who brought in a Bill for the Establishment of County Financial Boards. Mr. Goschen, in 1871, propounded a wider scheme of rural government reform which embraced a Representative County Board. But the Tories neither supported nor sympathised with these efforts of Liberal members. Speaking in the House of Commons upon the subject, in 1875, Sir Stafford Northcote said:—

We are rather taunted in some quarters with not coming forward and proposing some very large measure for the reconstruction of the local administration of the country. Now, with regard to that, I would say that I am not aware that any member of Her Majesty's Government has at any time ever expressed any intention of proposing any such measure, or has expressed himself in favour of dealing with the question upon those principles.

In March 1877, Mr. C. S. Read, after his retirement from the Government, moved in the House of Commons his famous Resolution in favour of referring county business, other than that relating to the administration of justice and the maintenance of order, to a Representative County Board. He proposed that the new local parliament should be composed of one-third magistrates appointed at quarter sessions, and two-thirds elected by the boards of guardians. In seconding the motion, Sir Harcourt Johnstone asked: 'What had hindered the formation of County Boards? This was the fourth session of the Parliament. . . . There must be some undefined dread and jealousy of admitting a new element in the organisation of county management.' Sir W. Barttelot, with characteristic candour, condemned the motion as 'another kick to that humble but useful body, the magistrates.' And the gallant Colonel charged upon the Government—which, to the astonishment of the House, had suddenly accepted Mr. Read's motion—that its 'decision must have been arrived at since the morning; for he (Sir W. Barttelot) had been brought down by a notice which said, "A division will certainly be taken. Your attendance is most earnestly and particularly requested." And the capitulation of the Tory Government was the theme of most lively articles in all the newspapers, the *Times* describing the affair

as 'a transformation scene;' 'the Government were to be beaten on their own ground;' but 'the pill was swallowed without hesitation at last. The Government were forced to pledge themselves to a great and comprehensive scheme of county administration.' The result of Mr. Read's motion was that the Government was compelled, the next session, to bring in a Bill upon the subject, in which it was proposed to give, by indirect election, a county authority composed of half magistrates and half guardians. A second Bill, the County Boards Bill, introduced by the Government in the session of 1879, reduced the proportion of magistrates to one-third.

Neither of these puny Bills for dealing with a great and comprehensive subject was passed; nor was any vigorous attempt made to get them through Parliament. Any proposal for county government upon the lines of direct representation may, therefore, be expected to encounter the same hostility in Parliament which has been displayed towards the proposition by Tory magnates at county gatherings.

(f) I now approach the question of Tenants' Compensation for Improvements, a subject of commanding interest at the present time, and the history of which is not a little instructive.

The Corn Laws having been abolished in 1846, Mr. Philip Pusey, member for Berkshire, in the following year brought in a Bill 'to provide for the better security of Farmers in the Improvement of Land and for the consequent increase of Produce therefrom, as well as of Employment for Farm Labourers; to enlarge and extend the custom of Agricultural Tenant Right in accordance with the modern advance of Husbandry.' This liberally-conceived measure, backed by Mr. Evelyn Denison (the late Speaker) and Mr. Dyke Acland (the present baronet), provided that tenants should be compensated for temporary, durable, and permanent improvements; and was compulsory in principle—two clauses being introduced rendering 'null and void' agreements entered into, which in the opinion of the arbitrators were 'contrary to or illusory of the intent of this Act.'

The efforts of Mr. Pusey were persistently opposed, more especially so in respect of the compulsory clauses of his Bill, which were struck out at once by the Select Committee to which it was referred. Mr. Christopher, the Tory member for North Lincolnshire, was particularly vehement in his opposition, declaring that, 'as he was opposed to all legislative interference between landlord and tenant, he felt it his duty to vote against the further progress of the measure.' After persevering for two or three years Mr. Pusey dropped his Bill, finding the attempt to bring over his opponents to his own enlightened views a hopeless task.

This question of paramount moment to tenant-farmers was, after the efforts of Mr. Pusey, allowed to lie dormant for five-and-twenty years, during the whole of which period the Tory party had a preponderance in county representation. When resuscitated in

Parliament, it was not through the action of the farmer's Tory friends, but by a Liberal borough member—the writer of the present article, who, at that time, sat for the borough of Bedford. I had long been convinced of the need of giving the tenant-farmer class greater stability of tenure and security for outlay upon improvements. Early in 1872, the country was startled by an announcement in the daily papers that the tenancy of the foremost and most popular farmer in Scotland—the late George Hope of Fenton Barns, a man of world-wide reputation, and a valued friend of my own—had been suddenly terminated, and in a manner at once arbitrary and involving great injustice.¹ Another case of a similar, though not of quite so harsh a character, happened at the very same time in England, and to a near relative of my own. I, therefore, at once carried out a long-conceived purpose, by giving notice in the House of Commons of the following Resolution:—‘That the necessity for the increased production of animal food to meet the requirements of our growing population renders it desirable that Government should direct its early attention to the consideration of a measure for giving to the tenant-farmers of England and Scotland greater security for their capital.’ And in the following year, 1873, I brought in the ‘Landlord and Tenant Bill,’ which, although it did not pass beyond the stage of ‘First Reading,’ created much interest and formed the groundwork of the famous ‘Agricultural Holdings Act.’ On the 5th of April in that year a meeting of the Conservative party was, on the summons of Mr. Disraeli, held at the Carlton Club, ‘to consider the course to be adopted with respect to the Landlord and Tenant Bill introduced by Mr. James Howard and Mr. Clare Read.’ At this meeting an agreement was come to to support the Second Reading, upon condition that its authors consented to the Bill being referred to a Select Committee, and the twelfth clause struck out—a clause which forbade a landlord or tenant contracting himself out of the Act. Mr. Chaplin, who in this Parliament has brought in a Bill controlling freedom of contract, was reported to have expressed himself as very hostile to the compulsory clause.

The next year saw the Tories in power, and in the Queen's Speech of 1875 was announced a measure for improving the law as to agricultural tenancies. A Deputation from the Farmers' Club immediately waited upon Mr. Disraeli. Having been selected to state the views of the Club to the Prime Minister, I remarked: ‘We are almost unanimously of opinion that, if legislation takes place at all, it should be of a compulsory character. To the practical minds of the members of the Club, it does not seem to be of the slightest use to trouble Parliament

¹ The landlord of Mr. Hope was the late Mr. Christopher, who subsequently took the names of Hamilton-Nesbit and Nesbit-Hamilton, and who, if Mr. Hope had been a tenant upon his Lincolnshire estate, would have had to pay him for his improvement under the tenant-right custom of that county.

to pass a measure to say to landowners, "You may give two years' notice to quit," or "You may give security for unexhausted improvements." Mr. C. S. Read had previously stated that "he would not take the trouble to walk across the floor of the House of Commons to pass a Bill without a compulsory clause."

The Government were therefore duly forewarned, both by friends and opponents, of the futility of passing such a measure as the Agricultural Holdings Act, and experience has shown how sound were the opinions of those who had expressed disapproval of permissive legislation. The fact is, the subject of the tenant's right to compensation had taken so strong a hold of the public mind that it was a question which the Tory Government could not shirk.

When, giving evidence before the Royal Commission on Agriculture in 1881, I was pressed by the Duke of Richmond to admit that the Agricultural Holdings Act was a proof of the anxiety of the Government to do something for farmers, I replied: "If your Grace wishes me to say exactly what I think about the passing of that Act, I will do so. I think that the Government found themselves face to face with a very serious agitation, that they thought it was a matter which must be settled, and they settled it ostensibly to gratify the farmer; but they did it in a way which they took care should not offend the landowner. Of course it did (as your Grace contends) alter the presumption of law in the tenant's favour; but what was the use of altering the presumption of law when the law itself was set at nought by the owners? We looked upon the Act as a sham."

In introducing the Bill the Duke of Richmond laid stress upon its importance as affecting the food supply 'for the millions of the population of this country,' and Lord Beaconsfield characterised the measure as one 'protecting the tenant's investments in the soil by placing him in a juster position, and inducing him to apply capital to the soil—an application which it is in the interest of all classes to encourage.' And yet, notwithstanding the national benefits thus glowingly described, the Government inserted a provision permitting landlords to effectually dam their flow by simply serving a notice upon their tenants. The Earl of Morley said, a proposal that either of the contracting parties might by giving notice to the other exclude himself from the operation of an Act would be 'absolutely unique in our statute-book.' And Earl Granville compared the Bill to a little boy's balloon, 'very fine to look at, but when you come to examine it closely, you find there is absolutely nothing in it.' His Lordship said, further, he had communicated with many landlords, both strong Liberals and strong Conservatives, and could not hear of any who intended to place themselves under the new Act; and if eminent proprietors thus declined to adopt it, what chance would it have of binding the poor and greedy landlords? The Duke of

Richmond, nevertheless, put his foot down firmly in support of the bill as it stood. Time and experience, however, abundantly justified the view taken by those who maintained that passing such a measure—contrived, as they asserted, to evade the tenant's claims—would simply be bamboozling the farmers of the kingdom; and this very soon became the general opinion of the class. Before entering upon the last branch of my subject, which is entirely political, I would for a moment turn attention to the question of a Minister of Agriculture. For many years farmers urged that the functions of the Executive Government, specially relating to agriculture, should be concentrated in a distinct Department presided over by a responsible Minister of the Crown; but, as on most other matters affecting the farmer's interest, the Tory Party when in power took no steps to carry out this much-needed reform, and the agriculturists of the kingdom are indebted to the present Government for the first attempt to establish such a Department.

(g) Having dealt with the politico-economical questions affecting the interests of tenant-farmers, I will turn for a moment to one affecting their political power. I would inquire what has been the attitude of the Tory party on the question which dealt the first blow at the political serfdom wherein the class had been so long held? The ballot laid the foundation for their emancipation from political bondage. For a generation before secret voting in Parliamentary elections was carried, the hostility of Tory landowners to such a means of political independence was of the most uncompromising and determined character; and when they found the reform inevitable, their long struggles in Parliament to destroy the efficiency of the provisions made for secrecy, and thus to render the system abortive, will not soon be forgotten, especially by those who were in Parliament. When the 'Elections (Parliamentary and Municipal) Bill' was brought in by Mr. Forster in 1871, Mr. Bentinck declared that 'the only effect of it would be to prevent discovery of bribery;' and specious amendments were moved which would have vitiated the secrecy of the vote by ingenious devices ostensibly proposed to facilitate inquiry in case of a scrutiny. After protracted debates, 231 Tories voted for the defeat of the measure, among whom were Mr. Disraeli, Mr. Gathorne Hardy, Mr. Ward Hunt, Sir John Pakington, Viscount Sandon, Lord Elcho, Mr. Selater-Booth, Sir Walter Barttelot, Sir Charles Adderley, Mr. Chaplin, Sir Massey Lopes, Lord John Manners, Mr. Newdegate, Mr. Pell, Sir H. Selwin-Ibbetson, and Mr. Rowland Winn.

Even now, long after the institution of the Ballot, strenuous efforts are made, as was the case at the recent electoral contest in Mid-Cheshire, to impair its integrity, and, for the purpose of maintaining territorial ascendancy, to shake confidence in its inviolability. From intercourse with farmers and others, I know that these efforts have not been unavailing. The less educated farmers entertain a

belief in the power of magnates to procure information as to their votes; and at the Mid-Cheshire election this suspicion was strengthened by the artful expedient of an hourly issue by the Tories of bills professing to give the state of the poll.

That very few farmers in the kingdom were in possession of political independence before the passing of the Ballot Act is so patent a fact that it is scarcely worth insisting upon. I will, however, accentuate the view expressed by reference to the condition of things in the county I have the honour to represent—Bedfordshire. At the last contested election under open voting, although no actual pressure was brought to bear, only one tenant-farmer upon the great estate of the Duke of Bedford voted contrary to his landlord's views; and even this tenant, a man worth some 30,000*l.*, told me he felt constrained to give one vote to his landlord's candidate—the Liberal. On the next largest estate, which has since descended to Mr. Whitbread, M.P., not a single tenant-farmer voted upon the opposite side to his landlord. And if such was the case upon the estates of Liberals, it can easily be imagined what were the influences which prevailed upon those belonging to Tories. Given the politics of the landlord, the tenants might, without asking them a question, have been polled most accurately. This is changed now. The farmers have to thank the Liberal party, not only for their original enfranchisement, but for emancipating them from a real political serfdom, which would have been felt the more galling had it not been so long habitual, and as it were a time-honoured condition of rural life. The tree of liberty planted by the Ballot will bear fruit as time rolls on and confidence grows in the inviolability of the system of voting.

Having dealt with each of the subjects enumerated at the commencement, I would in conclusion say that, if I have nothing extenuated, I have endeavoured to avoid setting down 'ought in malice.' For many years I have observed the willingness of the Tory party to co-operate with the farmers upon questions in which the interests of landlord and tenant are clearly in harmony, and the fact has not escaped my notice that they have been unwilling to take up the views of the farmers upon questions in which these interests appeared to conflict or were not altogether identical; nor have I overlooked their hostility to all proposals which are regarded as antagonistic to the interests of landowners.

If a recapitulation of facts proves that the Tory party has neglected or opposed the interests of the great tenant-farmer class on the very questions upon which they found their claim to the farmer's allegiance, no blame can attach to me for placing the record before the public. It will doubtless create surprise in the minds of not a few that the title of the Tories to be considered the friends of the farmer has nothing to support it but the rotten foundation which I have endeavoured to expose to view.

JAMES HOWARD.

THE NEW AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS BILL.

UNDER a title of unhappy omen the long expected Bill to secure compensation to tenant-farmers for their improvements has been placed before Parliament and the country. As an agitation of a somewhat fitful character in favour of tenant-right has been carried on for nearly forty years, legislation upon the question cannot be said to be premature. On the contrary, it is not only very late, but it is inevitable, as the number of Bills upon the subject brought before Parliament by members on both sides of the House of Commons shows. Indeed, there could not have been a more favourable opportunity for settling a long-standing dispute than that now afforded to the Government. Landlords, as well as farmers, have long been suffering from severe depression, which has, moreover, affected the interests of all classes of the people to an unprecedented extent. Thus landlords, tenants, and the public alike are anxious to promote any reform which will attract capital to agriculture, by rendering it safe from any risks beyond those belonging to every business undertaking. Nor is this all; for, during the past two or three years, landlords and tenants have been drawing more and more closely in the direction of a compromise between extreme demands on the one side, and inveterate opposition on the other. Conservative landlords in Parliament, who at one time denounced all interference with so-called freedom of contract—more properly termed licence of contract—have introduced bills in which this old bugbear has been contemptuously thrust aside, and advanced agricultural reformers have shown a disposition to sacrifice their favourite principle of marketable security, miscalled free sale, with the object of obtaining complete and indefeasible security for tenants' improvements by means of valuation. Under such circumstances it must be admitted that the strong Liberal Government had an unexampled opportunity of effecting a durable, if not a permanent, settlement of a tediously protracted dispute. Mr. Chaplin had come close to an agreement with the advanced farmers' party, and Mr. Staveley Hill had come closer still. It was only necessary for the Government to go one step

further in order to induce the disputants to strike hands and settle the matter.

Mr. Staveley Hill's Bill would give an indefeasible, though not necessarily an adequate, right to compensation to tenants for their improvements, provided that in the case of permanent improvements the landlord's consent had been obtained. All that the Government needed to do in order to effect a fair and reasonable compromise was to secure an adequate and indefeasible compensation for all improvements, without requiring the landlord's consent at all. As to the method of compensation and the standard of value recommended by Mr. Hill, his plan may easily be improved upon. He proposes to give to a landlord and a tenant the option of arranging for compensation for the tenant's improvements under private agreement, the Lincolnshire Custom, or the Agricultural Holdings Act. Now, the compensation afforded under the Custom and the Act is not only in some respects inadequate, because the standard of value in both cases is inequitable, but its method is based on a wrong principle, or rather on no principle at all—on a rough-and-ready makeshift for a principle. Under both outlay is made the standard of value, and the method of compensation is that of awarding a proportionate part of the outlay for each year remaining out of a period arbitrarily imposed, and differing with respect to different improvements or classes of improvements; with the exception of a small class of temporary improvements in the Act, compensation for which is restricted to what has been done during the last two years of the tenancy, limited by the value to an in-coming tenant, and diminished further by other drawbacks. And, in the case of the Agricultural Holdings Act, the award in respect of permanent improvements is further limited on settled estates by the stipulation that it shall not exceed the capital sum which represents the increased letting value of the holding due to the improvements. Such a system of compensation is thoroughly unsatisfactory, and, therefore, under Mr. Hill's Bill the only desirable means of compensation is by private agreement; but the great merit of his Bill is that it would ensure to the tenant compensation at least as good as that to be obtained under either the Agricultural Holdings Act or the Lincolnshire Custom, by empowering him, when he quits his holding, to claim compensation under either instead of under his agreement. Thus Mr. Hill's Bill would provide a very strong incentive to induce landlords to offer to their tenants terms at least a little better than those to be obtained under either the Act or the Custom. In this way a tenant might acquire a claim to adequate compensation for all the improvements he might make, without the necessity of obtaining the landlord's consent to the execution of any, or he might not. The one step further, then, which it was necessary for the Government to take in order to effect a fair and reasonable compromise of the tenant-right dispute was

to render certain that which Mr. Hill left uncertain. Let us see whether they have availed themselves of their excellent opportunity of taking this one step further, and of thus settling a long-standing difficulty.

Before putting the new Agricultural Holdings Bill to the test proposed, I must pause to confess that my one step further is both a long step and a bold step. In order to make compensation for all kinds of tenant's improvements adequate, the step would not require to go beyond the ring fence of Mr. Hill's field of action; but to render the right to compensation indefeasible it is necessary for the step to extend over the border. Mr. Hill's field of action only relates to quitting tenants, and it would be a simple matter to make compensation to them adequate; but as all tenants are not quitting tenants, something more is required in order to make the right to compensation indefeasible. Probably for one tenant who has his improvements taken from him without compensation when he quits, at least ten tenants have theirs taken while they remain in their holdings, by means of rent on those improvements. It is argued by many persons who are in favour of tenant-right that, if a tenant had a claim to full compensation for his improvements on quitting his holding, he would not submit to be rented on them; but I fear that he would be very likely to submit. No doubt he would be in a much stronger position for resisting than he now occupies; but if he had an attachment to his home, or a high opinion of his farm, he would be too likely to submit to what he would know was an injustice, rather than risk having to leave by threatening to give notice to quit in order to claim compensation. It is further urged by those whose arguments I am now considering that, even admitting what has just been said, it would be of no use to give to a sitting tenant a right of appeal against being rented on his own improvements, because if he did appeal his landlord would give him notice to quit. The answer to this is that an improving tenant is usually a good and a safe tenant, whom the landlord does not wish to lose, and that, although the latter would be likely to 'try it on' with a view to increasing the rent in the absence of a right of appeal, believing that the tenant would give in rather than leave, the possession of a right of appeal by the tenant would generally prevent the attempt at an unfair exaction; also that when the attempt had been made, and the right of appeal had been exercised, it by no means follows that the landlord would give the tenant notice to quit. On the contrary, I believe that a right of appeal against what the tenant held to be rent on his improvements would be far more likely to promote a friendly settlement than to cause a breach. Very often the landlord honestly believes that an advance of rent is not an advance on the tenant's improvements, whereas the tenant believes that it is. Neither is likely to convince the other, and a quarrel is only too probable. Surely, then, to refer the dispute to impartial arbit-

trators in the best way out of the difficulty, and the way most likely to conserve the friendly relations of the two parties.

If, then, as I hold, the one step further that it was necessary for the Government to take in order to settle the tenant-right question in a satisfactory manner involves such protection to sitting tenants as is above described, it is clear that, in framing their Bill, the Government have not taken that step. It is said that they would not have had any chance of passing a Bill in which this protection was included; but this idea, I believe, has arisen chiefly from the supposition that an appeal to a court would be necessary. Now, a court is no more necessary to settle a dispute between a sitting tenant and his landlord than it is to settle a dispute between a quitting tenant and his landlord. An appeal to the arbitrators, with resort to an umpire if requisite, would be sufficient in one case as in the other; and I believe that the Government could have carried a Bill containing provisions for appeal to arbitration in both cases.

Let us now assume, for the sake of argument, either that I am wrong in holding that the protection of sitting tenants is necessary in order to provide all tenants with an indefeasible right to their improvements, or that, at any rate, we must be satisfied with giving such a right to quitting tenants only; and then let us consider whether the Government have taken this shorter step beyond Mr. Hill's standpoint.

To take the Bill at its best, I will first refer only to its provisions in relation to future tenancies. It is proposed that the Bill shall come into operation on the 1st of January, 1884, and that any tenancy-at-will shall be held to be a future tenancy immediately, while a yearly tenancy will become a future tenancy as soon after the coming of the Bill into operation as either landlord or tenant could terminate the tenancy by giving notice to the other. The first clause shows that the Government have improved upon Mr. Staveley Hill's method of compensation so far as the standard of value is concerned, as they propose that the amount of the award to an out-going tenant for his improvements shall be such sum as fairly represents the value of the improvements to an in-coming tenant, and this standard of value is to be applied to all classes of improvements. It is to be presumed that by value to an in-coming tenant is meant the value to him supposing that he will continue in the holding long enough to exhaust the improvements, as it is obvious that if he were only to continue to hold the farm for a year the value to him would be very small. This point ought to be put beyond the chance of dispute. Presuming my interpretation to be correct, the principle of compensation is a satisfactory one, and if the Bill applied it absolutely to all out-going tenants for all improvements, I should gladly admit that the Government had taken the short step in advance of Mr. Hill's proposals to which allusion has been made. Unfortunately the Bill would not so

apply the principle: It is supposed to be a compulsory measure by virtue of its 24th clause, which runs thus:—

Any contract, agreement, or covenant made by a tenant, by virtue of which he is deprived of his right to claim compensation under this Act in respect of any improvement mentioned in the schedule hereto (except an agreement providing such compensation as is by this Act permitted to be substituted for compensation under this Act), shall, so far as it deprives him of such right, be void both at law and in equity.

The words in parentheses point to exceptions so extensive as to render the Bill, in effect, a purely permissive measure. This is clearly the case in respect of permanent improvements and draining, and it appears to me to be also the case in respect of the third class of improvements. In regard to improvements of the first class, such as building, laying down permanent pasture, making gardens, improving water-supply, planting hops or fruit trees, and reclaiming waste land, the Bill is doubly permissive: for, in the first instance, the landlord's consent is necessary in order to the provisions of the Bill as to compensation being made applicable to such improvements if executed by the tenant; and, secondly, the landlord is free to make terms, outside the Bill, with his tenant 'as to compensation or otherwise.' In the case of draining the consent of the landlord is not required; but the tenant must give notice to the landlord of his intention to drain, and then the landlord may either do the work himself, or make terms with the tenant 'as to compensation or otherwise' if the tenant does it. It is a melancholy satisfaction to see the words 'or otherwise' in the clauses referred to, because they clearly show, what otherwise might have been disputed, that the intention of the Bill is to preserve licence of contract with respect to permanent improvements and draining. It is true that if the landlord does not do the draining, or make terms with his tenant as to doing it, the latter may carry out the work himself and claim compensation under the Bill for it when he quits. This will give the tenant an advantage in making terms which he does not now enjoy; but it will not prevent the wholesale evasion of the compensatory provisions of the Bill. Coming to improvements of the third class, which comprise those as lasting as chalking, boning, and marling, and those as quickly exhaustible as manuring and feeding with purchased food on the land, we find an attempt to prevent the complete evasion of compensation. The second part of the 5th clause is as follows:—

Where in the case of a tenancy under a contract of tenancy beginning after the commencement of this Act, any particular agreement in writing secures to the tenant for any improvement mentioned in the third part of the schedule hereto, and executed after the commencement of this Act, fair and reasonable compensation, then in such case the compensation in respect of such improvement shall be payable in pursuance of the particular agreement, and shall be deemed to be substituted for compensation under this Act.

Here again complete freedom to contract out of the Bill is given, and it is simply stipulated that there shall be 'fair and reasonable compensation' in substitution for compensation under the Bill. But there is no definition of 'fair and reasonable compensation' in the Bill, nor any attempt to apply a test of fairness and reasonableness; and, so far as I can see, there is nothing to prevent a landlord from insisting, as a condition of letting a farm to a tenant, that the latter shall sign an agreement stating that he accepts a ten-pound note on a lease of fourteen years as 'fair and reasonable compensation' for any improvements he may make. It may be that the tenant in such a case, when he quits, would be able to get his agreement declared null and void; but the Bill does not provide for an appeal, and it is doubtful whether a court of law would uphold a tenant in repudiating his own agreement. There is certainly not a provision, as there is in Mr. Hill's Bill, for ensuring that the compensation in agreements outside the proposed Act shall be at least as liberal as that to be obtained inside it.

It is not my purpose to recommend the method by which Mr. Hill secures the object he has in view, as it is in principle not only more revolutionary than anything proposed by the most advanced of tenant-right Radicals, but is otherwise objectionable also. To encourage a man to enter into an agreement, with the deliberate intention of breaking it if he sees something which suits him better, is not conducive to commercial morality. It would be far better to have the agreements brought before some authority for ratification or rejection before they are signed, and it would be better still to allow no agreements setting aside the provisions of the proposed Act to be made at all. Why should a man be authorised to contract out of an obligation to pay for value received? It may be said that he ought to be allowed to pay for value received in any way that he and his tenant may agree upon; but, unfortunately, in the case of landlord and tenant, agreement too generally means submission to dictation, and for that reason, the moment the door is opened for private agreements in substitution for any measure of the kind under consideration, the more or less extensive defeat of the objects of that measure becomes certain. At the best, to allow agreements in substitution for the provisions of the Bill must be a fruitful cause of dispute. Landlords would almost all endeavour to induce their tenants to accept such agreements, and, if the latter refused, they would probably either not get the farms if they were applicants, or would receive notice to quit if they were already in occupation. All this is to be avoided if possible, and, as the standard of compensation in the Bill is so perfectly unobjectionable, there is really no need to allow of any contracting out of the provisions of the Bill. Any increase in the value of a farm to an in-coming tenant implies more rent to the landlord, so that he cannot be a loser if the valuation is

fairly conducted. It might be inconvenient to him to find the capital sum when his tenant claimed it; but this objection applies equally to fair compensation under private agreement. Besides, the Bill provides for the charging of the money on the estate, and for loans from companies.

Several of the less important details of the Bill are open to criticism; and there are some important omissions, such as the absence of provisions giving freedom of cropping and sale of produce to tenants on the one hand, and empowering landlords to take summary measures for stopping waste or deterioration on the other, while a schedule which does not mention the cleaning and improved cultivation of a foul and neglected farm is obviously defective; but, unless the faults in the Bill above pointed out can be remedied by means of amendments, it is not worth while to occupy space with minute examination. It is certain that if the Bill should be passed in its present form, it will not be accepted by tenant-farmers as a settlement of their claims, nor stop agitation for a single year. The smallest advance that would be regarded as a tolerable compromise would be that by means of which complete freedom to carry out all kinds of improvements would be afforded to tenants, with an infeasible right to compensation to the out-going tenant.

There is nothing unreasonable in asking for freedom to develop the resources of the soil, since any restraint upon it is obviously injurious to the public interest. It is an abuse of the right of property in land to allow an owner to refuse to develop its resources or to let any one else do so. Tenants are certainly not anxious to carry out permanent improvements if their landlords are willing to do the work; and if freedom to improve, with a claim to compensation, were given to every tenant by law, there would be no danger of preventing landlords from carrying out the more important improvements in their own way. But if owners will not do what is necessary, Parliament, on behalf of the public, should give tenants power to make improvements, and afford them security for the same until they have received compensation. If landlords were asked to recoup to tenants their outlay, there would be some reason in requiring the landlords' consent, as there is often a loss instead of a profit, and it would be grossly unfair to compel one man to pay for the mistakes of another. But the Government have wisely taken payment for results as their principle of compensation for improvements, so that landlords may actually get their estates improved without any risk, if tenants are allowed to carry out all kinds of improvements, and protected against spoliation in so doing.

With respect to the Law of Distress, it would be well to lighten the ship by leaving all the clauses relating to it out of the Bill. Merely to limit the landlord's right of distraint to one year's rent would be purely injurious to tenant-farmers, and no one has attempted

to show how it could possibly benefit them. The senselessness of that kind of compromise which consists in merely giving something short of a demand was never more strikingly illustrated than it is in this proposed settlement. The preference claim of the landlord is declared to be unjust to the tenant's other creditors, and the compromise proposed is to retain the injustice to a partial extent. I doubt whether the change would prove beneficial to the general creditors of the farmer. Distraints would probably be ten times as common as they are now, and in every case of distraint creditors would be victimised. As for the tenant, he asked for the abolition of the Law of Distress, because its effect is to enhance rents artificially by rendering it safe for landlords to take 'men of straw,' who are reckless as to the rents they pay, as they have little or nothing to lose. Now, it will be as safe for landlords to accept adventurers as tenants with a right to distrain for one year's rent as it is with a right to distrain for six years' rent; for it will only be necessary to distrain at the end of the first year in which the rent is unpaid, to give notice to quit, and to distrain again for the second year's rent. It will even be safer, as there will not be the temptation which now exists to give long credit, and thus to lead to an accumulation of unpaid rent for which a distraint at the last might not be sufficient. On the other hand, many tenants, especially at a time of financial distress like the present, dread the abolition of the Law of Distress, because they would lose the long credit which their landlords now give them. I do not hold that this plea should have any weight against the abolition of the law, as it is not right that tenants should have indulgence at the expense of their creditors; but I do hold that, if it is to be taken into consideration at all, the mischief of merely limiting the law is obvious. So far as the law is good for the tenant, the longer the term to which it is to apply the better for him. On the whole, I am convinced that the law is very injurious to the interests of the farmer; but merely to limit its application would be to take away nearly all its compensating advantages, such as they are, to retain its disadvantages to the full in respect of the incidence of the law upon rent, and to render the hardship of a barbarous legal process as common hereafter as it has been, until recently, uncommon. There is no dispute as to the desirability of exempting hired machinery and agisting live stock from being appropriated by landlords in satisfaction of claims for rent; but the proper remedy for that kind of legal highway robbery, as for the other barbarities of distraint, is the total abolition of the Law of Distress.

It is not yet too late for the Government to make or accept amendments which will render their Bill at least tolerably acceptable to farmers and the public. That they have been unnecessarily timid in their proposals is the general opinion of the press, and the fact that such commendation of the measure as has appeared has been

chiefly that of Conservative journals is one of great significance. In its present form the Bill is nearly as open to wholesale evasion as the Agricultural Holdings Act was and is, the chief difference being that there is no opportunity to landlords to set the present Bill aside by simply giving notice of their intention not to come under it within two months of its coming into operation, as there was in the case of the Act of 1875. I have no doubt that the Government earnestly desire to do justice to tenant-farmers and to conserve the public interest by legislating upon this question; but they will do neither to any considerable extent by passing a permissive measure.

There is another consideration to which honour and prudence alike demand the earnest attention of the Government. It was not for such a Bill as that before me that the farmers so extensively supported Liberal candidates at the last general election; nor is the measure the fulfilment of the pledges then made. The Agricultural Holdings Act was then held up to contempt, and farmers were told that if they would help to place a Liberal Government in power, a very different kind of tenant-right Bill, and certainly a compulsory one, might be confidently expected. If this pledge, given by hundreds of Liberal candidates and other party leaders, is not to be redeemed, the Liberal party will justly be charged with a gross betrayal of trust, which the farmers of England and Scotland will not readily forget.

WILLIAM E. BEAR.

WALLENSTEIN.

Von der Parteien Gunst und Hass verwirrt,
Schwankt sein Charakterbild in der Geschichte.

SCHILLER.

ALBRECHT WENZEL EUSEBIUS VON WALDSTEIN was born on the 14th of September 1583, of an old Czech family living in Bohemia. He was a seven-months child. The family, though of ancient descent, was poor, and belonged to the lower grade of nobility. The original house had split into two branches, those of Wartenberg and of Waldstein, or Wallenstein, the latter being the less considerable, and possessing only the estate of Herrmanic in the district of Königin-Grätz. The father of Wallenstein was Wilhelm von Waldstein; his mother was Katharina von Slawata. Both parents were Protestants. The mother died on the 2nd of July, 1593; the father, on the 24th of February, 1595. The orphan boy was placed at first under the care of his maternal uncle, Albrecht Slawata; but another uncle, Johann Kavka von Ricam, obtained the charge of the lad, and this latter uncle, being an ardent friend of the Jesuits, placed his nephew at the Jesuit school at Olmütz. The youth was called *der Tolle*, and evinced early a love for arms, for fighting, and for turbulent independence. After a time spent in travel (it is believed that he visited England) we find him at the University of Padua, then under Venetian influence and not therefore very jesuitico-papal in tendency or in tone. Here he studied the *Cabbala*, and became an adept in astrology; and he is to be regarded as being, nominally at least, a Catholic.

Wallenstein became naturally a soldier; and his first military service was performed under General Georg Basta, a commander of the school of Alessandro Farnese, who was fighting against the Turks and against Protestant Hungary. Wallenstein was made a captain of infantry after the siege of Gram. Peace came, and Wallenstein returned to Bohemia in 1606.

During the troubles in Bohemia arising from the wars between the Emperor Rudolph II. and his brother Matthias, king of Bohemia, Wallenstein served under Matthias. When Matthias became Emperor, he nominated as king of Bohemia his cousin, the Erzherzog Ferdinand von Steiermark und Kärnthen. As the future Emperor, Ferdinand II., was a bigoted Catholic, the Bohemians, who were zealously Protestant,

saw with apprehension the appointment of a monarch who would, as they foresaw, take away their rights and privileges, and attempt, as Ferdinand soon did, to extirpate their religion. Ferdinand became Emperor, and Friedrich V. of the Pfalz obtained the crown of Bohemia. Civil war raged in that unhappy land; and Wallenstein served there with distinction under the new Emperor. Wallenstein himself raised troops, and began to show the qualities of a creator of armies and of a great leader. He also gave evidence of a restless ambition, a love of splendour, and an iron will.

About this time, he married (the exact date not recorded) his first wife, Lucrezia Nekyssowa von Landeck, an elderly lady possessed of very large estates. She died in 1614. The marriage was one of interest and of ambition, and it founded the fortunes of the Imperialist soldier.

Among the many superstitious beliefs which centred, later, round the life of Wallenstein, was one to the effect that his temporary paroxysms of mad passion were due to a love-philtre administered to him by his first and elderly wife. His second wife was Isabella Katharina, daughter of the Imperial Chamberlain, Count von Harrach. This match, though not devoid of ambitious motives, was yet a suitable and a happy marriage. The lady was young and fair. Priorato calls her '*una Dama veramente di remarcabile modestia e di una grandissima purità.*' Colonel von Waldstein was, upon his marriage, made a count, and was loaded with honours at the Court of Ferdinand. A tenacious, astute, and ever-rising man is this Wallenstein, who attaches himself to the fortunes of Cæsar, and to the cause of despotism and the Jesuits. After the Bohemian war, no fewer than 642 estates of Protestant nobles had, up to 1622, been confiscated by the Emperor, and out of these the brilliant services of Wallenstein were to be rewarded. He was allowed to buy property for 150,000 gulden; and further for 7,290,228 gulden. This latter lot included sixty estates; and the price which he paid did not amount to one-fifth of the value. In 1623 he was made Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, and in 1624 he became Duke of Friedland. As politic as he was able, Wallenstein stood, at this passage of his life, on the threshold of his future fortune and greatness.

Wallenstein next proposed to raise an army of at least 40,000 men for the service of the Emperor; and he suggested, further, that this army should be raised without cost to the Emperor; a proposal which was regarded with great favour by Ferdinand. It was always Wallenstein's principle that war should support itself. His troops were quartered in the lands of enemies; to each colonel his own regiment was a money enterprise, and confiscations supplied chiefs and soldiers with rewards and pay. On these terms, Wallenstein created an Imperial army which soon grew to exceed the proportions originally contemplated.

Tilly was already in the field, in command of the army of the *Liga*. This force, though serving the Empire, was still more emphatically intended to support the Church of Rome. Tilly was, himself, a most hearty heretic-hater, and his troops were all Catholics. Wallenstein, on the other hand, who was the soldier of the Empire rather than of the priests, accepted indifferently Catholic or Protestant, and treated both with equal favour. In war itself the end is not war. War is the highest price that can be paid for peace; and Wallenstein already looked forward to obtaining peace, under the supremacy of the Empire, as a result of brilliant military successes. He was clear-sighted enough to see that peace could never exist in Germany under the condition of the suppression of Protestantism. A Catholic from policy rather than from conviction, he recognised the fact that Protestantism could not be extirpated.

It was towards the end of the year 1626 that Wallenstein first appears as an independent and supreme commander. Flushed with many victories, high in Imperial favour, exalted in rank, the richest proprietor of his land and time, high-soaring and far-reaching in ambition, commanding in capacity, he entered upon his further campaigns. Tilly was jealous of the rising star, but Wallenstein soon taught the old soldier—and Tilly was merely a soldier—that when two men ride upon a horse one must ride behind; and that one, in the present instance, was to be Tilly. Although he assisted Tilly, Wallenstein kept the army of the Empire and the army of the *Liga* distinctly apart; and he himself devised and superintended the general scheme of operations for both.

Austria and Spain were intimately allied, both by dynastic relationships, by mutual interests, and by zeal for the Roman Church. Philip IV. and Olivarez were attached by the closest ties to Ferdinand and to Eggenburg. England had seen her Crown Prince attempt an alliance with the Infanta of Spain. James I., and afterwards Charles I., were naturally interested in the 'Queen of Hearts,' and in her husband, the 'Winter-König.' The policy of France was mainly coloured by hatred of Spain. Denmark and Sweden were Protestant, and were deeply inimical to the House of Austria. Holland was a natural enemy of Catholicism and of Spain.

The only military reverse experienced by Wallenstein during the Baltic campaign was his failure, in 1628, at Stralsund. The heroic Stralsunders, helped by Denmark and by Sweden, succeeded in resisting a six months' siege, although Wallenstein had deeply sworn that he would have Stralsund even though it were attached by iron chains to Heaven. Fighting for its religion and its rights, Stralsund was invincible. It became the advanced post of the great northern combination between Scandinavia and Protestant Germany. Wallenstein took Wolgast and seized Mecklenburg, acquiring and retaining the latter dukedom for himself. Taught by the examples of Sweden and

of Denmark, he ardently desired a navy and sea-power. The Emperor made Wallenstein General at sea and Lord High Admiral; but, though he could stamp soldiers out of the earth, Wallenstein could not make sailors or create a navy. In his futile rage he fired with red-hot shot upon the sublimely indifferent element which favoured his foes. Christian IV. of Denmark was already in the field against Austria. Gustav Adolf began to stir, and Wallenstein, with the instinctive prescience of greatness, foretold the danger to Austria of such a foe. On the 1st of September, 1627, Wallenstein acquired by purchase, at the nominal cost of 150,850 gulden, the Principality of Sagan. He refused the offered crown of Denmark, and contented himself with the Duchy of Mecklenburg. He had become one of the greatest territorial magnates that Europe has ever seen; and he surpassed in splendid possessions and titles our own Warwick, the King-maker.

The great Wallenstein could confer nobility as well as military rank; he could punish or pardon; he could coin money, and make peace or war. He quartered on the coins struck at his own mints the angel of Friedland, the eagle of Sagan, the bull's head of Mecklenburg, the griffin of Rostock. At a meeting at Brandeis the Emperor begged Wallenstein to remain covered. He had asserted the supremacy of the Empire from the Adriatic to the Baltic. Stralsund and Magdeburg alone had successfully resisted his arms. He had become the leading German captain of the Thirty Years' War, and was one of the great figures in European politics. He had created and supported an almost matchless army, and had surrounded himself with devoted officers. His talents for finance and for organisation were as distinguished as his military ability. Always negotiating, even while fighting, he knew when to conceal the sword under the olive-branch; and his diplomatic astuteness seemed to equal his war-like prowess. After the Silesian campaign he sent sixty-five captured flags and standards to Vienna. He possessed the love of wife and child. Förster and Von Janko both cite many letters of the Duchess to her powerful lord: the style shows something of the punctilio of the age, but beneath the form there lives a warm and true affection. She always signs herself 'Isabella von Waldstein, F. z F.' (princess of Friedland). Having no son he chose his cousin Maximilian von Waldstein as his heir male. In the years 1626-30, Wallenstein reached a pitch of power and of glory which left but little for the most reckless human ambition to desire.

The pictures of Wallenstein's personality during this period are romantic. As he rose in power and influence he held himself more and more aloof from men. He ceased to dine with his officers. He became ungenial and reserved and gloomy. The soldiers surrounded his personality with a dark superstitious awe and dread. The commonly current ideas about the mysterious chieftain lent to him

an almost supernatural character. His army believed in his star and was animated with his own fatalistic spirit. He passed whole nights alone with his astrologer, Battista Seni, in a starry watch-tower. His occasional paroxysms of rage were fearful. Above all he could bear no noise. No clock might sound, no dog might bark, no spur might jingle in his hearing. A cordon of sentries was placed round his quarters in order to prevent any disturbing sound from reaching him. Haughty and sombre, he dominated the wills and the fancies of men. *Ego et rex meus* were the objects for which he strove. His ambition seemed more and more detached from any tendency to serve the Liga, or the Church of Rome. His wide sweeping glance ranged all over Europe; his negotiations embraced every power, and he leant ever more to rank politics above religion.

Of the king of Sweden he said to Graf Adam von Schwarzenberg that Gustav Adolf was a monarch with whom one must look *mehr auf die Fäuste als das Maul*, 'more to his deeds than to his words.'

A congress at Lübeck met to decide upon peace, and was attended by the representatives of the Liga. Peace, of a hollow and temporary nature, was concluded, and more lordships fell to Wallenstein. In addition to the dukedom of Mecklenburg he obtained the principality of Wenden, the earldom of Schwerin, the lordships of Rostock and Stargard. Wallenstein next desired to assist Sigismund, the king of Poland, against Gustav Adolf, and sent troops to Poland under the command of Arnim; but Arnim, who was a Protestant, quarrelled with his great chief, and went into the service of the Elector of Saxony.

During the temporary lull of the war in Germany, Wallenstein's active intellect conceived another plan which, if it had been carried out, would have saved much trouble and danger to our own day. He desired to undertake the conquest of Turkey. Wallenstein wished to make the Holy Roman Empire an almost universal monarchy. He had done much to extend its sway, and he wished to do more. He always reckoned the Muscovites as enemies of Christendom, and he detested the presence of the then dangerous Mussulman in Europe. During a breathing time of peace he proposed to turn the arms of the West against the Osmanli; but European affairs called his attention from his Turkish scheme, and nothing was done to carry his plan into execution.

Who, at one time, would have believed that Coriolanus should turn his arms against Rome? At the period of his Turkish project events were ripening which were to impel Wallenstein to break with the Emperor and with Austria. The Reformation was created by the Church of Rome, and the revolt and fall of Wallenstein were produced by those who should have been his truest allies.

Ferdinand II. was narrow-minded, bigoted, superstitious, and

wholly priest-led; but he was devoted to his dynastic interests, was obstinate and crafty. He was sensual, fond of music, and of hunting, and, indeed, like His Majesty in *Ruy Blas*, the chief holograph records which he left of himself refer to the number and the weight of the beasts that he killed. He was justly termed the model of a Catholic prince. He believed in Wallenstein; he felt gratitude to his great general for such splendid services to his House; and Ferdinand for a long time turned a deaf ear to the priests and the princes who were for ever trying to ruin Wallenstein in his favour.

Ferdinand, by giving the electorate of Friedrich to Maximilian, had destroyed the equal balance of Catholic and Protestant electors, and had given the advantage of a vote to Catholicism. He was desirous of having his son, the King of Hungary, afterwards Ferdinand the Third, irregularly nominated Emperor during his own life; and the faction hostile to Wallenstein refused to help Ferdinand to attain this object while Friedland remained generalissimo of the forces of the Empire. To this form of opposition Ferdinand sullenly succumbed.

His fame, his splendour, his success raised Wallenstein many enemies in Vienna; but his chief offence was, undoubtedly, his doubtful orthodoxy and his tolerance for heretics; his desire to fuse Germany into a nation, under the rule of the Emperor, with toleration for both religions. The Liga combined with Protestant princes—those princes upon whom the Imperial troops had been quartered—against Wallenstein; France and Spain at that time both opposed him; Maximilian of Bavaria, the princes of the Empire, and every Jesuit intrigued against the man grown so great, growing ever greater; and before so many foes, Friedland fell. In 1630, he received his dismissal from his high post; a sentence combined with an assurance of the Emperor's undiminished personal regard.

Friedland received the intimation with proud, calm silence. He professed willing obedience, laid down his staff, and retired to his estates at Gitschin. Re-united to his tender wife, he devoted his energy to building, planting, and ruling his many possessions with singular wisdom and skill. He said, the stars had told him that 'the spirit of the Bavarian must rule the spirit of the Kaiser.' He recognised Maximilian of Bavaria as his direst foe.

And so priest and prince had triumphed. Wallenstein was deposed, and Tilly—that 'truly Catholic leader'—became generalissimo of Austria. Ferdinand had yielded, but he had only strengthened the Catholic electors, and saw himself no step nearer to the nomination of his son as his successor.

John Tschernclas, Count de Tilly, has made his name for ever infamous by the notorious 'Sack of Magdeburg' in May 1631. The town was given up for three days to burning, plunder, rape, and every wanton injury that could be inflicted by a lawless and bigoted

soldiery upon heretic and helpless victims. In the Rev. Walter Harte's *History of Gustavus Adolphus* (1759) will be found a full account of the unspeakable miseries suffered by the wretched inhabitants of Magdeburg. This characteristic deed was Tilly's last success. Gustav Adolph was now on German soil, at the head of a Swedo-German army; and in his fortunes lay the real interests of Germany. In September 1631, he wholly routed Tilly at Leipzig, and the 'Kaiser trembled in his Hofburg.' Arnim was serving under Gustav Adolph—Christian the Fourth was too jealous of his great rival to render help. Gustav Adolph was successful in Bavaria itself, and entered München as a conqueror. The Imperial councils seemed stricken with impotency; the Imperial armies knew nothing but defeat. The thoughts of the Emperor—and of others in Vienna—turned often to the grand recluse of Gitschin, who seemed to have forgotten politics and war, and to live, silently, a colossal monument of ingratitude and victim of cabal. Men remembered, in the darkness of the time, how bright had shone the star of Friedland.

He was recalled to power, restored to his former post. He at first utterly refused to return, and then consented to serve for three months in order to form a suitable army, but ultimately consented to become *Capo d'Armada*, being furnished by the Emperor with larger powers than have, perhaps, ever been granted by monarch to subject. The army was overjoyed at his return; the old spirit was restored to it with its old commander. Wallenstein well knew that he was opposed to a far greater general than any that he had previously encountered; but fate left, for a time, to each a separate path of success, and Gustav Adolph and Wallenstein did not meet at once. The Emperor had at first proposed that Wallenstein should serve under the nominal command of the King of Hungary, but Friedland answered proudly and characteristically that 'he would not share a command with the Almighty; he would either command alone, or not at all.'

It may well be that a man who has once played so great a part cannot easily resist the opportunity of a return to a position of power which will satisfy ambition and give scope for genius. Wallenstein, probably, resumed his post with partial willingness, but his after-conduct gave evidence of a certain change in the man. He no longer felt so secure; he was not again quite the same devoted servant of the Emperor; he began to cherish wider plans for the pacification and unity of Germany; he never quite forgot his own aggrandisement, and he cast an eye upon the crown of Bohemia. He spoke more boldly than before against the priests; he acted more independently, and even more haughtily, than ever; but his politics were growing into larger ideas than those which animated his former support of the Empire.

The *Liga* wished him to dismiss his Protestant officers; he wholly refused. He allowed Protestant preachers in his camp, but would never admit a Jesuit within his lines. Among his pregnant sayings

the following seem too curious to be left unquoted. He hated the interference of priests in temporal affairs, and said, 'Es werde nicht gut im Reiche, bis man Einem von ihnen den Kopf vor die Füße gelegt habe.' 'It will never be well in the Empire until they have set the head of one of these fellows below his feet.' Again, on the occasion of some trouble from the Pope, he says, 'Es seyen schon hundert Jahre dass man Rom nicht geplündert habe; und jetzt sey es noch viel reicher als damals.' 'It is a hundred years since Rome has been plundered, and it is much richer now than then.' He also asserted, 'So lieb mir meiner Seele Seligkeit ist, so lieb wird mir seyn wenn ich dem allgemeinen Wesen dienen kann.' 'As dear to me as is the health of my own soul, is my desire to serve the general weal.' If he knew his danger, he was acting defiantly; but it is certain that his bold speech and action stirred the deep and fatal animosity of the Liga and the Jesuits. Such hatred might be suppressed while the great general was indispensable to the very safety of the State, and of the Church; but the hate was not dead, it was only sleeping, and would wake one day to drag the man, growing ever nobler, to death by murder.

Wallenstein and Gustav Adolf were now about to be pitted against each other. The difference between the two was striking. Wallenstein was lean, gloomy, secretive. Partly owing to circumstance, partly as a consequence of his nature, his ways were tortuous, and his ends uncertain. Gustav's blue eyes expressed frank open-heartedness and cheerful courage. Hypocrisy and guile were unknown to him. He spoke freely to all men; and his objects—the advancement of Protestantism, and the freedom of Sweden and of Germany—were open as the day. His faith was firm, and his valour dauntless. He caused his soldiers, when quartered in Catholic cities, to respect the religion of the inhabitants. From sincere conviction he was in strenuous opposition to the House of Austria and the Church of Rome; but his religion went deeper than narrow orthodoxy, and his politics were clear and strong as those of Cromwell. He is the true hero of the Thirty Years' War.

Wallenstein first drove the Saxons out of Bohemia, and retook Prague. He then marched upon Nuremberg, in which city Gustavus was lying with his little army. The forces of Wallenstein are computed to have exceeded those of the king in the proportion of three to one. Wallenstein avoided battle, and entrenched himself strongly on an eminence outside the city of Nuremberg. In the city pestilence and famine were fighting for the Imperialists, and the king, who could no longer remain in Nuremberg, was driven to attack Wallenstein's position. The attempt failed; but Wallenstein still refused battle, and Gustavus marched past the Imperialist encampment with colours flying and drums beating. So soon as Gustavus had passed by, Wallenstein broke up his encampment, and

marched into Saxony. The king, anxious for battle, followed him so rapidly that Wallenstein had not time to occupy the position which he wished to attain. Early on the 16th of November, 1632, the fiery Gustavus stood in front of Wallenstein's army, which had just time to seize a strong position, and which remained on the defensive, entrenched behind ditches and palisades.

The spot was the field of Lützen; and that great battle, with Wallenstein commanding on the Imperialist Catholic, and Gustavus commanding on the German and Swedish Protestant side, was about to commence.

Wallenstein would not move, and Gustavus had to attack. A thick mist covered the ground. The armies were close together, but neither could see much of the other.

The king sang, with his soldiers, Luther's grand hymn, 'Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott!' and then his own battle-song, 'Verzage nicht, du Häuflein klein!' He addressed, first to the Swedes, then to the Germans, two of the noblest orations before a battle that history records. In an enthusiasm of heroism he threw off his cuirass, and cried, 'God is my armour!' Wallenstein was suffering from gout in the feet. Although his stirrups were thickly padded with silk, he could not ride, and took his place in a litter. He called his officers together and gave them his orders, which were to fight chiefly on the defensive. Gustavus gave out the war-cry, 'Gott mit uns!' Wallenstein gave to his troops as a battle-cry, 'Jesus Maria!' About eleven the mist cleared a little, and the fiery king himself headed the attack upon the Imperialist lines and ditches.

Gustavus, riding alone with his cousin, Duke Franz von Lauenburg, the page, Leubeling, and a groom, stumbled upon an Imperial ambush. His horse, maddened by a bullet, threw its rider, and fled. The king received a bullet in the arm and another shot in the back. This second shot was, as the Swedes maintain, fired by Lauenburg, who left the king to his fate, rode away, and afterwards joined the Imperialist side. German historians speak doubtfully on the point, and the question of Lauenburg's treachery may be considered an open one. The Imperialist soldiers did not believe that the king could be alone with so small an escort. They, however, took Gustavus to be an officer of rank, until he cried out, 'I am the king of Sweden, and seal with my blood the Protestant religion and the liberties of Germany. Alas! my poor Queen!' The Imperialist soldiers then killed and stripped him, and the tide of battle rolled on past the dead body. The faithful page, who alone remained with Gustavus, tried vainly to mount the king upon his own horse. The poor lad died, five days afterwards, in Naumburg, of his wounds.

So fell Gustav Adolf. Lützen was like a victory of Trafalgar with Nelson lost. His own side were startled when—

The loose rein dangling from his head,
Housing and saddle bloody red,

the king's horse rushed back into their lines. They did not know that he was dead; they supposed him taken prisoner. A kind of sacred fury possessed the troops, and the spirit of Gustavus rendered them invincible. Wallenstein sustained an overwhelming defeat, and before night was in full flight towards Leipzig. Herzog Bernhard remained in the field as victor of Lützen.

Wallenstein's own baggage was pillaged by his own people. He had been grazed by a bullet, but was not hurt. He was believed to bear a charmed life, and the day of Lützen strengthened the belief. The Imperialists lost many officers of note. The gallant Pappenheim, the knightliest of Wallenstein's commanders, and Colorado were both killed. Piccolomini had five horses shot under him. Holk, Terzky, Harrach, and many others, were severely wounded; but apart from the greatness of the victory, the sadness of Lützen was, and remains, the soldier's death of Gustav Adolf.

Wallenstein rewarded highly and punished severely. He distributed 85,210 gulden amongst officers who had behaved well; but he executed, as cowards, eleven officers by the sword; he hanged others; some had their swords broken by the hangman under the gallows, and the names of many were nailed in infamy on the gibbet. A *Te Deum*, on the first news of the battle, was performed in Vienna; but Wallenstein, at least, knew certainly the magnitude of the defeat that he had suffered.

Wallenstein retired to winter quarters in Bohemia, while the Swedo-German army under Duke Bernhard and Arnim, freed all Saxony from the Imperial yoke. Wallenstein respected his great adversary, but the death of Gustavus was a satisfaction to him and increased his confidence in himself. He said, in his coarse proverb-like way, *Es könnten doch zwei Hennen auf einem Müst sich nicht vertragen*—'two cocks could not exist together on one dunghill.'

He now, to the disgust of the Imperialists, entered upon a long period of inaction. He wished to detach Saxony from Sweden. The army belonged to him rather than to the Kaiser, and he desired to use events to further his own plans. It is nearly impossible to restore the cordiality of old relations when once a great act of injustice has been committed by one man against another, and Wallenstein had probably wholly lost his old feeling of personal attachment and devotion to Ferdinand. He gravitated apart from the Imperial dynastic policy, and cared more for a united Germany than for the mere House of Austria. He had already made Ferdinand a more powerful monarch than Charles the Fifth had ever been. After Lützen, Wallenstein's successes were attributed, at Court, to fortune, and his failures to neglect. His irritation against the Court became extreme, but he did not contemplate opposing the Emperor if only

he could control him. The Liga, the Church, and the Court regarded him with growing suspicion and latent distrust. The relations between the Generalissimo and the Court were strained. Wallenstein was almost arrogant in his sublime self-confidence, but he had to do with astute, stealthy, ruthless enemies, who were capable of putting an end to differences by means of the assassin's steel. One of Wallenstein's great defects was, that he was too cunning-politic. He shrank from a broad bold step. He intrigued and negotiated incessantly, and often tentatively and faithlessly. One of his maxims was, always to say one thing and to do another. Hence, no one wholly trusted him. Trying always to deceive others, he deceived himself the most. Every man, friend or foe, at least trusted great Gustav Adolf.

Differences between Sweden and Saxony did shortly break out. Wallenstein no doubt sincerely desired a durable peace. Graf Wartensleben, the Danish ambassador, travelling to Vienna to negotiate for a peace, saw Wallenstein on his road. The great chieftain professed to be weary of war; he said that he was never better prepared for fighting, but had never so heartily desired peace. He wrote to the Emperor recommending him to make peace. When unavoidably in face of the enemy in Silesia, Wallenstein proposed a truce and began to negotiate with his old lieutenant Arnim. All such negotiations were, however, futile so long as Jesuit and Emperor were able to resist granting religious liberty. Wallenstein could never attain his ends so long as he remained the Imperial general. Only by a breach with Ferdinand could a noble and a lasting peace be attained.

Wallenstein should then have taken of his own free will the step which he was afterwards compelled to take. He should have broken with the Empire, and have placed himself at the head of Protestant Germany and Sweden. France would have supported him vigorously. He could then have carried into effect all his greatest ideas, none of which could be translated into fact while he remained linked, however unwillingly, to the Holy Roman Empire. He might have taken this great and decisive step while he was in the plenitude of his power; while he had the great army wholly at his disposal; while powerful allies were eager to support him. He procrastinated until the hour for action was almost past, and he took, too late and in desperation, the step which he should have taken calmly and deliberately. He missed the ebb of the tide of fortune. He waited until his influence was on the wane, until his position was undermined, until even allies distrusted. Long indecision hurried him at length into hasty action; but it was then too late, and the stars themselves had no issue in reserve but that of—murder. It became clear that Wallenstein had resumed his command in order, by means of the Imperial army, to close the long war by such a peace as

would heal the wounds of Germany. He was resolved on peace *der Kaiser möge wollen oder nicht*—‘whether the Emperor liked it or not.’ The Catholic party opposed peace with Saxony and Brandenburg; the Papal Nuncio declaimed against any peace with heretics; Father Lamormain, Ferdinand’s confessor, constantly urged the Kaiser to take from Wallenstein that power of treating for peace which might be used to favour heretics; and yet no peace could be concluded which did not give security to Protestantism. Wallenstein and Vienna pulled widely asunder.

It was, perhaps, a source of weakness to Wallenstein that the army of the Liga had ceased to exist since Tilly’s death, and was fused with his own. The priests had therefore a strong hold upon a large proportion of his troops.

The war proceeded languidly. Wallenstein, at least, was only half-hearted in continuing it. The shifting masses of dark figures moved about on the great plain of Germany, and the theatres of war were Silesia and Saxony, the Upper Rhine, and the Upper Danube. Wallenstein, though strongly urged from Vienna, could not, or would not, dislodge Duke Bernhard from Regensburg, and the Duke openly proclaimed his desire to risk a battle against Friedland. Wallenstein still, as a tribute to his own military reputation, dealt occasional heavy blows at the enemy. He chased the Swedes from Silesia; he took Görlitz and Bautzen; but he no longer really cared to make war, except as a means of producing peace.

Richelieu urged Wallenstein to pass at once from the white to the black square, but Wallenstein remained irresolutely occupied in an attempt to combine contradictions. France hoped, by means of Wallenstein, to become mistress of Europe. A scheme was devised according to which Louis the Thirteenth should become Roman Emperor, Wallenstein, King of Rome, and Richelieu, Elector of Treves. Father Joseph was concerned in negotiating this untenable plan. Wallenstein still kept the crown of Bohemia in his latent thought, and even dreamed of attaining to the *Churwürde* or electoral dignity.

Wallenstein had now ideal as well as personal ambitions; and his present aims were of the highest national importance. He was the centre of European political intrigue. Seldom has any man occupied a more conspicuous position; and yet he was timid where he should have been bold; dilatory where he should have been active. A type of his erroneous choice of path is found in the fact that the wary Oxenstierna would not trust him until he should have committed a breach with the Empire. He negotiated, tortuously and slowly, with every Power; and all his delays were weapons placed in the hands of active and implacable enemies. The Emperor was becoming gradually detached from Friedland; Maximilian of Bavaria was his ceaseless and influential foe. The very stars in their courses cannot

fight for the procrastinator dallying with a wrong line of action. His course was vacillating and his ways unsafe.

In September 1633, the King of Hungary married the Infanta Donna Maria of Spain. The King applied to the Emperor for the command of an Imperial army; but Wallenstein fiercely opposed the application; though he expressed willingness to retire from his supreme command, if the Emperor wished it, in favour of the King of the Romans. It was proposed, no doubt with the object of weakening the great general, that Friedland should detach part of his army to help Spain in the Netherlands; but this he refused to do. Onate now became his direct enemy, and Quiroga further expressed the enmity of Spain. Wallenstein called his officers together. They decided that the Spanish plan would be the ruin of the army. This occurred in Pilsen in 1634. Wallenstein was disgusted with his treatment by the Court; spoke of resignation, and referred, excitedly, to the change he could produce in Europe if, once free from Imperial obligations, he tried fortune, commencing with only a thousand riders at his back. Field-marshal Allo represented strongly the interests of the army, and the ill-treatment that their general met with from the Court. Wallenstein was entreated not to resign; but his officers had three meetings with the general before he would, conditionally, abandon the idea of resignation. He demanded from his officers a declaration that they would stand by him, and this resolution was eagerly adopted. Next came the passionate and picturesque banquet, so well known to every reader of Schiller. Leopold von Ranke, by the way, wholly confutes that rumour—of which Schiller made good dramatic use—of one paper read aloud to the officers, while another document, in which was omitted the pledge of loyalty to the Kaiser, was laid before them for signature. Wallenstein himself addressed his officers; he spoke with angry bitterness of the treatment that he met with; he complained that eight-and-twenty years of glory and of service were forgotten in a way that he had not deserved. He concluded by saying, 'Rather would I die than live on such terms.' He also announced his determination to bring about a durable peace in spite of all opposition. The enthusiasm of the officers for their leader seemed general and genuine; but their signatures offended the Emperor, and yet did not, when the hour of trial came, bind the signers. They probably meant serious opposition only to Jesuits and to Spain, but not to the Kaiser; and their own interests, as apart from their convictions, bound them to Friedland. His great hope lay in the fidelity of the army to him.

This occurrence brought about the end. The Kaiser was finally detached from his general. Schlick arranged privately with certain officers what they should do in case of a rupture between the Emperor and Wallenstein. The Court entered into secret arrangements with Galles and with Piccolomini. All attacks upon Friedland

found a willing ear at Court. The priests loudly denounced the profanity of a proposed treaty with heretics. All forces united stealthily, but fatally, against the star-blinded chieftain; and he slumbered on. Ferdinand was an adept in dissimulation. He continued his official and often cordial correspondence with Wallenstein, even after he had secretly transferred the command of the army to Gallas. Events hurried on. The Emperor issued, also privately, two patents to the chiefs of the army friendly to the Catholic cause, in which the army was released from all obedience to Wallenstein, Illo, Terzky. They were declared conspirators, and guilty of high treason. Wallenstein's immense estates were confiscated, though no judicial decision against him existed. Piccolomini undertook to seize or kill Wallenstein in Pilsen, but the plot failed. To Oñate belongs, it would seem, the honour of first openly suggesting a solution of the difficulty by means of private assassination. It is clear that Ferdinand approved the idea, and that Piccolomini (who was suspected of the murder of Prinz Ulrich of Denmark while the latter was a guest in the Imperial Court) undertook to find means to carry the sentence into execution.

Wallenstein, waiting for the stars, and wrapped in his great schemes, remained obstinately deaf and blind. He gave his confidence to traitors, and let the hour of effective action pass. His opponents were as active as he was supine. The blow fell. The secret edict was openly promulgated in the army, and Wallenstein was denounced to his own troops as a conspirator against the crown and sceptre of the Emperor. He said, sadly, to the Imperial emissary, 'And I had peace within my grasp! God is just.'

The thanes began to fly from him. The signed document bound no one. Everywhere he found traitors. At the bidding of the Kaiser his army gradually melted away from him. The king's name was, indeed, in those times a tower of strength. Undeceived at last, with the rupture complete, the mighty Wallenstein stood at bay.

Two of his sayings of this period deserve record: 'We must show the world that an Emperor can be made out of another than the House of Austria, which lets itself be ruled by Spain.' He said also that if the Emperor would no longer recognise him as general, he would no longer acknowledge the Emperor as his lord; he could easily find another prince; but he would have, in future, no master over him; he would himself be master, and should be able to maintain himself as such.

He had raised armies in his own name, and he may at moments have had high-soaring if evanescent dreams of winning, by genius and the sword, the Imperial crown. Wallenstein at once proposed a junction with Sweden and with Saxony; but Oxenstierna and Duke Bernhard both distrusted him. They knew of old his long-drawn circuitous method of negotiation, and did not readily believe him. Hence delay at a time at which hours were precious. And what

might he not, even yet, have done against the Austrian Empire and for Germany?

His name and genius as a leader, heading the Swedish army, and Protestant Germany, supported by France, and gathering new forces amongst all the secret and open haters of the Holy Roman Empire, might well have made Ferdinand once more 'tremble in his Hofburg.' Had Wallenstein lived, his success might have changed the history of Germany, and have influenced the whole of Europe.

It was the eleventh hour in which he was forced into action against the Kaiser; but, when once clear of indecision, all his old genius and energy seemed to return to Wallenstein. He was suffering from gout, and travelled to Eger in a horse litter. The small remnant of his army, some 6,000 men, his brothers-in-law, Terzky and Kinsky, with their wives, Field-Marshal Illo, Captain Neumann, and the fatal Judas, Butler, alone accompanied him.

He reached Eger, in which he expected to form a junction first with the Swedes, then with the Saxons, on the 24th of February, 1634.

On the road he had confided his whole plan to Butler, who held a secret order from Piccolomini to seize Wallenstein alive or to kill him. Wallenstein took up his quarters in the house of the Bürgermeister of Eger, Wolf Adam Pachhälbel.

When Friedland left Pilsen, it was occupied by Piccolomini. The Swedes were about a day's march distant from Eger.

Butler, an Irish Catholic, lost no time in conferring with Gordon and with Leslie, who were Scottish Calvinists, although both were afterwards converted to the Church of Rome. The record of this interview is given by the priest Peter Taaffe, who received his information in confession direct from Butler. Taaffe brought to Butler, the agent selected by Piccolomini, the order to destroy Friedland. Gordon counselled flight, lest they should be connected with the treason of the Duke. The resolved and ruthless Irish mercenary argued strongly with his brother 'foreigners' in favour of serving a grateful Emperor. He threatened, and held out hopes of brilliant rewards and honours. He prevailed, and the three officers resolved to kill all the Friedländer's chief adherents, and even to include Wallenstein himself in their great act of murder. They swore upon their crossed swords *den Herzog und seinen Anhang vom Leben zum Tode zu bringen*.

Gordon invited Terzky, Kinsky, Illo, and Neumann to a banquet in the citadel. They accepted; Wallenstein declined the invitation.

The three conspirators required other agents, and these they found without difficulty among the foreign mercenaries, officers in Butler's dragoons. The chief of these were Geraldin, Macdonald, Bourke, Birch, Brown, and Devereux. Ten officers entered into the plot, and had to confide it to a hundred of Butler's soldiers; yet the

secret was kept. Butler paid to twelve selected men 500 dollars each ; to the Oberwachtmeister 2,000, to two captains 1,000 each, while to the common soldiers engaged he promised a month's pay.

In the *Itinerarium Thomæ Carvæ*, the good priest mentions with pride that the honour of murdering Wallenstein himself had been allotted to Devereux. Thomas became afterwards chaplain to the regiment which Devereux obtained as a part reward for his share in the murder.

At 6 P.M., in the evening of the 25th of February, Illo, Neumann, Terzky, and Kinsky went to Gordon's banquet in the citadel.

The wine flowed freely, and tongues were loosened. Friedland's adherents boasted loudly of what their great chieftain would soon effect against the Emperor.

Eight o'clock struck. All servants had retired. The side doors sprang open, and a crowd of armed men, headed by Geraldin, rushed into the room. '*Viva la casa d'Austria!*' cried Geraldin. On the opposite side Devereux hurried in, accompanied by Butler, Leslie, and Gordon. '*Vivat Ferdinandus!*' cried the second party. The lights were partly extinguished ; the table was thrown over, and the murderers sprang upon their astonished victims. Kinsky and Illo were killed at once ; but Terzky succeeded in drawing his sword, and defended himself like a brave soldier at bay. With his back to the wall, he called upon Gordon and Butler to fight him like soldiers. Three of the dragoons lay dead before him ; he had broken the sword of Devereux, when the latter, amid the press of men round the one brave defender of his life, gave Terzky a fatal stab with a dagger. Neumann escaped from the room, but was stabbed to death in a cellar in which he sought refuge.

So far the murderers had been wholly successful, but the great victim yet remained to be attacked. The citadel was at some little distance from Pachhälbel's house ; and no noise of the murder reached the ear of Wallenstein. Eger was that night patrolled and sentinelled solely by Butler's troops. It was between eleven and twelve, and Wallenstein, who had been consulting the stars, dismissed the astrologer Seni. Seni apprehended vaguely some danger, but the victim was cheerful, and read favourable auguries in the astral prophets.

The night became cloudy and stormy. The stars were invisible ; rain fell, and a high, troublous wind roared round the house. Wallenstein retired to rest. His valet slept in the outer chamber. It was the short, last sleep of Friedland.

Below, Leslie, Butler, Devereux, with some soldiers, waited anxiously in the darkness until all should be still. They had to stand face to face with Friedland, the dreaded and the great, and in their hands and hearts they brought him death by murder.

Wallenstein was awakened by a terrible cry. It came from the

wives of Terzky and of Kinsky, who had just heard of the murder of their husbands. He rose, and went to the window. Next came a sound of hurried trampling of many feet on the staircase of his own house. It was Devereux and his followers. They burst into the outer chamber. The valet, aghast at any noise being made near the general, laid his finger on his lips. 'Friend, it is a time for noise!' cried Devereux. He demanded, under terrible threats, the key of the inner room; while the valet hesitated, the soldiers burst open the door, which alone divided the great duke from his assassins. Devereux rushed in, followed by the others. His sword had been broken, and he carried a partisan. 'Art thou the wretch who would lead the Kaiser's men to the enemy, who would tear the crown from the sacred head? For that thou shalt die!' Wallenstein's lips were seen to move, but he spoke no word. Silently he bared his breast, and spread his arms widely open. The furious mercenary thrust at him, and others followed with many blows and stabs. Still calm and dumb, he lay at the feet of the assassins. Their bloody work was done, and the great Wallenstein was dead.

There was a short hush of terror and of awe among the very murderers themselves, as they gazed, half incredulously, at the corpse of Friedland. The body, dressed only in night clothes, was covered with a red carpet taken from under the bed, and was carried in Leslie's coach to the citadel, where it was laid out in the snow-covered court, with the corpses of the other victims. Thus the House of Austria was served and saved. The loss to humanity was proportionate to the gain to the Imperial dynasty. The most untimely death of Wallenstein was a heavy blow to Protestantism.

Wallenstein was one-and-fifty. He had outlived Gustav Adolf about fifteen months. Had both lived they would no doubt have been fighting on one side. The death of Gustavus was heroic: the end of Wallenstein tragic.

The Emperor, when the Golden Fleece of the late duke reached him, ordered 3,000 masses to be sung for the souls of the murdered. He then proceeded to reward the murderers, and showed himself a liberal master. He received in person Butler and the others; the Archbishop of Vienna hung a gold chain, supporting the Emperor's medal, round the neck of Butler, who was made a count, received estates in Bohemia, and the gold key of the bedchamber. Devereux was suitably rewarded; Leslie got estates in Hungary and Styria; Gordon obtained Terzky's large possessions; 2,000*l.* was given in money to each assassin; Geraldin, and others, were all liberally recompensed, according to merit and degree of service. These foreigners had served a princely, and not ungrateful master; they had rendered to Ferdinand an essential service. Onate, the Spanish ambassador, wrote to his king that, if Wallenstein had lived he would, within a month, have chased the Emperor from Germany. The many

enemies and envious of the mighty dead, and the friends of the Church, rejoiced loudly over the murder of Wallenstein.

Wallenstein could not be shown to be either traitor or conspirator. Beginning as a *condottiere*, he ripened into a patriot. The youthful tendency to greed and glory mellowed into larger aims, untainted by merely selfish objects. He became disgusted by the Imperial policy, and would no longer serve it. He had outsoared the shadow of their night. He ripened into an enforced enemy, but never into a conspirator. He would, if he had been successful, have driven the Swedes from Germany, and would never have allowed France to gain a footing in the fatherland. He loved, not Cæsar less, but Rome more. Il Conte Gualdo Priorato, who had served in the Imperial army, under Wallenstein, published in Vienna, in the Italian language, a book which the Count calls *Vite ed Azzioni di Personaggi Militari e Politici*. This work contains portraits of all the leading characters of the Thirty Years' War; and gives biographical sketches of the men who are depicted. The portraits are mostly good, as we can judge by that of *Oliviero Cromuel*, which seems to follow that of Cooper. The portrait of Wallenstein, now before me, appears to represent, with singular felicity, all the ideas that we form of his appearance in the flesh. The face is oval; it is sallow and lean, hollow and worn. The forehead is high, broad, and majestic. There is great space between the eyes, which are piercing, grey, and cold. The hair is drawn back from the forehead; he wears a moustache and a peaked beard. The compressed lips are thin, firm, severe; not likely to open to emit much garrulity. The bearing and poise of the whole head is defiant, haughty, proud. The long habit of high command sits enthroned upon the calm, resolute features; stamped with silence born of deeply brooded plans; grave with weighty thoughts and cares. The nose, with thin nostrils, which would easily expand, is finely modelled, and expresses latent passion and profound repose. There is something of great mark; something gloomy, stern, terrible, inscrutable, in the grand, but not loveable face. We can well believe that the original of the portrait believed in the stars; we can attribute to it all that Wallenstein was, and did, and suffered. I do not know the exact date of this portrait; but it represents the dark master in the late prime of his manhood. Wallenstein's hair was greying when he was forty. It is noticeable that the face is deeply lined, but yet is not wrinkled.

Wallenstein was too great for a bigot—was too proud to be a courtier. He never flattered, or fawned upon the Emperor, his priests, or courtiers. He rendered splendid services, haughtily; and held aloof from all the intrigues at Vienna. He never tried to serve his own interest, at Court, by any means of baseness. His enemies at Court—they were many—were strengthened by his proud indifference and sarcastic scorn. As a soldier, he believed in armies; and he

spared no pains to render his own force a splendid weapon. It would have been easy for him to have acquired favour, could he have stooped to do so, at the priest-led Court of Ferdinand. He had but to persecute heretics, to support the Liga, to assist Maximilian of Bavaria, to lean to the Spanish-Romanist faction; but none of these things would he do. He was dominated by a too ambitious *Ego*, but he could yet keep in view the true interests of his country, and even the service of humanity.

To oppose the Emperor, and his cabal of miserable advisers and flatterers, was, in truth, to be true to the real interests of the Empire. Wallenstein was not a conspirator; and even if the name of 'traitor' be applied to him, it must be used with large reserve. He is not to be judged solely as an adherent or opponent of Ferdinand. Growing, with time, ever larger and wiser in his aims, he became necessarily a dangerous enemy of Austria and of Spain; but the very fact that he was an opponent of their policy constitutes his claim to greatness in history.

Wallenstein saw that Protestantism could not be extirpated in Germany; and the treaty of Westphalia confirmed that religious equality for which he contended. Had he succeeded, he would have spared Germany the continuance of that terrible war between 1634 and 1648. Indirectly, he worked for that Protestantism which, in the fulness of time, gave to Germany Goethe and Schiller, Lessing and Kant.

A tarnished great man, a problematical great man, if you will, is this towering, sombre, star-beguiled Wallenstein; but yet the dark red background of the Thirty Years' War throws out no more striking or picturesque figure, obscurely great and wholly romantic, than that of the lordly chieftain who served Austria and the Church so well; and who, when he tried to serve higher things, fell beneath the blows of the assassin, and remains, even in death, so awful, so gloomy, and so grand.

H. SCHÜTZ WILSON.

THE ENGLISH IN EGYPT.

'A SUCCESSION of unexpected events over which we have had no control, and which we had done our best to avert, has compelled us to enter Egypt singlehanded, to occupy its capital and principal towns with an English force, and to undertake the restoration of a settled Government.'

It is thus that Lord Dufferin, in his despatch to Lord Granville, dated the 6th of February, accounts for the presence of the English in Egypt, and he makes it the point of departure for his great report. Nearly a year has passed away since the outcome of those 'unexpected events over which we had no control' compelled the British Government to intervene in Egypt; nearly nine months have passed since Tel-el-Kebir was taken and the Egyptian rebellion broken. It may be useful as well as interesting to examine what the English in Egypt have done in the interval, what progress has been made towards the establishment of a settled government there, and what guarantees, or rather what probabilities, there are, for the keeping of internal peace in the future.

It is not necessary for this purpose to analyse the causes which led to our intervention. Those causes are still fresh in the public memory, and are to be found stated at length in the Blue Books belonging to last session. Enough to say that, with the express consent of most of the European Powers, and with the quasi-acquiescence of France, England decided to restore order in the valley of the Nile, and to accept those undoubted responsibilities which such a decision entailed upon her. And here it is right to say at the outset, that nothing could have been more hearty or more thorough than the acceptance by nearly all the Great Powers of the *fait accompli* of the English occupation, or the recognition by them of the rights correlative to the occupation. Germany, Austria, Russia, may be said to have agreed in advance to that scheme of reorganisation which the English, in the exercise of their discretion, and in actual possession of the country, should deem best. Italy, if at first less ungrudging than the other three, ended by frankly accepting the situation. It was France only that showed how much she had been wounded in her self-esteem by the ultimate result of her own non-intervention policy

of the previous July. It was difficult, indeed, for her to accept the logic of facts. She had perhaps anticipated a different result of Arabi's resistance, and was hardly ready for the surprise which the utter collapse of the rebellion after Tel-el-Kebir was for her. But however that may be, she claimed, after specifically renouncing her pristine right to intervene with us, after refusing to bear any part of the burden of the war, to be replaced exactly in the same position she had occupied in Egypt before the massacre of the 11th of June. She interpreted our assurances that our object in intervening was to restore the *status quo ante*, to mean that we would neither add to, nor subtract from, the condition of things as it existed at the time when that very condition of things provoked the rebellion, or permitted it to break out. It was this feeling that led to the friction which made itself felt last November and December in the relations between France and England, in spite of earnest endeavours on both sides to avoid it; it is the consciousness of opportunity lost and of having no one to blame but themselves for the fact, that still tinges with a slight bitterness the intercommunications of English and French on the affairs of Egypt. Fortunately this feeling and this slight bitterness are minimised almost to vanishing point among the English and French colonies in Egypt. Men who before the war had become intimately associated by work, by the courtesies of social life, and by the inspiration of a common duty, found no reason for changing in the smallest degree their attitude, official or social, the one towards the other. Responsible, reflecting Frenchmen, in every international administration in Cairo, though naturally and pardonably sore at the conduct of their own Government in placing them invidiously towards their English colleagues, had too much good sense and good feeling to charge upon those colleagues the results of a situation which they had not made. From the moment when that which was never doubtful to Englishmen who knew the intentions of their Government, became matter of certainty to the French, viz. that save the already defunct Control, there was no design on foot to give preponderance to English functionaries, the relations of the Anglo-French administrators became closer than before.

Of irresponsible, 'rash bavin wits' who exist in the French as in all other communities, there were, and there remain, some who might have been taken for lions had they not called attention to themselves by speaking. These, by curiously virulent articles and speeches, in which are denounced ideas and intentions apocryphally ascribed to *perfidie Albion*, but actually having place only in the imagination of the writers, endeavour in their press and in the anterooms of ministers, to stir up Anglophobia among Europeans and Egyptians alike. But they are discredited and disavowed by their own wiser countrymen, to whom their excess of zeal is an annoyance, and not a service. On the whole it may be doubted whether, considering the loss of prestige

which has taken place, the elements of discord of which the situation was full, and the sensitiveness of the nation concerned, it were possible for any country to have accepted the change which has taken place in Egypt with more magnanimity and good humour than the French have accepted the facts accomplished in Egypt without their help. M. Duclerc closed a dignified letter to the French ambassador in London on the 4th of January by saying that the British Government 'nous met dans l'obligation de reprendre en Egypte notre liberté d'action. Quelque regret que nous en éprouvions, nous acceptons la situation qui nous est faite.' Thus much the French Government; while on the other hand a very able Frenchman, who knows Egypt well, said the other day, openly and without contradiction, that he believed it far better that the necessary intervention should have been wrought by England alone, and that a dual occupation would have led fatally to a dual misunderstanding. Certain it is, that had there been a joint occupation our relations with France would not have been so satisfactory as they are in fact to-day. It may be said, therefore, that so far as the European nations are concerned, Germany, Austria, Russia, and Italy are content to await the results of the presence of the English in Egypt, and that France, in spite of some chagrin, seeing the non-aggressive attitude of England, is willing to accept the situation, reserving to herself the right to criticise and, as in the case of the suppression of the Control, to protest against our action. This is, under the circumstances, all that we can reasonably wish, and we must not be too thin-skinned in receiving criticism when we consider how purely experimental are the projects of reform we have in hand, how uncertain are most of the factors with which our calculations for reorganisation must be made.

If this be the spirit of the European Powers concerned in 'the restoration of a settled Government' in Egypt, in what light do the Egyptians themselves regard the people who have come among them with a determination at least to try to benefit them, determined also that until fair trial shall have been made of honest attempts to give them political and administrative life, neither enemy from without nor rebel from within shall spoil the only chance Egypt has had of becoming a nation since the time of the Persian conquest? This question leads directly to another, 'Who are the Egyptians?' For the purposes of the present inquiry it is enough to say that broadly speaking they comprise about 700,000 Copts, who are commonly regarded as the sole survivors of the ancient Egyptian people; 400,000 Bedouins, made up of fifty tribes 'divided from each other by petty jealousies and long existing feuds'; about 4,000,000 fellahin, the descendants of the hewers of wood and drawers of water to conquerors who date from thirty centuries; and about 30,000 men and women of Osmanli origin.

Now the Copts ask only equality before the law, and that freedom

of worship already enjoyed by them in a country of which Sir E. Malet truly says, 'there is more religious tolerance in Egypt than in many Christian States.' They consider the English as more likely than any others to grant them legal equality, and as certain to maintain them in their freedom of worship: so that, without having any particular love for us for our own sakes, they would gladly see us even permanently settled in the country. The Bedouins, so far as their power to help or to thwart is concerned, may be struck out of the calculation. They may dislike us rather more than they dislike their old masters the Osmanlis, but it is merely a question of degree. The necessity for keeping them in subjection by force of arms, or by the insidious and more effectual process of giving their sheikhs reservations within the civilised pale, must fall upon any Government ruling from Cairo; and this necessity is fully recognised in Lord Dufferin's despatches. The approval or disapproval by the Bedouins of any plans of reorganisation in Egypt proper must be alike indifferent to the Cairene Government.

What, then, about the fellahin? Will they be glad of the English in Egypt? They could not answer if asked, for the simple reason that they do not know; they have no general opinion, and no means of forming one. Moreover, although constituting, as they do, five-sixths of the population, they have politically no sort of interest in it. So long as they are allowed to cultivate their plot, so long as they are not robbed of their hardly earned piastres by *ordre supérieur* or by the exactions of local korbagh-wielders, above all so long as they are not dragged off by the conscription for the army, the fellahin do not trouble themselves about who is ruling in Cairo. Whether it be Ahmed, or Mustapha, or the Viceroy of India who is king, to them is the same, provided their personal desiderata are secured to them. It could hardly be otherwise. Lord Dufferin says that 'from the commencement of the historical era the valley of the Nile has been ruled by foreigners, and its inhabitants domineered over by alien races. Nor do its annals indicate an epoch when the "justice" of the country was not corrupt, its administration oppressive, and the indigenous population emotional, obsequious, and submissive.' How can children of the slaves of the ancient Egyptians, of the Persian, Greek, Roman, and Saracen conquerors of Egypt, suddenly quicken into patriots? Whence should these hereditary bondsmen draw the instincts of political life? What may be done for them and with them in the future is the great problem of the day in Egypt. Ultimately they are excessively interesting; but in the meantime they remain what centuries of serfdom have made them, in a climate which deadens energy, saps the robust qualities of the mind, and leaves the people unable to comprehend even—witness the late rebellion—the meaning of the Byronic aphorism, that they who would be free 'themselves must strike the blow.' Whatever is done by the

English in Egypt for the benefit of the Egyptians must be done without reference to those numerically most concerned, without looking for gratitude from them on the one hand; or heeding too much their possible objections on the other. For the gratitude part of the question we must be content if, after some years of continuance in what we believe to be well-doing, we give rise in the fellah's mind to the feeling which is expressed in the Maltese proverb, that 'the English are bad enough, but all the other nations are worse;' whilst we must certainly be prepared to turn a deaf ear to objections to measures, in themselves excellent, but which would be resisted strenuously if their adoption involved the smallest sacrifice—especially of money—on the part of the beneficiaries. If the dictum of an eminent Egyptian statesman be well founded, that the English are Turks with the faculty of justice added, then our course in Egypt is clear as regards the fellah. We shall get him ruled on the paternal principle, as the Turk has ruled him in the past, without paying too much heed to the expressions of his inherent childishness, at the same time that we substitute in dealing with him the principle and practice of even justice for the hard logic of the korbagh, and seek to put law in the place of the caprice of a harsh and selfish father. It may be that so, bit by bit, the fellah may learn self-respect, may acquire a notion of a duty towards his neighbour, towards his family, towards the animals he now tortures, and perhaps towards the State. In any case he has everything to gain, and can lose nothing by such efforts as are making in his behalf.

It thus appears, if we are to throw out of account the likes and dislikes to us and our measures of Copts, Bedouins, and fellahin, that we have only to reckon with the *Osmanli* of different degrees who have found a home in the country. Practically this is so. Of course, under the title *Osmanli* are included all subjects of the Sultan—Roumelians, Albanians, Circassians, Arnauts, Armenians, Candlots, Cypriots, and the rest. These are the dominant races; with these alone, for all practical purposes, is it worth while to count, out of all the native population. And what is their attitude? Take the greatest *Osmanli* in Egypt to begin with, and of him Lord Dufferin says:

The Prince now sitting on the Khedivial throne represents, at all events, the principle of autonomous government, of hereditary succession, and commercial independence. . . . Well versed in history, and alive to the progress of events, he is indisposed either to claim or exercise the arbitrary powers of an Oriental autocrat. Having conscientiously at heart the welfare of his people, he is willing to accord them such a measure of constitutional privileges as their backward condition entitles them to demand.

Of Chérif Pasha, who comes next in importance, it should be remembered that, pure *Osmanli* though he be, he has for years foreseen, that mere autocracy was unsuited to the peculiar circumstances

of modern Egypt, that he has done what in him lay to give the country political institutions, and to provide checks on the despotic power which Mohammed Ali, wisely in his generation, centred in himself and handed on to his descendants. His colleagues in the Ministry, and his lieutenants in the provinces, must necessarily act in accordance with his policy, which is sufficiently broad to allow of his admitting among the number of the Cabinet, at least one man of undoubtedly fellah origin.

For the Osmanli outside the circle of Government, they may be divided into two classes, whereof the smaller is made up of Pashas and Beys, non-resident on their estates, having no cohesion amongst themselves, wanting in organising power, and animated only by a desire to retain their rank, their *feddans*, and their position in presence of a force which once their fathers controlled, but which they themselves can no longer stem. As a political power they are played out. They are naturally *laudatores temporis acti*, they disbelieve in any but the old relation between the governors and the governed, and they would undoubtedly for choice use the same means for compelling submission as their fathers used before them. But they are, comparatively speaking, without influence, their ideas belong to a past half-century, and their fate is probably to be swallowed up in the quicksands of their own thriftlessness, and in the inevitable upheaval of the people beneath them. They will not approve, but they will not resist, the progress of reform. The larger number of Osmanli in Egypt comprises men who are or have been in the army, *wékils* or directors of estates, foremen of field and *corvée* labourers, farm hinds, the taskmasters, if you please, of the Egyptian fellahin. Many of this class are admirable fulfillers of their duty, carrying on work by the power of their personal character, without having recourse to brutal measures, which, however, both leader and follower knew were, till lately, in the background. Others, no doubt, less imbued with the power of command, made up for their own defects by unsparing use of *korbagh* and *bastinado*, much as masters in English schools used to conceal their own ignorance of the art of teaching by free use of birch and cane, and as commanders of English ships till a comparatively recent date used to award flogging by cat-o'-nine tails for offences all too disproportionate to the punishment.

But the number of this class of Osmanli is too restricted to admit of their constituting a danger to statesmen occupied in measures for the good of the nation at large, rather than of a small class within it, and it is probable that the sons and grandsons of those who conquered Egypt with Mohammed Ali, will ultimately be content to throw in their lot completely with the inferior race, helping by that very act to raise and ennoble it.

If the foregoing observations be well founded, it would seem that the English in Egypt have an almost unique chance before them, and

that they enter on their work under exceptionally favourable conditions—Europe more or less willing to abide the issue of events, and the only part of the native population worth reckoning with, committed to the English policy of development and of education to a point fitting the people for self-reliance, if not for independence.

And here it may be permitted to make an appeal to those of our countrymen in England or elsewhere who take interest in Egyptian affairs, to possess their souls in patience on the subject, and not to expect administrative miracles, or the sudden rise of order, justice, and method out of the opposites. We have at present a paper constitution, and a number of excellent plans in embryo for working that constitution, but neither the proposers of reform nor their supporters, native or foreign, profess any conviction about success. They work in hope, but are not forgetful of the enormous *vis inertiae* they will have to overcome, of the interests of which their reforms will be subversive, of the delays which divans are so clever in making endless, of the effect of apathy promoted by the climate, and of the influence of the *cui bono* class, who sooner or later will be certain to make themselves felt. It is precisely the knowledge that these things exist which gives a touch of despair now and again to some of the most hopeful and promising parts of Lord Dufferin's report.

We are accustomed in writing and speaking of things Eastern to refer to baksheesh, injustice, brutal treatment of prisoners, korbagh, and abuses of power, as if the East had a monopoly of them, and as though the like had never been seen in the West. It may not be amiss to remember, while setting about the task of taking the moles out of our Eastern brother's eye, that the time is not so remote when considerable sized beams were to be found in the eyes of our own body politic, when even judicial offices were bargained for and sold, when votes in the House of Commons were given for a cash consideration, when the only way to get business done in a public office was that which we rightly condemn in Egypt to-day, and when the ferocity of our laws was only equalled by the horrors of our prisons.

If we go back only to the beginning of the century, and compare our state then with what exists in Egypt now, the balance on comparison is distinctly in favour of Egypt. On our side, if 'baksheesh' is the question, we find the Treasurer of the Navy farming out to his own private profit the large sums of public money entrusted to his keeping; we find judicial officers doing the same thing with regard to suitors' money in their hands; we find a public accountant with a salary of 1,000*l.* a year, short in his cash by no less than 264,500*l.*; we find a Chief Justice of England appointing himself to be Chief Clerk to his own court, paying 800*l.* to the door of the work, and pocketing 7,700*l.* a year, the fees appertaining to the post. We find in 1810 sinecure offices which cost the country 300,000*l.* a year, we find one man drawing 20,693*l.* a year as a teller of the Exchequer,

and two more who divided 4,100*l.* a year for discharging the non-existent functions of Muster-Master-General in Ireland. Not till 1834 could a successful attack be made on the office of Usher in the Irish Court of Chancery, which brought over 6,100*l.* a year to the holder of it. There were patent offices existing in England in 1845 which had endured since Charles the Second, and one that dated from Henry the Second. The whole administrative atmosphere was corrupted by these and like things.

In denouncing the Egyptian 'korbagh' we ought to moderate our language, though not our resolution, when we find that it was only in 1816 we made the discovery at home that 'the punishment of public whipping of female offenders has been found to be inexpedient,' and that the pillory has been found 'not fully to answer the purpose for which it was intended.' How long is it since flogging was disused in our army and navy? Do we not still have recourse, and rightly so, to 'korbagh' when garotters are proved guilty, or when incorrigible convicts knock in a warder's head with a shovel?

We comment on the injustice which the procedure, nearly as much as the personal corruption, produces in Egyptian courts, and it is vehemently necessary to do so. But we should not at the same time forget the iniquities which within this generation were committed in our own Courts of Chancery, and of which traces still linger about our Bankruptcy Courts.

These facts from our own history might be added to almost indefinitely. They are recapitulated here, with no intention certainly to cavil at the inaugurators of reforms which have been undertaken in Egypt, and which are essential to its very existence, but solely to bespeak the largest charity in dealing with the subject, and to warn the English public that if centuries were required to bring our own institutions, political, judicial, and administrative, to the point they have actually attained, they must not be surprised if the Egyptian Constitution gets but slowly into working order, and if even there should be many failures in the realisation of schemes intended for the benefit of Egypt. Nay, more, any attempt to engraft arbitrarily or capriciously into the Egyptian mind English nineteenth century ideas of government suitable to an old and tried community of Anglo-Saxons, will inevitably fail. It is clear that Lord Dufferin was penetrated with this conviction from the moment he had taken a general view of the Egyptian situation, and throughout the elaboration of his report he never lost consciousness of the fact. The average Englishman when he speaks of a Constitution has a dim perception that he owes his own liberty of speech and of action to documents which he has more often heard of than read, called Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights, the Act for Habeas Corpus, and the Act of Settlement. By a simple process of reasoning he concludes that what has done so well for him and his fathers, might, *mutatis mutandis*, do for other

its progress; by the partial, if not the total, abolition of the *corvée* and slavery; the establishment of justice; and other beneficent reforms. But the Egyptians would have justly considered these advantages as dearly purchased at the expense of their domestic independence. Moreover, Her Majesty's Government and the public opinion of England have pronounced against such an alternative.

This being the case as stated by Lord Dufferin himself, it is incumbent upon us, in discharge of the responsibility we have assumed, not only to set up such machinery as promises best to give reasonable government, but ourselves to superintend the working of it till we can honestly trust it to go of itself. Nothing would be more unfair to the Egyptians themselves, to say nothing of the large European interests involved, than for us to make Egypt a present of institutions calculated for her good, but which she does not yet understand, and then on the pretext of expense, of leaving Egypt to the Egyptians, or of any other cry, withdrawing from the country. We should simply be ensuring failure of the machinery, a worse state than the first for the Khedive and his authority, and the renewal of disorder after having deprived the rulers of their own peculiar means of quelling or preventing it. So long as a sufficient British force remains in the country, its mere presence will guarantee a fair trial for the political experiments about to be made, and the people of all classes, knowing that this force is there, will be the more disposed to hear and to heed the advice which the responsible agents of England superintending the reforms, may find it necessary to give. There is no doubt that in the present crippled state of Egyptian finance, worsened as that State has become through the insistence on new loans to pay the Alexandria indemnities, instead of allowing the Government to suspend temporarily amortisation of existing debt, those expenses of the occupation which are reasonably attributed to the Egyptian treasury, constitute a serious additional burden. But the charge must be borne, unless chaos is to come again, and that man would be bold who should give a date for the safe withdrawal of the whole of the occupying force.

It has been said that the Egyptian army, under Sirdar Sir Evelyn Wood, and the 'new modelled' police and gendarmerie, under Baker Pasha, will render unnecessary the retention of a British force. Possibly this may eventually be so, but to say that the Egyptian troops and police can help forward the building of the new institutions, or give the same guarantee for progress as an English force, is to misunderstand the whole question. Even now, incomplete as is the organisation of native army and police, the two forces are probably strong enough to suppress any actual rising in the country, and it is to the credit of the gendarmerie that the robbers and assassins who a few months since terrified the villages and made the roads unsafe, have ceased to indulge their propensities. The native levies are meant as terrors to evil doers, but the British force is the encouragement of

those who would do good. There are probably not twenty Egyptian-born persons outside the number of those pledged to the new programme, who heartily wish for the good measures prepared for them. As a whole they do not understand them, they shrink from the trouble the reforms will give them, and though recognising they must do something, would rather do less than more. The new model, if it succeeds, must do so by the united and sustained efforts of the Europeans, notably of the English, and of those enlightened and high-minded Egyptians, amongst whom Lord Dufferin places Khedive Pasha first. It is indisputable that such men should have, until the accomplishment of their work, a solid material backing, to enable them to overcome the ignorance, the selfishness, the dislike of any change whatever, on the part of the majority. They have all the moral support which the Khedive himself can give them, they have the consciousness of a good cause, and they have the resolution to succeed. But, difficult as it may be for Englishmen who have not been closely associated with Easterns to understand, it is no less a fact that effort in the East which rests on moral support only, is still-born; and the effort maker who has no visible power behind him is like one that beats the air. He may exhaust his own strength and break his own heart, but he will make no impression whatever on the people in whose interest he is working. The force which broke the fellah power in revolt last September is the only power capable of guaranteeing the execution of those changes which are indispensable to prevent the repetition of that revolt, and to secure to the country those permanent advantages for which so many sacrifices have been made. Not till the whole programme of reform has been executed, and found in its ultimate shape to work by itself, will it be wise or even fair to withdraw the manifest signs of the power which set the reforms going, and is responsible to Egypt and to all Europe for their efficacy.

The disinterested character of the English intervention, if not believed in by some of the European Powers, was for a long time disbelieved in by all Egyptians, except the Khedive and a few of his immediate advisers. Among the trading classes and in the barracks, among all who had suffered by the late disturbances or who had anything to lose by a repetition of them, there was a majority who hoped that the intervention meant annexation, as being the best security possible against rude external interference with the pursuit of gain. The power of the Khedive had been insufficient to prevent or to quell the rebellion, and the makers of fortunes and the indifferent to politics were ready to accept as a manifestation of the will of Allah, the establishment of the rule under which forty-five millions of Mussulmans in India lived and thrived. They did not understand the existence, side by side, of the power of the Khedive and the power of the English, and they could not believe—even now they do

not explain it to themselves—that the English power was identical with that of their own sovereign. It required acts like the suppression of the irresponsible but all-powerful Dual Control, and the substitution of a single, responsible, financial adviser who might be of any nationality, and whose powers were curtailed within the limits of a servant of the Khedive, to convince the Egyptian world that we were capable of self-denial and of disinterestedness. Another proof was given in the demolition of the scandal involved in the organisation, or rather in the reverse of it, charged with the execution of the Cadastral Survey. The costliness of this department was only equalled by its inefficacy, and there was probably no European administration in the country worse regarded by the Egyptians than this one. They detested its objects, which they supposed to be the preparation of bases on which to enable Government to raise the land-tax, they objected to the inquisitive character of its procedure, they ridiculed its cost, and there was no patent benefit to any one from its working.

People only moderately acquainted with the condition of Egypt cannot fail to recognise the necessity that exists for making a thorough and trustworthy survey of the country, and a righteous valuation of the land. There are corn lands which pay the highest imposable tax; there are cotton and sugar lands which pay no more than the tax levied on land newly brought under cultivation; there are lands which years ago were taken from their owners for railways and canals, but for which the descendants of those owners still have to pay land-tax, in accordance with the superannuated register of assessment; there are lands which for years have been cultivated, but for which no tax whatever is paid, because not borne on the same register, and because the eye of local authority has been adroitly turned away from them. But admitted the necessity, there was every motive for doing the work quickly, cheaply, and in a manner the least to ruffle those who were going to be found out. The machinery provided under the dual international system was so constructed as to ensure the non-attainment of these desiderata, and the destruction of it, and the substitution of a practical, simple, efficacious system, in accordance with Mr. Gibson's proposals, was one of the most popular as well as most important portions of Lord Dufferin's work in Egypt.

Among the *agenda* already approved in principle is a thorough overhaul of the public works and irrigation ministry, which should include guarantees for the proper supply of water throughout the existing canal system, the effectual cleansing of all alimentary canals, the honest distribution of the water, and the regulation and improvement of the *corvée* and its work. Till these things are done and established on some sound basis, the one field for Egyptian industry, the one source of Egyptian national wealth, stands in jeopardy. It must be made impossible for thousands of acres of good land to be

deprived of water because the provincial engineer or his deputies take bribes from other proprietors to give their ground a superabundance of the precious fluid. Above all, the existing arrangements for public *corvée* labour must be swept away, and an entirely new-system inaugurated. Some eighteen months ago, in this Review, a description taken from life was given of a *corvée* at work. Mr. Villiers Stuart, who has travelled as an independent and disinterested witness of things as they are in Egypt for several years past, has recently furnished another. The two accounts are in substance identical. Both testify to the rottenness of the principle on which the *corvéables* are called out, to the physical inability of the larger part to perform hard work of any kind, to the neglect to provide shelter at night, or sufficient food by day, for the miserable folk, to the absence of any appliance whatever—even a shovel—to assist them in digging out with their hands and flinging to the top of a high bank, the wet mud and slime in which the men often stand up to their waists.

Actually in process of framing is a carefully considered plan for putting civil and criminal justice within the reach of the natives. Those who did not know already how great was the necessity for this, may learn it from Lord Dufferin, whose deliberate judgment is that 'perhaps the native courts were never more imbecile and corrupt than they are at present.' Under these circumstances the representative of the English in Egypt induced the Khedive to issue a Commission, presided over by Fakry Pasha, Minister of Justice, and of which Nubar Pasha, the founder of the mixed tribunals, was a member, to examine in what way the irregular proceedings of the provincial governors and their lieutenants in matters criminal, and the still more curious proceedings of *Cadis* and *Muftis* in matters civil, could be remedied. The result will be the establishment of eight new centres of justice, with a suitable number of native judges and one European judge in each. This staff is considered enough to allow of quasi-circuit business for the regions lying around the new centre itself, and at least one Court of Appeal will review sentences, even in criminal cases, from the courts below. The International Tribunals of first instance and appeal are not touched by the measure, nor will they in any way interfere with the new courts which are for the trial of causes between native and native. A strong case however is made out in Lord Dufferin's report, for granting to the International Tribunals criminal jurisdiction, and so taking away the scandal which exists under present circumstances in the withdrawal to the consulates of all cases of crime or delict on the part of foreigners, instead of allowing them to be judged by a regular tribunal acting in the name of the country injured by the crime committed.

Time has been found to examine some of the ever-recurring

questions of Egyptian finance; the miserable indebtedness of the fellah, and the absolute necessity that will shortly arise for taking governmental measures for his relief. A plan has been elaborated, approved, and even set already in motion, whereby it is hoped to liquidate the State Domain Loan in eight years, and so not only to get rid of an unwieldy administration, but to distribute among private cultivators those vast aggregations of land in the hands of one family which took place during the reign of Ismail Pasha.

Probably by the time these words come before the public, the immunity hitherto enjoyed by foreigners from personal taxation will have ceased to be. A draft decree, abolishing it, was already in Chérif Pasha's portfolio last year, and would then have become law, had not the overthrow of his ministry by Mahmoud Sami, and the subsequent ascendancy of Ahmed Arabi, adjourned the thing indefinitely. It has been resumed, and with the promulgation of the decree will disappear all inequality of European and Egyptian in matters of taxation.

Considering that not nine months have yet passed since Tel-el-Kebir, and considering the extraordinary difficulties of the situation, the work accomplished up to the present time is large in quantity and good in quality. More, very much more, remains behind. There is prison reform, there is re-assessment of taxation, there is the Soudan question, there will ere long be a Nile barrage question, there is the Slave-trade question, and much besides. But these are for future consideration. Men's minds and hands are full of what has already been set going, and the English in Egypt, who are responsible for the results, have their work cut out before them.

Had it been possible that they should have worked at their task under the guidance of the great political electrician who has galvanised into unwonted movement the whole Egyptian body politic during the last six months, that would have been the best assurance of their success. The master magician can best wield his own wand, and when he waved it here, the spirits, native and foreign, yielded to his influence.

But since the architect and the builder cannot apparently in this case be combined in one, the sponsors for the new Egyptian constitution must but redouble their exertions. They must do more than deserve success, they must command it. Difficult as the task undoubtedly is, and great as will be the amount of patience required in its execution, there is no reason for taking other than a favourable view of the prospect. We can count absolutely on the fullest support the Khedive can give in our efforts to consolidate his power, we can count upon the honour and the integrity of his Prime Minister, and upon the ability of those he may appoint as fellow workers with us. But it cannot be too earnestly repeated, before

closing this article, that the English in Egypt must also be able to count on the moral support of their countrymen at home, and upon the material guarantee afforded by the presence of the small army of occupation in Egypt, if they are to have a fair chance of success in working out one of the most interesting as well as important political experiments of modern times.

FRANCIS W. ROWSELL.

Cairo, May 14, 1883.

ON THE MANUFACTURE OF PUBLIC OPINION.

THE Association for the Total Suppression of White Hats! The Anti-Flower-in-the-Button-Hole League! The Society for the Abolition of Green-Tea Drinking! The Association for the Restriction of Glove-Fastenings to One Button! The Local Option Snuff Confederation! Why not? White hats are extravagant wear. The flower in the button-hole is a daily shilling spent that might be deposited in a savings bank. Green tea has a baneful effect on the nervous system. Nay, we have yet to settle whether or no tea of every kind is not injurious to the human system; and whether it would not be well to start a Hot-Water Alliance. We may not be far off the application of local option to the tea dealer and the coffee merchant. More than one button to the fastening of the glove is wasteful and ridiculous excess. Snuff-taking is a dirty and an unhealthy habit. For each and all of these associations the moralist might easily find a *raison d'être*; and for each and all he would be able, in the present temper of the public, to obtain powerful committees, patrons, presidents and vice-presidents, auditors, treasurers, honorary secretaries, and the rest of the familiar machinery used by the imposing body of hobby-riders and zealous conductors of other people's business, who are active in every part of the Empire. Many of these busybodies are earnest and amiable citizens, anxious to do their little best towards hastening us on the way to the millennium; but some, and not a few, are vain, self-seeking, narrow-minded, and mischievous persons, who would submit the length of their neighbour's whiskers, to the majority of their fellow-parishioners, provided they got a prominent place in the conduct of the transaction. The Busybody's Handbook has yet to be written; but the materials for such a work are already abundant, and would repay methodical treatment. Rules might be laid down for forming committees, for getting meetings together, for obtaining gratuitous publicity, and for raising subscriptions. Lists of public men who delight in chair-taking, of foolish notabilities who keep their pockets unbuttoned, and of ever-ready movers and seconders of resolutions who delight to figure in reports, would be useful. The way to approach members of Parliament, and, above all, the arts of

petition-raising should be fully dwelt upon. The manufacture of public opinion remained long in its infancy, but it has made extraordinary strides of late years; so that the time is ripe for a book on all the branches of the subject.

It is a highly interesting and suggestive one, worthy the close attention of legislators as well as of the public. Since public opinion has become the motive power by which ministries are sustained and overthrown; since legislation answers to it as the electric bell answers to the pressure of a button; it is important to mark how this dominant force may be created, influenced, or directed. It is manufactured on a large scale by machines of various kinds, as nicely adjusted as the Jacquard loom. The industry supports hosts of 'hands.' The heads of the manufacturing firms are very busy and cunning ones. They can adapt their wheels within wheels to the formation of all sorts of opinions. James Hannay used to tell a story of a speculative printer, who called upon him one morning to propose that they should start a new religion together. Hannay was to be the stump orator and the high priest, while the printer was to get the audiences and congregations together, hire the chapels, print the pamphlets, organise bands of disciples, 'and,' the speculator added triumphantly, 'I think, Mr. Hannay, you can depend upon me for the posters: you know I printed Jullien's.' The printer was mortified by Hannay's refusal, but, in the heyday of Chartism, returned to the author of *Biscuits and Grog*, whose genius he worshipped, to submit a scheme he had framed for blowing up Westminster Bridge by penny subscriptions. In bitter disappointment that he could not establish himself as a manufacturer of public opinion, Hannay's worshipper ultimately destroyed himself in his printing office. He was before his time. In these days he would have found ample employment for his printing presses and his power of underhand organisation.

The manufacturers of public opinion are a scientific body, operating by fixed laws, each according to his opportunities and capacities. 'The man of many door-plates' may be taken as one of the heads of his trade. He is an expert of the highest skill, who can manipulate the various agencies or engines by which public opinion is made. To-day he is making up religious opinion in favour of impecunious bishops; to-morrow he will be preparing a crusade against the dangerous practice of eating peas with the knife, and fortifying his agents with startling statistics; and the next day he will be engrossed by plans for rousing the country to demand the total suppression of the sale of new bread, as harmful to the public health; and before the week closes we shall find his energies concentrated upon the British Beadles' Recreation Society. He occupies a house of many offices, with a couple of spacious board-rooms. He has a few pale clerks, who are generally bent over copies of the Post Office Directory, or bearing bags, crammed with circulars, to the Post

Office. There are others employed outside—collectors for the House to House Molestation Society and other kindred institutions, of which he is the guiding spirit. The aristocracy, down to the last-created municipal knight, is at his beck and call; for he knows every public man's vulnerable points, and directs his appeals accordingly. The Earl who will have much pleasure in becoming president of the Beadles' Recreation Society, would not give a groat to the impecunious bishops. He chose a dyspeptic Irish baron for the chairmanship of his State Bread Association, and landed him by return of post. He has his benevolent treasurer always on hand. And a very astute Christian this same treasurer is, being a banker as well as a philanthropist. The funds of the charities for which he is responsible are paid into his bank. The transaction is excellent all round. It is good for the souls of the donors, satisfactory to the committee and manager of the charity, and a solace, to say nothing of a profit, to the honourable treasurer. It is benevolence skilfully arranged to pay here and hereafter.

The guiding spirit of many charities and social reform associations must be a person of supple mind and of some ability as an actor. His demeanour at the board of the British Beadles' Recreation Society would be fatal to him when sitting at the elbow of the chairman of the Impecunious Bishops' Aid Society. A pleasant, discreetly jovial bearing is desirable in the former capacity; and an aspect of sorrow, silvered somewhat with rays of hope, proportioned to the subscription list, in the other.

The shades of public opinion are infinitely various. The perfect manufacturer has marked most of these, and can pick them out for his purpose as neatly as a lady picks her shade of silk for her embroidery. The varieties of religious opinion alone offer him endless combinations. People who go different ways on Sunday are seldom inclined to combine on any week-day. The sections and sub-sections into which political opinion is divided, especially on the Liberal side, present to him many fields for his operations.

The opinions of the wage-classes form a distinct and separate study, and call into play combinations of machinery not applicable to middle-class opinion. The manipulator of working-class opinion is a specialist. He is of rougher exterior than the man of many door-plates. His procedure in the formation of public opinion in corduroy would shock and repel the trainer of opinion in clerical circles. There are varieties, or classes, even of working-class opinion manufacturers. The persons who are interested in adjusting any opinions, so that they shall promote an interest or a scheme in which they are concerned, know where to apply and what they have to do. In the case of ornate, or what would be called high-class, interests or schemes, the wire-pullers must be approached with care and delicacy. There are those who move readily under the influence of sherry and

biscuits, enjoyed in the presence of a nobleman; there are others who are to be won by an invitation to a meeting in Lady Parvenue's sumptuous drawing-room. Ducal halls will generally command for any scheme a powerful expression of public opinion. For financial adventures, requiring the approbation of public men, specialists, or persons who have access to the avenues of a wide publicity, dinners, including renowned *crus*, afford the most approved motive power. Something stronger to drink, and something more substantial than the gracious nod of a noble lord, are wanted when a gentleman desires to provoke the noisier manifestations of public feeling. The political aspirant, the hobby-rider, and the wire-pullers for a party, or the tail of a party, repair direct to the east or north of the capital when operating in London. In the great provincial towns, also, there are centres where the local leaders of public opinion are to be found. They are divided into professional-class, trading-class, and working-class leaders. There are recognised chiefs of each class. The candidate for a borough is directed to them, and they make their bargain with him. The hobby-rider, who wants to get up a great meeting, is informed that it is of no use trying to fill the town hall without the assistance of Tom Robinson. The working men will follow Tom, and only Tom. Tom has a select circle of admirers and colleagues who act with him. They receive any person who requires their countenance and support, in solemn form. The conditions are laid down. In order to secure a monster meeting a certain sum of money must be spent. In order to command the working-class, the trading-class, or the professional-class vote, figures must be marked under the letters *l. s. d.* We need not inquire narrowly into the arrangements under which local manufacturers of public opinion ply their trade, but we know that there is a sliding scale of prices. The business has come to be so thoroughly understood, and so generally followed, that dealers in public opinion seek customers in the open market.

When a general election is announced, the neighbourhoods of Fleet Street and Islington are alive with expectant orators, promoters of meetings, and artful fomenters of discord to damage candidates. Discussion-halls and forums disgorge the unsavoury Ruperts of their gin-and-tobacco debates. These are out on hire, and go hither and thither to take part in contests, for a handsome daily 'refresher.' Many of them are men of good education, and some of good character, who have fallen on evil days. They have declined to the level of the spouting tradesmen, who constitute the main body of discussion-hall frequenters, and they must needs be content with the tipsy applause of the half-washed. Many of them are honest politicians, whose wants force them to sell their advocacy. But some are mere ranters, ready to scatter their stale invective over the head of the opponent of any man who employs them.

There is, moreover, a sober and methodical race of directors or manufacturers of working class opinion, of far higher and wider influence than that which is the growth of bibulous discussion-assemblies. These operators are allied with the great economical organisations of the wage classes, and affect to speak for hundreds of thousands of their mates. The Trades Unionists, the Odd Fellows, the Druids, the Foresters, and other kindred bodies which have been established to promote the material welfare of their members, and which are extraordinary monuments of the intelligence, the orderly conduct, and the prudence of the sons of labour, are officered, generally speaking, by the *élite* of the working class. The working men who originated the co-operative movement, and who have developed it to its present flourishing condition, especially in the north of England, have manifested in the process the most remarkable abilities.¹ They have now a capital of seven and a half millions. The example of Rochdale and Manchester has been followed by the fashionable society in London. The Civil Service, Army and Navy, and other stores, are but developments of the principles first reduced to practice by the fustian jackets of Rochdale. General officers and high-placed civil servants of the Crown have deigned to become the pupils of Bottom the weaver. But, alongside the single-minded and honest promoters and directors of the working-class institutions which are flourishing in our midst, a rank growth has appeared. Spurious working men have pushed themselves into front places and arrogate to themselves a power to which they have no real claim. They flourish, because they have been able to invest themselves with a semblance of authority, and to use it chiefly for their own personal advantage. Persons requiring the muster of the people 'in their thousands' repair to them as naturally as they go to their tailor when they want a coat. They pose as the majestic embodiments of mighty hosts of electors. In them you have public opinion in a nutshell. They are permanent delegates of the million. Dressed as well-to-do members of the middle class, gloved and bejewelled, or white-cravated for the evening, they proclaim them-

¹ At the fifteenth Co-operative Congress, held in Edinburgh (May 1888), Mr. Hughes, Q.C., said:—

'His lengthened experience had shown him that co-operative societies were the best training schools for politics that existed in this country. During the sixteen years he had been on the governing body of the Congress he remembered no case of deliberate obstruction or even faction in their debates. So far from fearing advance of democracy in connection with their movement, he would substitute the first hundred of their number taken by lot for a hundred members of the present House of Commons, and he was certain the business of the country would be much more easily, quickly, and better done than now. Our legislators were not so sufficiently touched with hard realities of life as the delegates who knew what it was to be near to poverty and need. Their organisation protested against dishonesty in trade. That society (200) should settle what fair wages and fair prices were.' Mr. Acland, Oxford University, said that co-operation was a more definite and strong instrument to give people that position they ought to hold than anything else he knew of. It was democratic, but not revolutionary.

selves artisans, when the occasion requires it. They are by no means of the stamp of that most modest, honest, and righteous worker for his class, Mr. Odger, who toiled at his trade for his living to the end of his days, and would never travel even second-class on a mission for the benefit of his fellow-men. I am informed on excellent authority that 15*£*. a day is the fee of a professional working-class delegate; and that this sum is paid by Trades Unions to their accredited representatives. I should be sorry to say that the fee is excessive. The competent spokesman for an important body of his fellow-men must be a man with exceptional gifts. He loses by displacement. The continuity of his work at his trade is broken. But when a man assumes the functions of delegate, when his fee is not paid by the body for which he pretends to speak or act, but by a speculator, a board, a syndicate, or any other purse-bearer with a private or a class interest to serve, I contend that he assumes a false and unjustifiable position. On the one hand he misleads the public; on the other he betrays the trust reposed in him by the trade, or guild, or unity of which he is an officer.

It is general knowledge that the political machinery of our time includes men who assume the position of spokesmen for the million, who could not justify their assumption by the votes of a few hundreds; and some who trade, not unsuccessfully, on the assumption nevertheless. Against such false delegates and spokesmen the governing bodies of working-class organisations should act with vigour. For, to tamper with the free and healthy growth of public opinion is to weaken and pollute representative institutions at their base.

I now approach the newest and most important factor of public opinion which has appeared of recent years. I believe that it is destined to have a weightier influence on the current of our future political life than that Birmingham creation known as the Caucus. The Hundreds that have been organised in all the important boroughs of the kingdom are bodies which are already, in many places, losing their hold upon the electorate; because they are the offspring of cliques, and are elected sometimes by an infinitesimal proportion of the constituencies they appear to dominate. 'How can I,' said a local politician to me, 'belong to the Two Hundred of my borough? I was invited to be one of them; and when I went to the election, I found that some thirty-five of my neighbours were about to elect twenty members! I would have nothing whatever to do with the sham.' But the new departure in the national political life has this most hopeful aspect—it is a free, manly, and open educational movement.

It will surprise even many students of contemporary politics to learn that at the present moment there are upwards of one hundred Houses of Commons flourishing in various parts of the empire, the majority of which are modelled on the House of Commons at

Westminster, have their speakers, prime ministers, and chancellors of the exchequer, and observe with solemnity the forms of the parent assembly; in some cases, even to the robing of the dignitary who presides over their proceedings. The lists of members is estimated at about 35,000. The Houses of Commons of Hackney and Lambeth have the largest number of members; the former mustering 1,000, and the latter 1,200; while that of Newcastle-upon-Tyne has 1,050. The members for Bradford are 800, for Brighton 530, for Bristol 780, for Bury 440, for Cardiff 640, for Cheetham 410, for Derby 500, for Dumfries 248, for Dundee 350, for Eastbourne 220, for Edinburgh 680. Glasgow has four Houses, mustering in all 1,000 amateur legislators. Manchester also has four, with 1,312 members. Hull has 680, Kirkcaldy 265, Leeds 794, Leicester 400, Liverpool (where the first amateur House of Commons was established in 1860) 618, Bethnal Green only 120. Both Finsbury and Greenwich have their Houses, but I have no return of their strength. The Southwark House has 300 members, Tottenham 250, Sydenham and Forest Hill between 600 and 700, Newport 582, Norwich 658, Nottingham 560, Oldham 700, Plymouth 700, Rochdale 300, Scarborough 400, Sheffield 652, Shrewsbury 320, Stockport 837, Sunderland 651, Swansea 550, Worcester 400. Taking these Houses in the bulk, we find that there is a slight majority of Liberal prime ministers in them. The relative strength of parties varies, but, from a return of 59 Houses taken last year, it appears that in 26, having 11,051 members, the Conservatives were in power, and in 33, with 10,854 members, the Liberals were in power.

These Houses are not composed exclusively of young men, nor of uneducated men. Clergymen, justices of the peace, well-known political figures, persons of local influence, the richer local tradesmen, grave city merchants, are among the prominent amateur legislators, who go through the forms of parliamentary life, dispute questions of procedure, draw up bills, put questions, take and give up office, and, in short, carry out with the utmost gravity the duties and incur the responsibilities of a mimic parliamentary career. Commenting on the Congress of these Houses of Parliament held at Liverpool, a local paper remarked:—

The first impression this eccentric phenomenon produces is that political excitement and curiosity must be extraordinarily diffused for the familiar debating society of the past to have transformed itself into a travesty of something it knows it can never properly resemble. Only an insatiable appetite for participation in positive party strife can account for the consent of sober Englishmen to masquerade as ministers, and opposition, and legislators about Manchester, and Liverpool, and Hackney. . . . Hundreds of intelligent men, by no means for the most part very young, may be observed week by week in these parliamentary societies, going through all the formalities of parliamentary procedure, with an earnestness which is not merely dramatic. . . . Out of the select thousand of Hackney, to whom the constitution of its society limits parliamentary honours, it is no offence to the Post-

master-General's constituents to suspect there are not a few upon whom their representative functions sit heavily. Yet that the silent members should strain their less agile fancy to surmount altitudes at which they can hardly breathe, is still more significant of the modern fascination of politics than the solemn illusion of their leaders. They have a conviction that they ought to be eager on political topics, which they are equally aware they comprehend most vaguely and dimly. They join parliamentary societies in the hope of obtaining a material help to their failing enthusiasm. Like the worshippers of a waxen saint, they stimulate their halting imaginations with the spectacle of real men dressed and addressed as real speakers, and real paper purporting to be inscribed with real bills.

There is a pinch of truth in this; but it is far from being the whole truth in regard to the hundred Parliaments which are sitting in various parts of the country.

Having had the advantage of a long interview with the premier² of perhaps the most important of these Houses of Commons, at his official residence, which is also his private abode, I came away impressed with the earnestness, the method, and the high intelligence which were manifested in the conduct of the business of the House. I had read the minutes of the proceedings of last session, and had been made acquainted with the bills the ministry or private members had introduced. They were duly printed and circulated as in the House of Commons at Westminster. There was a bill for the Better Prevention of Corrupt and Illegal Practices at Elections, introduced by the Attorney-General, Mr. Secretary Mann, and Mr. Secretary Poyser; a bill for the Redistribution of Seats, introduced by the First Lord of the Treasury, with Mr. Secretary Jackson, the Attorney-General, and the Attorney-General for Ireland, Sir John Bennett (C.); a bill to Make Perpetual the Ballot Act, prepared by Mr. Secretary Jackson and the President of the Board of Trade, David K. Forbes. A private member had introduced an Act of Indemnity to Legalise Marriages contracted in Error. At the opening of the present year a Conservative Ministry was in power, with Captain Bedford Pim as First Lord of the Treasury, the Rajah of Rampur as Secretary of State for India, Major-General Bray, C.B., as Secretary for War, Dr. L. Clift, LL.D., as Attorney-General; but, defeated by the Liberal party, they resigned, and on the 14th of March last Mr. W. Mead Corner, ship-broker, made his ministerial statement as Liberal Premier, the Lord Mayor taking office under him as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. In the course of his address the head of the government said:—

● It will be observed that we have deemed it advisable for the public interest to create boards of education, agriculture and commerce, and health, and I have the satisfaction to announce that we have secured the services of right honourable gentlemen as presidents and vice-presidents of these new departments eminently and practically qualified for the posts. It has always appeared to me that a board of health unconnected with other offices would be of the highest importance and

² Mr. W. Mead Corner, ship-broker and ship-owner, member for Midlothian in the Sydenham and Forest Hill House of Commons.

most signal service as a recognised government department. Her Majesty's Government, on entering upon the grave responsibility of office, will be guided in the future, as the Liberal party has been guided in the past, by those great principles of peace, retrenchment, and reform, as exemplified by the policy so consistently pursued by Bright, Cobden, and Gladstone. An uncompromising adherence to free trade principles, and the extension of commercial intercourse will animate our actions, and stand forth prominently as our foremost policy. Deplo^ring, as we do, the wicked, calamitous, unnecessary, and totally unjustifiable system of settling disputes by war, we shall never rest satisfied until we have obtained, in alliance with the other Great Powers, a considerable reduction of armaments and a recognised system of settling all national disputes by an international tribunal of arbitration. Viewing with alarm the extravagant expenditure in the army, navy, and civil service estimates, we shall direct our serious attention towards effecting such a diminution thereof as will secure both economy and efficiency.

The previous Liberal administration of this House having passed effectual measures for the assimilation of the county and borough franchise and the redistribution of county and borough seats in England and Wales, also the permanent Ballot Act, we shall, early next session, providing the question has not by that time been settled by the Imperial Parliament, introduce a bill for the prevention of corrupt and illegal practices at elections, unfettered by such illogical and unstatesmanlike clauses as were framed in the bill upon which the late Conservative Ministry fell. The Reform most urgently demanded at the moment is that of a comprehensive amendment of the land laws, including the laws and customs affecting primogeniture and entail, abolition of extraordinary tithes and law of distress, and, above all, compensation for unexhausted improvements. This extensive subject we have decided to take into our most serious consideration and to introduce a bill remedying the evil. The law of bankruptcy, in spite of the multitudinous enactments which have been passed, is most unfair. We shall prepare a bill upon this subject also. The municipal reform of the metropolis will also receive our attention, unless the existing corporation be then a thing of the past. The notices of motions by private members are at present so numerous on the book, and the time at our disposal is so very limited, that it would be impossible, utterly impossible, for the Government to prepare and carry any bill this session. We therefore give the remainder of the session to the consideration of the resolutions given notice of by private members. There are many vital questions of social reform which the country urgently needs to consider. These matters I shall feel it my duty to lay before Her Majesty with a view to their introduction into Her Gracious Majesty's message on the re-assembling of Parliament. May we one and all unite in spite of party differences in producing such good and efficient measures as will be a credit to this most successful and intelligent Chamber of Politics!

When, at the close of the session, the Sydenham Premier gave his party an account of his stewardship, he remarked of his House of Commons, and the other Houses scattered over the country :—

Whilst these societies aim at training the young in the practice of debate, and in educating the members in the political questions of the day, it has often occurred to me that they should be utilised to a much greater extent than they have been in influencing public opinion, by systematically, simultaneously, and minutely discussing the details of, and publishing their verdicts upon, those great social and political reforms which the well-being of the country, irrespective of party, demands a consideration of sooner or later. Remembering that science, art, literature, commerce, geography, and other subjects are well represented by their respective societies, and that these societies—whether the British Association, the Social Science Congress, the Society of Arts, the Royal Geographical Society, the

Statistical Society, the various Chambers of Commerce, or others—possess an influence in the State, I would urge that these ‘Chambers of Politics’ should become associated, as in the case of the 53 Chambers of Commerce, and deal with political—as the latter chambers deal with commercial—questions. The parliamentary form of procedure might, for obvious reasons, still be maintained; but whilst, with pardonable anxiety, each ‘party’ strives for ascendancy, may we one and all unite in our endeavour to enlist the attention and sympathy of the community to those social and political questions which are of paramount importance.

The propriety and advisability of organising Chambers of Politics, as the outcome of these Parliamentary Debating Societies, and of forming a Central Chamber, are held to be among the questions of pressing importance which these new factors of public opinion intend to raise.

The witlings who point their feeble jests at any new institution, or combination, that affects to deal with public questions, may find much ‘meat’ on Amateur Parliamentary Chambers of Politics. At Sydenham the Speaker gives smoking concerts, at one of which he sang ‘The Anchor’s Weighed,’ followed by the Conservative Premier, Captain Bedford Pim, with ‘Ben Backstay.’ The ‘House’ has parliamentary dinners; and enjoys the dignity of a Speaker’s Gallery, which is generally crowded with ladies when a vigorous debate is expected. It is visited much by distinguished strangers. The travesty of the House at Westminster, indeed, offers some delightful aspects to the humourist. The Hackney Hansard, the Mile End Millennium, the Wormwood Scrubs Secretary for War, are comic journal headings that suggest themselves readily. But the Parliamentary Debating movement, with its 35,000 organised debaters, including in their ranks men of all classes and of all degrees of education, and following systematically in the wake of the Imperial Government, to criticise it and pass resolutions on its measures, must be to the Tories ‘an ugly thing to think of.’ It could not be joked out of existence, even if we had living wits of the force of those who influenced public opinion in the heyday of the life of Mr. Punch. It is already an educational machine of national proportions, for instructing politically thoughtful members of the community, thus creating a public opinion worthy of the freedom which the English people enjoy. Our local Houses have already their ‘Local Parliament Handbook,’ published by Messrs. Heywood, of Manchester. The younger members of the legal profession form the bulk of a House of Commons sitting at Kensington, and the news has just reached me of a ministerial crisis in that august assembly, which has culminated in the advent of a Conservative ministry to power. How many of the Kensington House are seeking to educate themselves for the positions of Solicitor-General and Attorney-General in the Imperial House, and how many are preparing for the woolsack, it would be difficult to determine; but it is evident that the legal minds now in Parliamentary training at the

West End are chiefly directed to distinction in those qualities which lead to the highest positions in their profession.

It is impossible to go through the 'Orders of the Day' of some of these Political Chambers without being struck by the acuteness of the members in following up the political questions that present themselves in rapid succession before the public. Among the questions on the 'Order of the Day' (April 25, 1883) of one House I note the following:—

Mr. R. Jackson (Liverpool) to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether his attention has been called to the speeches of shipowners who, as a deputation, waited on Mr. Chamberlain last month to ask for a reversal of the Liberal legislation of the present administration as regards merchant ships and seamen, at which interview the disgraceful state of the mercantile marine, its shoddy ships, disreputable crews, and consequent loss of life were fully exposed; and whether he can hold out any hope that the stern rebuke of Mr. Chamberlain, and the dictum he then laid down, namely, that nothing will meet the case but passing a 'Shipowners' Liability Act,' will have sufficient effect upon the Government to induce them next session to bring in a bill for that purpose.

Mr. H. W. Thomson (Berwick) to ask the Attorney-General whether he can inform the House, in presence of the unhappy position of the Lord Chancellor and the Solicitor-General, how, in face of the Solicitor-General's legal opinion when speaking in Parliament on the 1st of July, 1880, to the resolution permitting Mr. Bradlaugh to affirm, subject to penalties which might be sued for by *any one*, he (the Lord Chancellor) could have found it possible to maintain silence for nearly three years until the notorious litigation in *Bradlaugh v. Clarke* culminated before him in the ultimate Court of Appeal, when he gave judgment that *no one* save the Crown only could sue for penalties; and whether he does not think that some explanation is in honour due from so experienced an affirmation-legislator and Cabinet minister, holding so high a position as the Lord Chancellor.

These questions are far less extravagant than many which waste the time of Parliament at St. Stephen's, and they tend to enlarge the applicability of Mr. Thomas Hughes's remark on the governing body of the Co-operative Congress. Political Chambers are educational institutions, and are more distinctly and authoritatively representative than even party committees composed of borough wire-pullers. Albeit the local Houses have Speaker, Chairman of Committees, a Clerk and Deputy Clerk of the House, Serjeant and Deputy Serjeant-at-arms, Treasurer, Secretary of Council, in addition to Secretaries and Under-Secretaries of State, they make but the most modest demands on the purses of their members. Even the Sydenham House, which meets in the Crystal Palace Grand Saloon, levies but 5s. per annum on its representatives. The procedure of the House is laid down on the lines of the Imperial House; but with modifications, generally of a liberal character. Members entering or leaving the House while it is sitting make an obeisance to the chair in passing to or from their places; and may not cross an imaginary line between the chair and the member addressing the House. Members remain uncovered while proceeding to or from their places. No member may refer by name to any member except

the Chairman of Committees. Members on their election choose, with the consent of the House, the constituency they will represent. In the Sydenham House, the Premier sits as member for Midlothian. The ministry resign on the rejection of any bill introduced by them, 'provided only that in the event of notice being given of a vote of confidence in them by some member of the majority by which such bill has been defeated, they shall not be required to resign until such motion for a vote of confidence has been discussed; and in the event of the same being carried, they may elect to continue in office.'

Each session is opened with a Queen's Speech, embodying the principal measures which ministers intend to introduce. Here is a wholesome restriction: 'No member shall give notice of more than one question, neither shall leave be given him to bring in more than one measure the same night.' Then as to the limitation of debate: 'On the second or third night of any debate, the debate shall not be adjourned unless, upon motion made and question put, the names of the members wishing to speak in the debate are handed to the Speaker.' No debate is permitted to extend beyond the fourth night, and no member may speak for more than ten minutes, except the member introducing a measure, who is allowed twenty minutes.

In the Procedure Resolutions of the hundred local Houses of Commons now in flourishing existence very ingenious and efficacious rules and orders are to be found, that might not be wholly useless at Westminster; and many of the debates would not disgrace 'the best club in London.' The amateur members are for the most part in downright earnest, and take a pardonable pride in being known to their neighbours as politicians who can give good reasons in good English for the political opinions which they hold. Hence the high value of the Political Chambers' movement, in comparison with other local party organisations, where beer plays a conspicuous part in the proceedings. There are no hole-and-corner, no pot-house wire-pullers in the Houses; but there is a constant public interchange of opinion, that cannot but react with the most wholesome effect on the electors whom the last Reform Bill brought into existence.

Opinion thus manufactured in public, by the rubbing of mind against mind, will be of a loftier and a sounder character than that which has prevailed of recent years. It will tend to put aside the base manipulation of bogus petitions, and to throw into disrepute the system of canvassing indiscriminately for signatures. We have had of late some notorious samples of dishonest petition-manufacturing on a great scale, and of active bands of bigots roaming the country in the employ of rich associations, in quest of anybody and everybody who could sign his or her name. Indeed the right of petition has been so grossly misused and perverted of late years, that monster petitions have ceased to have any weight in the sight of politicians who have opportunities of peeping behind the scenes. Such degra-

dition of a venerable and valuable right might be checked effectually if the new political organisation would take cognisance of the matter, and if each Political Chamber would act, generally, with jealous care to preserve the purity of its locality. There might be a member for High Street in each House.

The member for High Street would have the political conscience of his locality in his keeping. He would keep a watchful eye on the wire-pullers. He would be the guardian of the purity of the electorate of his borough. He would unmask false delegates. He would report any misconduct of agents of working-class institutions to the central authority of these institutions, and bring it under the notice of the House.

But the benefits that may be derived from these local Houses *sautent aux yeux*. Their avowed mission is to afford political instruction to the young men who are entering upon the duties of citizenship. They may act also as purifiers of our political life, at its source.

BLANCHARD JERROLD.

INDEX TO VOL. XIII.

The titles of articles are printed in italics.

ABB

- A**BBAS PASHA, 119-120
 Agnosticism, 855-856
Agricultural Holdings Bill, the New, 1036-1044
 Albery (Mr.), 220
 Alexandria, proposed canal between Suez and, 166-172
America, why send more Irish to, 913-919
 American Fenianism, 916
 Appeals, judicial, 105-109
 Argyll (Duke of), *On the Economic Condition of the Highlands of Scotland*, 173-198
 Argyllshire, valuation roll of, 195-196
Army, the Weakness of the, 529-544
 Arnold (Matthew), *Isaiah of Jerusalem*, 587-603, 779-794
 — on State aid in the education of the middle classes, 234
 Arnold-Forster (H. O.), *Our Position as a Naval Power*, 1-13

- B**AKER (Benjamin), *A Sweet-water Ship-Canal through Egypt*, 163-172
Balance-Sheet, our National, 561-577
 Barnett (Rev. Samuel A.), *Practicable Socialism*, 554-560
 Barrington (Emilie Isabel), *The Painted Poetry of Watts and Rossetti*, 950-970
 Basutos, rebellion of the, 712-713

BUR

- Beaconsfield (Lord), as a leader of Opposition, 141-147
 Bear (William E.), *The New Agricultural Holdings Bill*, 1036-1044
 Bengal, increase of population in, 175-178
 Biblical instruction in Board schools, 318
 Birmingham General Hospital, 366
 — National Education League programme, 627-628
 — in the last century, 394
 Blackie (Prof. John Stuart), *The Highland Crofters*, 604-616
 Blackmail raids in Scotland, 185
 Board schools, higher elementary instruction in, 236-240
 — religious teaching in, 63-66, 316-319
 — unsectarianism of, 480-485
 Boroughs, 302-303
 Boulger (Demetrius Charles), *France and China*, 886-895
 Brassey (Sir Thomas), on the war fleets of the chief maritime powers, 4-5
 Brodrick (W. St. John), *The Functions of Conservative Opposition*, 155-165
 Brown (Rev. Archibald), on the condition of the poor, *quoted*, 899-900
Bucephalus, the Unmounted, 338-350
 Buffon, 395
 Burdett (Henry C.), *Our Hospitals*, 359-384

BUR

- Burial boards, 305
 Burke, his definition of party, 425-428
 Burnand (Mr.), 219
 Buxton (Sir T. F.), on the hospital system, *quoted*, 382
 Byron (Mr.), 220

CAMBRIDGE University, the Past and Future of, 824-840

- Cameron (Dr. Charles), *The Law a Respector of Persons*, 872-885
Campagna Romana, the Improvement of the, 1008-1015
 Canada, educational system of, 232
 'Canker-worm,' the, 453-457
 Cape Colony, history of British progress in, 700-704
 — our treatment of the natives in, 704-707
Cardinal Manning and the Schools (a Rejoinder), 473-492
 Cat, cultus of the, in Egypt, 90
 — European superstitions concerning the, 91
 — story of Whittington's, 100
 Cattle-disease legislation, attitude of the Tory party towards, 1022-1026
 Chamberlain (Mr.), on the Education Act, *quoted*, 629-630
China, France and, 886-895
 'Christendom, the Creed of,' 199-216
Christianity of England, is it worth preserving? 617-634
 Church, attitude of the Whigs towards the, 923-924
 Civil Service expenditure, 568-569
 Clerics, 258-260
 Colonial conquests of England in the eighteenth century, 392-393
 Colonies, emigration of neglected children to the, 905-910
 — emigration to the, 692-693
 Conestable (Count), *The Improvement of the Campagna Romana*, 1008-1015
 Conservative party, condition of the, 879-880
 — Opposition, duty of a, 427-428
Conservative Opposition, the Functions of, 155-165
Conservatives, Election Prospects of the, 273-278

MDU

- 'Constitutional Party,' the Future, 679-699
 Cosmetics, evil of using, 459-480
 Counties, administration of, 302
 County Board, the question of creating a, 509, 516
 — government, attitude of the Tory party on the question of, 1030-1031
 Cowper (Earl), *Desultory Reflections of a Whig*, 729-739
 Craven (Florence), *Servants of the Sick Poor*, 667-678
 'Creed of Christendom,' the, 199-216
 Crofters, the Highland, 604-616
 Crown lands, revenue from, 566
 Customs duties, 561-562

DALE (Rev. R. W.), *Cardinal Manning's Demand on the Rates*, 58-75

- — Reply to, 314-326
 — *The Cardinal and the Schools* (a Rejoinder), 473-492
 Dalgleish (W. Scott), *Scotland's Version of Home Rule*, 14-26
 Davenport (W. Bromley), *Fox-hunting*, 978-991
 Debating societies, parliamentary, 1085-1092
 Debt, national, 567
 — the law of, 872-885
 Deer-stalking, depopulating influence of, in the Scotch Highlands, 611-612
Detective Police, 765-778
 De Vere (Aubrey), *The Subjective Difficulties in Religion*, 841-861
 Dissenters, education of the children of, in public elementary schools, 59-63
 Distress, the law of, 1042-1043
 Dramatic authorship, 218-221
Dress, Taste in, 45-67
 — and Fashion, Common Sense in, 458-464
 Dublin, hospitals of, 369-370
 Dunraven (Earl of), *The Future 'Constitutional Party'*, 679-699
Dwellings of the Poor, the, 992-1007

EBOLI, the Princess of, 801
Education, French Elementary 465-472

EDU

- Educations Middle-Class*, 229-248
 — Act, object of the, 475
 — — work of the, 67-70
 — rate, claim of the Denominationalists to a share of, 63-72, 485-491
Egypt, Origin of the National Party in, 117-134
 — a Sweet-water Ship-Canal through, 166-172
 — the English in, 1064-1079
 Egypt, ancient, reverence for the cat in, 90
 Egyptian Freemasonry, 126
Eighteenth Century, a few Words about the, 385-403
Election Prospects of the Conservatives, 273-278
 Emigration to the colonies, 692-693
 — Irish, 914-917
 — juvenile, 905-910
England, is the Christianity of, worth preserving, 617-634
 — and South Africa, 700-728
English, the, in Egypt, 1064-1079
 Escovedo (Juan de), the murder of, 647-648
 Excise duties, 563

FACTORY Legislation, *Falling Trade and*, 971-977

- Farmers, the, and the Tory Party*, 1016-1035
Fashion, Common Sense in Dress and, 458-464
 Fashion in female dress, 45-46
 Feilding (General), *What shall I do with my Son?* 578-586
 Fenianism, American, 916
 Finlayson (Archibald W.), *Falling Trade and Factory Legislation*, 971-977
 Foot, cramping of the, 51
 Fowler (John), *A Sweet-Water Ship Canal through Egypt*, 166-172
 Fox-hunting, 978-991
 France, detective police system of, 767-775
 — education in, 230-231, 622-626, 630-631
 — attitude of, on the Egyptian question, 1065-1066
France and China, 886-895

HIG

- 'Frater are atque vale,'* 357-358
 Freemasonry, Egyptian, 126
French Elementary Education, 465-472
 Frenchwomen, dress of, 461-462
 Friars, 260-262
 Froude (J. A.), *An Unsolved Historical Riddle*, 635-652, 801-823

GAMBETTA (M.), the Republic of, 340-343

- Game question, attitude of the Tory party upon the, 1020-1022
 Germany, increase of population in, 175
 — economical condition of the people of, 180
 — education in, 231
 Gibbon, the Roman history of, 395
Girl-Children of the State, 76-87
 Gladstone (W. E.), on the Parliamentary representation of Scotland, *quoted*, 24
 — on the Education Act, *quoted*, 628-629
 Gloves, tight, fashion of wearing, 50-51, 460
 Goldsmid (Sir Julian), *Questions of the Day in India*, 740-758
 Greek canons of human proportion, 47
 Greg (W. R.), his 'Creed of Christendom,' 199-216
 Gregory (Canon), *Religion and the Rates*, 327-337
 Gurney (Edmund), *Wagner and Wagnerism*, 434-452
 Gustavus Adolphus, 1052

HAGGER (Mr.), on the local administration of Liverpool, *quoted*, 307-308

- Hair, errors in dressing the, 47-49, 460
 Harrison (Frederic), *A Few Words about the Eighteenth Century*, 385-403
 Hartington (Lord), Opposition leadership of, 147-149
 Hemming (G. W.), *The Past and Future of Cambridge University*, 824-840
Highland Crofters, the, 604-616
 Highway districts, 303

HIL.

- Hill (Alfred), *The Procedure of the High Court of Justice*, 105-110
Historical Riddle, an Unsolved, 635-652, 801-823
Home Rule, Scotland's Version of, 14-26
Hospitals, our, 359-384
Howard (James), *The Farmers and the Tory Party*, 1016-1035
Howell (George), *The Dwellings of the Poor*, 992-1007
Hughes (Mr.), on co-operative societies, *quoted*, 1084
Hughes (Mrs. Watts), *A Glimpse into the Art of Singing*, 862-871
Humanity, the religion of, 857-858

IBRAHIM PASHA, 119

- Ilbert (Mr.), Indian Bill of, 747
Imprisonment for debt, 872-885
Improvement Act districts, 303
Income tax, the, 564-565
India, Questions of the Day in, 740-758
India, increase of population in, 176
Industrial development in the eighteenth century, 393
— schools, training of girls in, 78-79
Informers, criminal, 766
Inverness-shire, valuation roll of, 196
Ireland, industrial schools for girls in, 84-86
— consequences of increase of population in, 178
— hospitals of, 369
— poor-law relief during the famine of 1847 in, 444-445
Irish, why send more to America? 913-919
Irving (Henry), Shakespeare revival by, 223
Isaiah of Jerusalem, 587-603, 779-794
Ismail Pasha, 121
— condition of Egypt under, 124-130
— his project of a canal from Alexandria to Suez, 167
Ismail Sadyk, 121-122

JERROLD (Blanchard), *The Manufacture of Public Opinion*, 1080-1092

LOE

- Jessopp (Rev. Dr.), *Village Life in Norfolk Six Hundred Years ago*, 249-272
Journals, penny fiction, readers of, 281-285
Justice, High Court of, Procedure of the, 105-116

- K AFFAIRS, history of British dealings with the, 707-710
Kebbel (T. E.), *Party Obligations to-day*, 424-433
Kharkoff, *Central Prison of*, 40-41
Khedive, the present, 130
— the late, *see* Ismail Pasha
Kilburn Orphanage for Girls, 80-84
Kilda, St., island of, 181
Krapotkine (Prince), *Russian Prisons*, 27-44
— *The Fortress Prison of St. Petersburg*, 928-949

- L AND of Promise, the, 545-553
Lansdell (Mr.), his visitation of Russian prisons, 728
Law, the, a Respector of Persons, 872-885
Lemoine (M.), on the death of M. Gambetta, *quoted*, 354
Lewis, island of, agricultural distress in, 197
Lewis (C. E.), *Election Prospects of the Conservatives*, 273-278
Liberalism, modern, compared with Whiggery, 922-926
— Scottish, 14-15
Lifford (Lord), *The 'Canker-worm,' Outdoor Relief*, 453-457
Liverpool, subdivisions of local government in, 307
— condition of the poorer classes in, 897-898
Local Government in England and Wales, 293-313, 509-528
Local government districts, 303
Lodging-houses, supervision of, 994-995
Lord Advocate, the change in the office of, 20-22
Lords, House of, anomalous position of, in the Constitution, 680-683

LOT

- Lothian, East, valuation roll of, 196
 Lourdes, miracles of, 136-138
 Lubbock (Sir John), *Our National Balance-Sheet*, 561-577
 Lützen, battle of, 1053-1054
 Lytton (Earl of), *The Land of Promise*, 545-553

- M**CKENZIE (Rev. John), *England and South Africa*, 700-728
 Magdeburg, sack of, 1050-1051
 Malt tax, conduct of the Tory party with respect to the, 1017-1020
 Malthus, law of, 179
Man, the, of the Future, 759-764
 Manning's (Cardinal) *Demand on the Rates*, 58-75
 Manning (Cardinal), *Religion and the Rates*, 314-326
 — *Is the Christianity of England worth preserving?* 617-634
Marines, shall we retain the, 795-800
 Martineau (Rev. Dr.), '*The Creed of Christendom*,' 199-216
 Meason (M. Laing), *Detective Police*, 765-778
 Medical education in connection with the hospitals, 375-376
 Mehemet Ali, condition of Egypt under, 117-119
Middle-Class Education, 229-248
 Military forces, expenditure on, 567-568
 Militia reserve, 530-531
 Mill (J. S.) on persecution, 493
Miracles, Modern, 135-139
 Moro (Don Gaspar), his work on the Princess of Eboli, 804 *note*
 Mouravioff (M.), on Russian prisons, 931
 Music in the eighteenth century, 401-402

N*NATIONAL Balance-Sheet, our*, 561-577

- Navy, British, strength of, compared with foreign navies, 3-6
 — efficiency of, for the protection of the Empire, 6-13
 New York, local taxation in, 300

PER

- New York, penal enactments regarding neglected children in, 903
 Nikitin (M.), on the St. Petersburg prisons, *quoted*, 931
 Nile, Barrage of the, 160-171
 Ninet (John), *Origin of the National Party in Egypt*, 117-134
Norfolk, Village Life in, Six Hundred Years ago, 249-272
 Norton (Lord), *Middle Class Education*, 229-248
 Novels, 291
 Nubar Pasha, 122-123
 Nursing, district, 667-678

O*PINION, Public, the Manufacture of*, 1080-1092

- Opinions, Poisonous, the Suppression of*, 493-503, 653-666
Opposition, the Functions of an, 140-154
 — *Conservative, the Functions of*, 155-165
Opposition, duty of an, 425
 Orange Free State, 715-716
 Orphan girls, training of, 76-87
 Ouida, novels of, 290
Our Position as a Naval Power, 1-13
Outdoor Relief, 453-457
 Outdoor relief, poor-law, 524
 Out-patient relief, 371-373

P*PAGET (Lady), Common Sense in Dress and Fashion*, 458-464

- Parishes, area and government of, 301
 Parliament, representation of Scotland 24-26
 Parliamentary debating societies, 1085-1092
Party Obligations to-day, 424-433
 Payn (James), novels of, 289
 Peabody Trust, buildings under the 1000-1001
 Peek (Francis), on the poor population of English towns, *quoted*, 899
 Pennant (Mr.), on the condition of the people of Skye, *quoted*, 184
 Perez (Antonio), the story of, 638-652, 801-823
 Perfumes, use of, by women, 459

PER

- Perrault's story of 'Puss in Boots,' 88
 Philip II. of Spain and his minister Perez, 638-652, 801-823
 Poetry of the eighteenth century, 400-401
Poetry, Painted, of Watts and Rossetti, 950-970
Poisonous Opinions, the Suppression of, 493-508
 Police, county and borough, 305-306
Police, Detective, 765-778
 Political economy, inexactness of, as a science, 173
Poor, the Dwellings of the, 992-1007
 — *Sick, Servants of the*, 667-678
 Poor, condition of the, 897-911
 — outdoor relief of the, 524
 — pensions for the, 557
 Population, increase of, no evidence of prosperity, 181
 Positivism, ideal end of, 858
 Post-Office, revenue from, 565-566
 Pretoria Convention, the, 719-720
Prison, Fortress, of St. Petersburg, 928-949
Prisons, Russian, 27-44
Promise, the Land of, 545-553
Public Opinion, the Manufacture of, 1080-1092
Puss in Boots, 88-104

RAGHEB Bey, 121

- Raikes (Henry Cecil), *The Functions of an Opposition*, 140-154
 Railways, Indian, 754-755
 Ralston (W. R. S.), *Puss in Boots*, 88-104
 Ratepayers, voting of, 307-308
Rates, Cardinal Manning's Demand on the, 58-75
 — *Religion and the*, 314-337
 Rates, assessment and levy of, 308-311
 — proposal to divide payment of, between owners and occupiers, 522-523
 Rathbone (William), *Local Government in England and Wales*, 297-313, 509-528
 Reade (Mr. Charles), 219
 Recruits, army, 532-536
Reform, Social, 896-912

SEE

- Reinach (Joseph), *The Unmounted Bucephalus*, 338-356
Religion and the Rates, 315-337
 — *the Subjective Difficulties in*, 841-861
 Religious teaching in Board-Schools, 63-66, 319-319
 Revenue, sources and product of, 561-566
 — cost of collecting the, 568
 Ridding (G.). Greek version of Mr. Tennyson's poem, 358
 Road maintenance, conduct of the Tory party with respect to, 1029
 Robinson (E. Kay), *The Man of the Future*, 750-764
 Rosebery (Lord), on the preservation of Scottish nationality, 19
Rossetti, the Truth about, 404-423
Rossetti and Watts, Painted Poetry of, 950-970
 Ross-shire, valuation roll of, 196
 Rougham papers, 249
 Rowsell (Francis W.), *The English in Egypt*, 1064-1079
 Russell (George W. E.), *A Protest against Whiggery*, 920-927
Russian Prisons, 27-44. See also St. Petersburg.

SAID PASHA, rule of, in Egypt, 120, 123-124

- St. George's Hospital, cost of in-patients at, 365
St. Petersburg, the Fortress Prison of, 928-949
 St. Petersburg, House of Detention at, 36-37
 Sanitary districts, 304-305
 Sanua (James), 127
 Schomberg (General), *Shall we retain the Marines?* 795-800
Schools, the Cardinal and the (a Rejoinder), 473-492
 Scotland, education in, 234
 — depopulation of the Highlands of, 607-615
 — law of debt in, 878-884
Scotland, on the Economic Condition of the Highlands of, 173-198
Scotland's Version of Home Rule, 14-26
 Sekukuni, the Boer war with, 718

SHE

- Sheep-grazing in the Scotch Highlands, 191
- Sheridan, revival of his plays at the Vaudeville, 224-225
- Ship-Canal (Sweet-water) through Egypt, 166-172
- Shoes, tight, evils of wearing, 51, 460
- Shuckburgh (E. S.), *Modern Miracles*, 135-139
- Siberian prisons, 932-934
- Sick Poor, *Servants of the*, 667-678
- Simmons (Sir Lintorn), *The Weakness of the Army*, 529-544
- Simon (Jules) on the state of education in France, 622
- Singing, a Glimpse into the Art of, 862-871
- Skye, Isle of, 184
- Smith (F. J.), novels of, 286-287
- Smith (Professor Goldwin), *Why send more Irish to America?* 913-919
- Smith (Samuel), *Social Reform*, 896-912
- Socialism, Practicable*, 554-560
- Soldiers, how to obtain, 536-544
- Son, what shall I do with my*, 578-586
- South Africa, England and*, 700-728
- Spine, effects of tight-lacing on the, 55-56
- Stamp duties, 563-564
- Stanley (Hon. E. Lyulph), *French Elementary Education*, 465-472
- Stephen (Leslie), *The Suppression of Poisonous Opinions*, 493-508, 653-666
- Suez, proposed canal between Alexandria and, 166-172
- Switzerland, educational system of, 231
- Symonds (Admiral), on the comparative naval strength of England and France, *quoted*, 3

• TASTE in Dress, 45-57

- Taxation, local, unfair incidence of, 310-311
- division of, between owners and occupiers, 522-523
- attitude of the Tory party upon, 1026-1030
- Telegraphs, revenue derived from, 565-566

VOL

- Tenants' compensation for improvements, attitude of the Tory party on the question of, 1032-1034
- Tennyson (Alfred), *'Poeter ave atque vale'*, 357-358
- Testament, New, Revised Version of the, 587-589
- Tewfik Pasha, 130
- Theatrical Revival, the*, 217-228
- Tight-lacing, 52-56, 458-459
- Tilly, Count de, 1050-1051
- Tally, Exchequer, 572
- Tonquin, French aggression in, 889-891
- Tory Party, the Farmers and the*, 1016-1035
- Trade, British carrying, 7
- Trade, Falling, and Factory Legislation*, 971-977
- Transvaal, history of the, 716-721
- Trench (Maria), *Girl-Children of the State*, 76-87

UNIONS, poor-law, 301

- United Kingdom, increase of population in, 175
- United States, educational system of, 231-232
- increase of population in, 175, 176
- legislative provisions for neglected children in, 902-903
- local taxation in, 300
- public school system of the, 617-621
- Unknown Public, concerning the*, 270-296
- Unmounted Bucephalus, the*, 338-356
- Unsolved Historical Riddle, an*, 635-652, 801-823

VAUDEVILLE Theatre, revival of Sheridan's 'Rivals' at the, 224-225

- Village Life in Norfolk Six Hundred Years ago*, 249-272
- Villeinage, 253
- Voluntary schools, whether benefited by the Education Act, 68-70, 320
- reduced to the condition of secular schools, 73, 321

WAG

WAGNER and *Wagnerism*, 434-452

Wallenstein, 1045-1063

Walpole (Sir Robert), statesmanship of, 392

Watts (G. F.), *On Taste in Dress*, 45-57

Watts (Theodore), *The Truth about Rossetti*, 404-423

Watts and Rossetti, *Painted Poetry of*, 950-970

Wedmore (Frederick), *The Theatrical Revival*, 217-228

Whig, *Desultory Reflections of a*, 729-739

Whiggery, *a Protest against*, 920-927

WEI

Whigs, attitude of, towards the Church, 923-224

White (Richard Grant), on the American public school system, 617-619

Whitechapel, poor relief in, 554

Whittington and his cat, 100-101

Wickham (E. C.), his Latin version of Mr. Tennyson's poem, 358

Wills (Mr. W. G.), plays of, 219

Wilson (H. Schütz), *Wallenstein*, 1045-1063

Witnesses, hardships inflicted on, 110
note

Workhouses, orphan girls in, 77, 81

Wright (Thomas), *Concerning the Unknown Public*, 279-296

